

**Intergenerational Experiences of Migration and
Settlement: African Caribbean Women UK and US
Perspectives**

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Abstract

This thesis aims to understand how the social realities of post-World War II migration related to the significant number of African Caribbean women migrating independently to the UK and US directly correlate to the labour recruitment drive initiated within both countries. Notably, the voices of African Caribbean women have been primarily silent throughout the history of Caribbean migration. There is limited knowledge documented about their contribution to the social economies in the US and the UK. Most of the literature on Caribbean migration has been predominantly from the Caribbean male perspective, hence the motivation to embark on this research study.

Using Narrative and Visual Based Inquiry research methods, twenty-two African Caribbean women were interviewed, eleven from the UK and eleven from the US. The analysis was conducted within the Black Feminist Framework that included an intersectionality perspective. The study found that most women migrated independently into gender-specific occupations, such as domestic labour, semi-skilled factories, and the Nursing sector. All of the women were diverse in their personal histories, which mirrored the multifaceted accounts of their lived experiences as migrants. Some of the women were mothers or became mothers with caring responsibilities, and others held professional qualifications, which they hoped to use to build a career in their new country. Each of the women shared first-hand accounts of structural discrimination, which impacted them from a gender perspective. However, many settled due to family ties; most of them expressed feelings of loss and separation in their 'outsider' location. Upholding their Caribbean cultural identity through traditions, values, and food, associated with their original homeland, reinforced their sense of belonging and connectedness which they felt was absent in the UK and US.

Dedication

Dedicated to my parents, children, grandchildren and all the Caribbean women who contributed to this study.

Acknowledgement

A huge thank you to my family and friends for their love, encouragement and support throughout all the years. You made this achievable. Your kind words, wisdom and common sense has kept me grounded. Thank you for allowing me to journey back in time into the world of these wonderful women whose narratives have been inspirational.

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Glossary

TERM	DEFINITION
African Caribbean	Caribbean people who trace their ancestry to Africa.
Black	Political identity.
Brain drain	Brain drain is caused by highly educated professional leaving the home of origin to find employment in another country.
Caribbean	An official racial-ethnic category used to classify people originating from Caribbean ethnic backgrounds.
Globalisation	Globalisation is being used in this research as a lens in taking a bird's eye view of African Caribbean women and post-World War II migration experiences.
Immigration	The international movement of people to the destination country of which they are not natives.
Migrant	People who move by choice rather than to escape conflict or persecution
Social Policy	Societies meet human needs for security, education, work, health and well-being. The social policy addresses how states and communities respond to global social demographic and economic change, poverty, globalisation, and migration.
Transnational	A transnational perspective in this research means shifting the unit of analysis from individual states to a global system, extending or operating across national countries.

Introduction: The Phenomena

The personal lived experiences of African Caribbean women who migrated from the Caribbean to the UK and the US remains one of the many untold transnational migration phenomena during the post-World War II era (Foner, 2009). Numerous women migrated from the Caribbean in response to the prominent recruitment drive within the UK and the US following the post-World War II period. The women who migrated to the UK were British Citizens under the Commonwealth agreement and had rights to settle under the 1948 Nationality Act. The primary migration from the Caribbean started in 1948 and was completed by 1974 when the oil shock following the Yom Kippur War produced a massive economic recession in the UK (Peach, 1991). The Caribbean migration over this period showed a remarkable correlation with indicators of the British economy, directly with unfilled vacancies and inversely with unemployment (Peach, 1991). While in the US, African Caribbean women continued with an existing pattern of migrating for employment. The accessible location was South Florida of the US because of domestic and agricultural work availability. The geographical location and proximity to the Caribbean made it a popular destination (Besson and Olwig, 2005).

Economically, most African Caribbean women have experienced financial independence due to this migration (Besson and Olwig, 2005). Their presence in the labour market coincided with the UK's restructuring, and indeed on a global scale within the labour market that embraced female labour. Yet, African Caribbean women's contribution as part of the UK's socio-economic workforce and the US remains a marginalised account (Pearsall and Kershaw, 2000). Many of the earliest research has tended to omit African Caribbean women as independently migrating in pursuit of employment. The literature gap and the limited interest to hear these African Caribbean women's voices about their migration experiences have influenced the motivation to conduct the study. Therefore, this thesis intends to focus specifically on these African Caribbean women by placing them at the centre instead of the peripheral of the margins so that their authentic accounts and lived experiences can be heard (Hill Collins, 2016).

The existing trend of documenting the African Caribbean male perspective means that an assumption that whatever is the migrant male experience is equally characteristic of migrant women (Phillips and Phillips, 1998). Consequently, little evidence about African Caribbean women about how they socially constructed their identities as migrant women living in the UK

and the US during the post-World War II era remains a topic of interest in this study. Other than anecdotal stories commonly shared amongst families, the women's voices have remained unheard. From a feminist analysis, this thesis focuses on the gendered approach to exploring African Caribbean women's migration patterns.

From a personal and professional perspective, as an African Caribbean academic and researcher, it has provided the impetus to pursue this specific research and explore the significant gap in this aspect of Caribbean history.

The Context of the Study

From the onset, undertaking a social research study is a perplexing and challenging task, whatever its focus and topic of interest. It was imperative to consider the sensitivity of issues likely to be raised on many different levels. While, on the one hand, there is a requirement to think about the relevant theoretical frameworks and assumptions, it is equally important to undertake practical and make concrete decisions on the research process.

The thesis explores explicitly African Caribbean women's migration and their experiences within the UK or the US during the post-World War II era. Due to their marginalisation position within society, much of the earliest research on Caribbean migration history has explicitly focused on African Caribbean males. Any reference to African Caribbean women's presence has been in the context of an accompaniment wife or as a dependent (Peach, 1991; Phillips and Phillips, 1998; Foner, 2009). From an intergenerational perspective, there is an absence of documented public knowledge which recognise these women contribution to Caribbean migration history.

Consequently, this study strives to fill in the gaps by focusing entirely on the African Caribbean women's lived experiences of migration to the US and the UK during the post-World War II era. This research is interested in understanding at a micro level what gendered elements are discernible within the pattern of migration as it relates to the African Caribbean women. The overall intention is to explore how these women made sense of their migration experience and the influencing factors that shaped their roles, gendered obligations from a cultural, social, and traditional perspective within the context of migration.

Identifying the gap that existed provided a focus of the purpose of the research and precisely what approach was needed to explore this phenomenon. Developing the Research Questions was extremely important as they give shape and direction to the thesis. The Research Questions addressed the central tenet of exploring the African Caribbean women's phenomenal lived experiences as socially constructed, based on migration.

The primary *objectives* entailed placing the African Caribbean women at the heart of the study to hear their voices. Striving to explore these specific unique phenomena influenced the decision to use a phenomenological qualitative approach to understand the women in their natural setting and how reality shape their subjective experience. In this context, the phenomenological approach suited the research design in using the two creative techniques of Narrative and Visual research methods, in the fieldwork, as collaborative methods to collect rich, thick data of an oral textual and visual nature (Riessman, 2012; Rose, 2016). Prosser and Loxley (2008) provide an excellent, detailed, and balanced introduction to visual methods, which suited the interpretive approach drawn upon within the research design. This context gives a brief overview of this study's philosophical foundations as unfolded within the preceding chapters.

Aim of the Thesis

This thesis's primary aim is to explore African Caribbean women's lived experiences of post-World War II migration to the UK and the US from their narration. The research focuses on women's role as mothers and being responsible for emboldening Caribbean traditions and culture within their families.

Ultimately, here are three objectives of this thesis, and these are as follows:

1. To provide the space for the voices of African Caribbean women to be heard through their narratives.
2. To gain a more in-depth understanding, from a socially cultural gender perspective, their lived experiences of post-World War II migration to either the UK or the US.

3. To use a collaborative approach in conducting the participative research.

Structure of the Thesis

Section One

Chapters one to three provides literature and theoretical framework and justification for the research strategy.

Chapter One

Introduces the thesis that is concerned with exploring twenty-two African Caribbean women's experience, identity, and practices related to the historic migration to the US and the UK during the post-World War II era.

Chapter Two

This chapter summarises the impact of specific migration theories on gender migration from women's perspectives. It also provides a detailed account of migration in Caribbean history from a postcolonial, transnational, globalisation, feminisation, and sociological critical race perspective.

Chapter Three

Presents an overview of the relevant theories the feminist approach has developed to critique the Black women's heterogeneous differences as it shapes this study. These theories are in keeping with the critical debate, which encompasses Feminisation Theory related to the women's migration experiences. The overarching theoretical concern is how gender identities interact with other social identities in shaping migration experiences.

This thesis is structured in three sections, as follows:

Section Two

Chapter Four

Chapter Four concentrates on Methodology, Methods, and Analysis and introduces the twenty-two Participants. This chapter focus on the Research Questions, aims and objectives of the study and rationale. The research methodological and research process is examined, explaining why the study's narrative and visual methods suited the study. The chapter also discusses the criteria for selecting participants, how the life narrative interviews and visual-based inquiry process, and the data collection process. The chapter includes the thematic analysis, structural analysis, and transcription process. This chapter ends with an introduction to the twenty-two participants.

Section Three

Chapter's Five to Six present the findings from Research Questions One, Two, and Three, whereas Chapter Seven to Eight are the discussion chapters, ending with the Conclusion, Reflection and Future Studies.

Chapter Five

This chapter analyses the Life narrative interviews and focuses on the three major themes [motivation, arrival, and settlement].

Chapter Six

This chapter provides an analysis of the visual-based inquiry; includes a photograph of the twenty-two bespoke objects, presented under four sites, focus on the fourth theme of *loss and separation* as it relates to the participant.

Chapter Seven

This chapter discusses the analyses of the women's narratives and provides an interpretation by pulling together commonalities and differences between their personal experiences from the US and UK perspective. Includes three broad themes, the feminisation of migration as it narrates to Motivation, Arrival and Settlement.

Chapter Eight

The final chapter focus on the conclusion, limitations and recommendation, future research and reflection, which can inform social policies and provide knowledge for the next generation. This chapter draws all the different threads of the thesis together. Reinforces the significance of using narrative and visual methods and highlights this thesis's contribution to future research and social policy on migration and women. Summarise some of the theoretical and empirical arguments as well as point to some areas for future research.

Chapter 1: Historical Perspective of Migration

This thesis seeks to present an insight into the lives of these African Caribbean women who formed part of the historical group who migrated from the Caribbean during the post-war era to find employment either in the UK or the US (Foner, 2009). The aim is to explore how a range of cultural, historical and social factors determine the African Caribbean women's experiences, identity and practices. African Caribbean women are the central focus of debate in this study, which raises new questions about the social constructs regarding social status in terms of gender and migration to the UK or the US.

Sociologist Broughton (2008) confirms that men have overwhelmingly been the focus of research on migration. However, Broughton (2008) argues that often omitted from economic and social demographic studies on migration is how individuals make sense of their migrant experience. Arguably, gender is a crucial aspect for consideration within this thesis because it is about inequality that women often face based on the intersectionality of race, gender, social class, and power within the framework of migration.

Women in Migration

In the last fifty years, a large body of research work has developed to address the second wave of Caribbean migration from a UK perspective, which occurred in 1948 up to the 1970s. It captures the Windrush era depicted by Phillips and Phillips (1998), whose seminal research is still relevant today. According to their research study, only a few women than men were on the Windrush Empire arrived at Tilbury dock in 1948, compared to the 492 males on board. Notably, over the next ten years, the proportion of male to female migrants was more than two to one, only evening out in 1958. Phillips and Phillips (1998) confirmed that most of these women were coming to join husbands or fiancés or train in an occupation such as nursing. Furthermore, this offered these women the opportunity to engage independently in migration, as during this period, there was a lack of employment opportunities in the Caribbean for women.

Migration Resurgence

Meanwhile, in the US, the movement of African Caribbean migration was established in the first half of the nineteenth century and offered a consistent employment form. The active flow of transnational migration was significantly reduced during the period from 1924-1965. However, following the change in US migration laws in 1965 saw a sudden resurgence in people from the Caribbean Islands moving to the US. Peach (1991) refers to the secondary migratory wave, which occurred in the UK between 1948 and 1973 (Peach, 1991). This period marked a new era in both societies.

Labour Shortages

As documented by Peach (1991) and Foner (2009), the labour shortages of post-war years in both the UK and US, respectively, witnessed large scale migration from the Caribbean, with people searching for employment during the 1950s and 1960s. With establishments such as London Transport, the National Health Services (NHS), and the semiskilled factory sectors unable to fill vacancies from traditional sources, employers and government turned to the Caribbean, members of the Commonwealth. Recruitment were people from various backgrounds, with the majority from rural areas of poverty to those who specialised in agriculture, vocational skills and qualifications, which they hoped to use once they migrated (Peach, 1991; Foner, 2009).

Mass Migration Patterns

Mass migration to the UK and the US came from former British colonies in the Caribbean where English was the official language (Office for National Statistics, 2003). Approximately 70% of migrants from the Caribbean region to the UK were men. A pattern also characterised the US's large migration flow between 1952 and 1954 (Peach, 1996a). The history of US immigration indicates that since 1962-1972, more African Caribbean women have migrated to the US in a more significant number than men (Foner, 2009:8). The Researcher argues that

these data demonstrated that African Caribbean women were migrating independently, and the predominance of these women in the migratory flow was significant.

Thesis Focus – The Experiences

These are some of the critical aspects of exploration within the undertaking of the thesis. The Researcher argues from an academic perspective that we need to acknowledge and preserve the legacy of these African Caribbean women who are the gatekeepers of Caribbean culture and values regarding educating the future generation (Glenn, 1994). In this respect, African Caribbean women have a central role in shaping the dynamics of social, cultural, political understanding of Caribbean identity and reinforcing a sense of cultural belonging

The Researcher seeks to tell these women's narrative through a gendered demographic lens that is holistically and explicitly dedicated to their experiences of migration so that their voices remain at the centre (Hill Collins, 2000). The thesis has chosen to focus precisely on gaining knowledge of African Caribbean women experiences of migration instead of the male counterparts. The aim is to gain insight and understanding of these women lived experiences at a micro level so that there is information into how these women lived their lives as migrants in another country. Knowledge gained can contribute to factual data derived from the women's lived experiences to inform social policies in the UK and US, concerned with providing services to other migrant women.

The Researcher's Interest

The Researcher's motivation was inspired by academic and personal interest to undertake this study. Born of African Caribbean heritage to a first-generation mother, who migrated to the UK during the 1950s and later settled in the US, provided a genuine curiosity to delve into the history of Caribbean migration from an all-female perspective. The focus of interest was on the lived experiences of migration from the women's viewpoint, particularly those who migrated to the US, and the UK, during the early years after the post-World War II era. Through the opportunity of living in both countries, insider's knowledge indicates that the women who migrated to these two countries have remained silent about their experiences. Subsequently, the limited information written is based on historical accounts and predominantly

depicted from African Caribbean male perspectives. In this context, the Researcher wanted to explore individual women's lived experiences who made the first steps to migrate independently to another country.

The thesis focuses on African Caribbean women and their migration experiences during the post-World War II era. However, migration is not a new phenomenon for Caribbean people. Typically, throughout most Caribbean history, people migrated externally, searching for work and educational opportunities (Peach, 1991). Many of the economies of the Caribbean islands were dependent on agriculture industries. Nonetheless, agricultural production significantly deteriorated by the 1930s due to disease and severe hurricanes, fruit production and spices being the islands' main product. The sugar cane cost continued to fall as the Caribbean sugar plantations faced intense competition from the US (Besson and Fog Olwig, 2005). Consequently, this resulted in estate owners reducing permanent full-time employment to part-time and seasonal workers. The net result meant that jobs were scarce across the Caribbean islands and offered limited professional career opportunities for young women who were embarking on developing their work status and social identities (Besson and Fog Olwig, 2005).

The US has been the most popular destination because of its close geographical proximity to the Caribbean and seen as the land of opportunity. However, following the implementation of restrictive immigration, legislations led to fewer successful entry into the US. Notably, many migrants were professionals, such as teachers and engineers, whilst some migrated to work on farmlands (Nurse, 2003a). From the first half of the nineteenth century, African Caribbean people began to migrate to the US. By the end of the century, they became the core labour force that dug the Panama Canal. Later, they moved into other areas where they worked as labourers and clerks on large banana plantations (Foner, 2009).

The movement of Caribbean people to the US halted significantly by implementing the Immigration Act 1923, which prevented migration. However, later on, the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act constructed an immigration policy based on family reunification and workplace skills principles. During the 1940s and the 1950s, several additional pieces of US immigration legislation had gendered and racial dimensions that produced inequalities in treatment and access. Consequently, the flow of migration reduced to smaller numbers between 1924 and 1965. However, the change in US immigration laws in 1965 motivated many Caribbean people

migration to the US. At the same time, it appeared that the males dominated the migration flow during the period following post-World War II.

Furthermore, Foner (2009) states, since 1967, African Caribbean women have migrated to the US in higher numbers than men, as it became easier for women to qualify for labour visa employment certification because of the demand for domestic labour and nurses (Foner, 2009:8). Nonetheless, the Researcher argues that migration policies and laws, while proclaiming to be gender-neutral, could often be imbued with gender and class and racial inequalities that impacted migration patterns and experiences (Salcido and Menjivar, 2012:2). In this context, issues regarding vulnerability is an aspect of exploration within the thesis.

Subsequently, the Civil Rights movement emerged during 1964, under the leadership of B. Du Bois, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. used massive political protests and the legal challenge to launch a period of intensified struggle against US racial inequalities. There were notable legislative victories, including the Civil Rights Act, 1964, that banned discrimination based on race in employment practices and public accommodations. The implementation of the Immigration and Nationality Act, also known as the Hart-Cellar Act, passed in 1965, reinforced the need to address critical labour shortages within the US economy. This initiative influenced the US to have an open-door policy to actively recruit Caribbean migrants that included women to fill the gap that existed within some sectors of the economy, which required a skilled workforce (Schuman et al., 1998).

The migration wave commenced post-World War II came from colonies in the Caribbean and subsequently changed the UK's racial composition. Sociologist Paul Gilroy and colleagues at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1982) depicted this movement as the "Empire Strikes Back". A case in point is the large-scale migration during the Windrush era, in 1948, where the primary attention was on challenging the predominance given to Caribbean males and not on the women who also engaged within the migratory process (Phillips and Phillips, 1998).

Notably, this specific migratory wave coincided with the Windrush era in 1948, capturing the prominent Caribbean migration (Phillips and Phillips, 1998). Throughout the labour shortages of the post-war years in the UK, many African Caribbeans, consisting of males and females, migrated to take up jobs in the British Rail, Transport, semiskilled factories and the National

Health Services. The critical labour shortages attracted African Caribbean women; this illustrated that many of these women were either married or single and travelled independently. Occupationally, these migrants filled roles in the service and manufacturing sectors, which were low paid, had antisocial hours, and had difficulty attracting workers from the indigenous population (Phillips and Phillips, 1998:118; Peach, 1999). These African Caribbean women held UK passports because their nations of origin were part of the British Commonwealth nations. During the 1950s, employment recruiters seeking to address acute labour shortages in the UK actively encouraged both males and females from the Caribbean to migrate to the UK. Many African Caribbean women were part of the replacement labour force, and some even had prior knowledge of British culture. Nevertheless, as newcomers, they confronted the reality of unvarnished discrimination based on race, gender and social class. Notably, the famous speech about the "rivers of blood" by Enoch Powell sought to incite fear and animosity amongst the indigenous community (Kivisto and Faist, 2010).

Feminisation of Migration

As stated, many of these women chose to migrate to find employment because they had limited career opportunities in their home of origin in the Caribbean. Many of the women who migrated to the UK usually travelled on ships, with voyages lasting from three to six weeks. As noted by Peach (1991) and Foner (2009), most of these women travelled independently and were all alone. Outside of the immediate home environment, it would be the first time for many women to leave their family and friends. Subsequently, many of these women embarked on their migration venture with optimism and purpose because they travelled to the 'mother country' to find employment to achieve a better life for themselves and the family left behind in the Caribbean. The Researcher will be addressing some of these debates which correlate with the concept of feminisation of migration, which has emerged in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Castles and Miller, 2009).

Characteristics of this process of feminisation of migration are in the increasing number of women, both married and unmarried, who migrate by themselves. Arguably, this is distinctly different from historical migrations where women moved for marriage or as part of a family reunification process (United Nations, 2003). In the research context, the feminisation of

migration applies to these African Caribbean women who sought independence and autonomy for themselves and their future generation. There is a strong argument that many of these women engaged in 'shift migration' whereby they migrated alone, but once established in the new country, they were able to send for their children to join them (Plaza, 2000:83; Reynolds, 2005; Castles and Miller, 2009). Presently this is an under-researched area in the current literature and can be explored within future studies.

Another phenomenon that historians of migration have long been aware of is the "friends and relatives effect" or "chain migration", creating and sustaining immigration streams. In discussing the last great migratory wave to impact the US, Ostergren (1988) described the process as one in which migrants commonly settled in a location. Once established, they would invite family and friends to follow. In some cases, the settled migrant would sponsor the cost of travel from the Caribbean and offer temporary accommodation until the newly arrived migrant became established. Then they would contribute to the chain migration process to help another family member migrate. As this was one of the most popular means of getting financial and accommodation support, it is therefore strongly argued that the analysis would reveal that some women would have engaged in chain migration from family or friends already living in the UK and the US.

The predominance of African Caribbean women migrating was becoming a noticeable feature within the previously male-dominated trend. This shift has led to a cascading series of processes regarding gendering needs within the context of migration. An essential factor of the research is exploring the African Caribbean women's experiences upon arrival into the receiving country and the intense public and private debates in the UK Parliament and the media 1960s about the need for immigration control (Peach, 1999). Furthermore, discussions of the impact of immigration on housing, the welfare state were the concerns that drew attention to Caribbean migration. Peach (1999) also confirms that these women were clearly seen as outsiders and subsequently experienced pervasive discriminatory treatment. Hill Collins (1990) supports this argument regarding how Black women are often viewed as outsiders and treated in a discriminatory manner within US society (Hill Collins, 1990:11).

It is apparent from the literature, thus far, that these women were creating an impact based on the intersections of gender, race and social class. The argument will explore how gender highlighted the inequality that a migrant woman faces in double discrimination. The Researcher

argues that the women faced discrimination as a migrant, as well as being a female. These issues are due to gender ideologies rooted in patriarchy which manifested as a form of oppression. It has become increasingly apparent that gender ideologies and the unequal distribution of power have placed women in a vulnerable position as workers within both societies. The argument as to whether migration is economically empowering must be determined empirically and is subject to variation concerning a host of different variables and context and will be explored further in the thesis.

Women and Intersectionality.

Subsequently, thinking about gender as an analytical concept, attention to the intersections among gender, race and class from an intersectionality perspective is significant to be explored further within the thesis (Brah and Phoenix, 2004; McCall, 2005). The Researcher will explore how intersectionality impacts how women in the US and UK socially construct and shape their migration experiences. In particular, as social gender ideologies within the Caribbean, female-headed households are not unusual, and women are significant breadwinners. These responsibilities at home and the opportunities to migrate abroad would require deciding to leave their children with extended family members (Reynolds, 2005).

According to Peach (1991), many immigrants were from rural working-class backgrounds, who sought employment opportunities abroad; others had vocational skills and qualification, which they hoped to use in their newly adopted countries. According to Goulbourne (1998a), African Caribbean women who originated from professional and middle-class backgrounds did not automatically transfer into the middle-class within the UK or the US; this was due to their changing occupational and socioeconomic status in adopted country (Goulbourne, 1998a).

The Researcher argues that migration for many of the women would entail leaving their Caribbean home and families. Some of these women would have been at the age when lessons taught in schools included postcolonial information about the UK culture. These women would have gained some knowledge about the mother country and what to expect when they arrived. Many of these women had a perception about the UK, which would be of an optimistic perspective and hopeful based on the attractions of migrating to a sophisticated, modernised country (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985).

The global migration trends with women being the predominance became noticeable in the US during 1961 when African Caribbean women's arrivals began to exceed those of their male counterparts (Foner, 2009). A similar pattern of the prevalence of African Caribbean women in the UK peaked in 1961, thereby reflecting the matriarchal society in the Caribbean. This migration was in overall gender balance, with female migrants outnumbering males in several years in the late 1950s (Peach, 1991).

Immigration began to peak in 1962 and continued in the 1970s; this illustrates that many of these African Caribbean women were confident in undertaking a migration journey on their own, finding employment, achieving personal goals, and pursuing ambitions. However, despite this explicit migration initiative, there remains a significant omission within migration and social policy literature to mark this specific trend.

The historical literature on migration illustrates that African Caribbean women's identity as migrants, who have actively engaged independently in pursuit of employment, is a significant aspect of the migration process (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985). This observation has contributed to the debates about the theory of feminisation of migration (Castles and Miller, 2009) [See Chapter 2]. However, there is limited acknowledgement within the existing literature, which recognises their collective contribution. In this context, the thesis seeks to build on existing knowledge about African Caribbean women of their migration experiences and states that their expert knowledge ought to be renowned as a unique occurrence within the context of gender and migration. Foner (2009) notes that migrant women could have an experience that can contribute to change in research and social policies related to supporting the future generation of other migrant women.

Intersections of Gender, Race and Class

This section of the thesis focuses on the intersections of gender, race and class, regarding women's migration lived experiences in the UK and the US, the Researcher, seeks to explore how the unequal distribution of power impacts the women in their position as migrants, and place them in the situation of being forced to work for low wages. Also of significance is the question of social construction related to how these women exist within both UK and US societies.

McCall (2005) sees intersectionality as one of the most important feminist contributions to women's studies and related fields in understanding women's different experiences. The Researcher has chosen to include this intersectionality theory into the thesis because it will allow the opportunity to critique these women's perspective from a position that has meaning to them. The Researcher is equally aware that it is almost impossible to use gender as a single analytical category. It is essential to attend to the multiple identities and subjective experiences of subordination. Hence, intersectionality is an inevitable concept. Intersectionality is the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (Davis, 2008:68). Davis traces the origin of the intersectionality concept to Crenshaw (1989), who has been instrumental in urging theorist to take both gender and race into consideration and address how they intersect to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences.

Intersectionality theory offers an analysis framework of intersecting domination that produces both oppression and opportunity, further explored with Chapter 3 (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). The Researcher found resonance with Hill Collins (2000), who argues that often placed these Black women's location as outsiders, put these women on the margins within the political economy within both UK and US society, thereby preventing their voices from being heard (Hill Collins, 2000). This research aims to address the current imbalance of gender perspectives commonly associated with Caribbean migration. Consequently, giving space for these women lived experiences to be placed firmly at the centre. In this context, the research will be thoroughly positioned from a Black feminist standpoint and focus unequivocally upon these women's lived experiences (Hill Collins, 2000).

As critiqued by Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe (1985), who come from a postcolonial feminist position, these African Caribbean women often have been depicted as marginalised groups and victims (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985). Postcolonial feminist research suggests that such victimising processes suppress these Black women's voices. Hence, they are either misunderstood or misrepresented through the self-interest of those with the power to represent them (Bhari, 2004:199).

Another essential aspect of postcolonial feminism is to resist and critique mainstream feminist processes that silence these African Caribbean women and colonise their migration

experiences. The Researcher draws upon post-colonialism feminist theory in this thesis as a guiding perspective that informs the process of arguments and the interpretation of women's narratives. Postcolonial feminism recognises the impact of class, race and culture in shaping women's experience. Furthermore, by focusing specifically on these women voices related to their postcolonial experiences of migration, they are encouraged to move beyond the passive victim image deployed in some western representation of African Caribbean women (Said, 1979; Hill Collins, 1990; hooks, 1982).

Critical theoretical consideration is the relationship between structure, agency, and gendered migration from a historical perspective. According to Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, (1985), many women were young and took up full-time jobs while becoming mothers in a short space of time. Many of these young mothers were engaged in the struggle to balance work, motherhood, and ensuring their young families' safety, with most having no formal childcare support available to them. Even if they could find childcare, it was economically unaffordable. Some women were also mothers who had additional caring responsibilities for children back home in the Caribbean, which included sending remittances to support their families, and children, presenting further financial difficulty (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985; Peach, 1991; Phizacklea, 2003). A seminal study by Rex and More (1967) revealed challenges and immigration restrictions, which meant that migrants were constantly offered low standard housing in deprived areas. Subsequently, many of these women often lived in rented accommodations of substandard conditions and unsuitable for mothers with young children. Arguably, these women experienced discrimination based on the rejection of vocational qualifications obtained in the Caribbean was also a common occurrence (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985; Plaza, 2000:88). These arguments will be explored further within Chapter 3.

Chapter Summary

To sum up, this chapter provides a historical perspective of migration. It includes an account of the social and economic factors that impacted African Caribbean women within both the US and UK post-World War II societies. Historical literature confirms that many of these women migrated from the Caribbean from 1945 to the late 1970s in response to critical gaps within the UK and US depleted labour forces. This period also coincided with immigration legislation

and policies that existed in the UK and the Civil Rights movement of 1965 in the US. The chapter introduces Post-colonialism theory and intersectionality theory related to race, gender, social class and migration.

In this chapter, the Researcher draws upon a persuasive argument to validate the importance of African Caribbean women unheard voices being placed at the centre instead of the margins. From the existing literature on Caribbean migration, it is evident that the male counterpart has dominated most publicly known knowledge (Peach, 1991; Phillips and Phillips, 1998). Critically, the argument states a limited and sporadic account written about African Caribbean women's lived experiences related to their migration experiences during the Post-World War II to the US and the UK (Foner, 2009). This observation concurs with Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, (1985), whose postcolonial study was undertaken at least thirty-five years ago. Yet remains a seminal piece of research because of its pioneering focus on using history to capture Black women's voices in the UK.

This chapter illustrates that Caribbean migration literature is repetitive, patchy, and obscurely documented, making it difficult to grasp or formulate a cohesive academic argument, which informs a theoretical positioning. The existing literature critique presents a broad postcolonial migration perspective, with a dominant male voice, reflecting the African Caribbean women's personal and authentic experiences (Peach, 1999).

As a first-generation African Caribbean woman, academic and personal curiosity about these women's migration experiences have provided the impetus to carry out this unique research. Doing so will offer the opportunity to develop a theoretical argument that is relatable to the African Caribbean women's migration experiences.

The following section of the thesis focuses on specific migration theories, which provided an analytical framework of the thesis's argument.

Chapter 2: Migration Theories

Personal Perspectives

This section of the thesis focuses on migration theories, situated within a feminist gendered approach, which will help provide these African Caribbean women's perspectives exploring the bounded communications between migrants and their families. The Researcher argues that these theories have a function in explaining why international migration begins and how perpetuated. Arguably, many of these theoretical models focus on labour markets, which are about individuals seeking to maximise economic opportunities. Additionally, migration theories discussed in this chapter are generic, and only the feminisation of migration mentions gender specifically. However, in the absence of theories that put gender at the centre of migration, reference to the impact of the intersections of race, gender, and social class within the context of migration will be considered within the Critical Race Theory (Ladson-Billings, 1998),

Theoretical Perspectives

The relevant migration theories are; Transnational, Globalisation, the Push and Pull model, Post-colonialism and Feminisation of Migration. These five theories are concerned because they provide an analysis framework supporting African Caribbean women's narratives depicting their lived experiences of migration (Said, 1979; Faist, 2013; Lee, 1966:6).

(i) Transnationalisation Theory

A Transnational Perspective means that migration is a continual process and may entail repeated actions and, above all, continued transactions, bounded communication between migrants and non-migrants. The relationships between the places of origin, destination and return movements are an integral component of migration (Faist, 2013).

Transnationalisation theory, a term developed during World War II, is not a coherent theory but a lens that looks at sustained ties, events, and activities that migrants engage with across countries with their home of origin. Transnationalisation introduces a new perspective in research on international migration, and in doing so, it challenges the existing models of migrant migration. The transnational approach shifts the focus from concerns about the dynamics of migration, the immigrants' origin, and the latter's adaptation to and integration in their new country. Instead, the focus is on the continuing ties migrants maintain with the country of origin and the migration destination country (Faist, 2013).

In this specific study, the term transnational theory relates to social spaces, coined by Faist (2000), who claims that social space is not equivalent to the place from a theoretical perspective. Faist describes the difference in the following way:

Space here does not refer to physical features but also larger opportunity structures, the social life and the subjective images, values and meanings that the specific and limited place represents to the migrants. Space is thus different from place in that it encompasses or spans various territorial locations. It includes two or more places. Space has a social meaning that extends beyond simple territoriality; only with concrete social or symbolic ties does it gain meaning for potential migrants.

(Faist, 2000: 45-46)

Faist (2000) speaks of migration within the context of transnational social spaces, and these social spaces take various forms, including kinship groups and links within the migrant communities. Secondly, Faist (2000) theory on migration was relevant because it provided the scope to explore whether the women had ties embedded in broader processes of transnationalisation, including links with families. Equally, given the argument that the African Caribbean women are a heterogeneous group, it is also acknowledged that these links are variable and are often dependent on the woman's roles and responsibilities.

Faist (2000) talks about transnationalism from a broader perspective. This thesis's transnational lens is applicable because it provided the scope to critically challenge traditional migration concepts and critique those who constituted the migration population. Glick Schiller (2006) contended that migrants who migrate in today's society tend to be fluid in that they chose to

hold onto their cultural identities in the shaping within of their new environment. While Glick Schiller (1999) ideas of transnationalism provided an excellent lens for understanding migration from the Caribbean women's perspective, it was a new conceptual model for interpreting contemporary migration from a diverse perspective.

Faist (2000) approach focuses on the argument that it is not the only remittance that prevailed and the emotional attachment to those left behind. It is a tie predicated on emotions related to longing, absence, and the desire to remain bonded to one's family (Faist, 2000:210). Using both transnationalism framework will enable the analysis to explore the intersections of race, gender, and social class, reflective of each of the women's unique context in a manner that is meaningful of their post-war migration experiences. Finally, Faist (2000) third feature focuses upon migrant returning to the home of origin and sending remittance to support the family (Faist, 2000:13).

The social construction of enduring transnational social spaces requires the sustainability of various types of ties. Glick Schiller and Furon (1999) contend that there is something fundamentally different about immigration today than their late nineteenth and early twentieth-century counterparts. They viewed that earlier migrant tended to break all ties with their homeland, social relations, and cultural relations, thereby locating them solely within the socio-cultural, economic and political orbit of the receiving society. By contrast, according to Glick Schiller and Furon (1999), today's immigrants are composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both societies. Subsequently, they coined two new terms to capture this novelty: 'transnationalism' and 'transmigrants'. While the former refers to how immigrants build social fields that link their country of origin and their country of settlement. The latter refers to the migrants who maintain a wide range of practical and instrumental social practices spanning countries. Glick Schiller and Furon (1999) stressed transnationalisation is the product of economic dislocations that make migrants economically vulnerable. To be pursued in the research, the argument is that African Caribbean women are migrants who maintain transnational ties with their home of origin. Arguably, each of the three features associated with transnationalisation, had relevance as will be revealed within the analysis chapter. In the next section, the focus will be on Globalisation, which differs from transnationalisation and internalisation in that it takes a birds-eye view of migration.

(ii) Globalisation Theory

In the context of the research building on the argument of migration theories, Faist (2000) offers the most sustained attempt to clarify and develop the idea of globalisation theory, which originated in the 1970s. According to Faist (2000), globalisation theory provides the scope to examine the phenomenon, suggesting that migration is associated with economic gains and financial remittance. Faist's definition worked well with this specific research because it provided the scope to consider, within the analysis chapter, how the women adapted to change, particularly their identities within their new country of migration (Faist, 2000). The post- World War II period prepared the grounds for Globalisation with the developments of various regulatory apparatuses created by technological developments.

Castles and Miller (2009) provides *four critical trends* based on their seminal research Age of Migration (2003), giving scope to explore reasons associated with migration for a better future for themselves and their children.

First - tendencies, namely the *acceleration* of migration across the research, concurs with the phenomenal migration trend of African Caribbean women, which prevailed during the post-World War II era.

Second - the tendency is linked to *diversification*; this provided a framework to explore the multifaceted variations of motivation, as will be explored within responding to the Research Question.

Third - is in recognition that migration has become a global character involving different countries, as both *senders* and *recipients* of migrants. Similarly, this is aspect will be explored further,

Fourthly - the primary trend that strongly resonated with the thesis was the tendency towards feminisation of migration. As stated within this research, the focus is solely on African Caribbean women, who have a historical presence of migrating independently, leaving behind families in their countries of origin. At the inception of establishing what has become part of a growing trend with more women participating in migration, these women made contemporary migration much less male-dominated.

Castles and Miller (2009) observation of Globalisation theory reinforced the significance of including relevant migration theories into the analysis to enhance how migration patterns have prominence. They also argue that more women are becoming involved in migration, which concurred with the research. The Researcher notes that Castles and Miller (2009) writings provided a reasonable means to bring the research study of African Caribbean women migration experience into the twenty-first century to gain insight and understanding. In part, because transnational migration and globalisation theory has traditionally emphasised the cause of international migration over the question of why and who migrates, it has failed to address gender-specific migration experiences adequately.

Given the research's interest, this will inform the analysis process to address some pertinent issues (Faist (2000:207-208; Castles and Miller, 2009). As evident in Chapter 1, many African Caribbean women who pursued the opportunity to migrate would have considered the potential of economic gains and betterment for themselves and their families.

The following section focuses on another concept, Push and Pull Theory, related to global migration patterns.

(iii) Push and Pull Theory

Castles and Miller (2009) explains that many early theories on migration focused on the push and pull factors. Push factors referred to dynamics within a country of origin, forcing people to migrate, such as poverty. Pull factors of destination countries, by contrast, were those features which attracted the migrants, such as profitable labour markets, better overall living conditions, that can 'pull' migrants from their country of origin.

During the 1950s to 1960s, economic theories envisaged that migrants would fill labour shortages in the country of immigration and, simultaneously, through financial remittances, savings and the eventual return of migrants, would contribute to development in the countries of origin. Worker schemes, for the temporary recruitment of migrant workers recruited into booming post-war economies such as the US, existed during the 1960s to 1970s which provided migrants with the opportunity to earn sufficient money to sustain their families, who usually remained back home.

By the 1970s to 1980s, 'brain drain' became one of concern in the countries of origin as the most educated professionals chose migration as an option that offered significant economic gains. Using Lee (1966) pivotal critique of the *Push and Pull Theory*, he provides the scope to focus upon the four factors he identified as being associated with migration. These four points relate to the origin, destination, personal characteristics and potential of the individual.

Lee (1966) points out that migration occurs as a consequence of two complementary processes. First, they commence when the weight of the factors that *push* the individual out of one place is more dominant than those keeping them there. In the context of the study, among the most crucial push factors for exploration as instrumental in making the women leave the Caribbean to migrate to another country are poverty and a lack of economic opportunity.

Secondly, Lee (1966) argues that the weight of the factors that *pulls* people to another country is more powerful than those deterring entry. The key factors, considered as pull factors, are job opportunities, higher wage than homeland, and freedom elements, particularly for women. This model suited consideration of the women's situation, feasible to consider the motivational reasons for migration, such as the individual's calculations, who made effective decisions intended to enhance their life circumstances Lee (1966:51) suggests, that by nature, people are stayers, not movers. Arguably, migrations are not persistent features of the modern world but triggered only in extraordinary circumstances.

Lee (1966) highlighted that personal attributes also have an impact on migration. He argued that some people were more likely to migrate than others; hence migration was selective. Furthermore, young people were more likely to migrate than older ones, often with fewer family commitments, because they are more viable candidates for the receiving country's labour market. This model is well suited to the thesis, as it provides the scope to explore the factors which motivated the women to migrate. It portrays migration as a consequence of the interplay between the size of the labour supply and wages within two countries.

Modestly put, when there is a surplus of labour and wages depressed in one place, a segment of the surplus population is attracted to that destination due to the demand for employment and higher wages. In this aspect, the Push and Pull model resonates within the post-World War II migration of the African Caribbean women to the UK and the US. The Push and Pull model

offers a straightforward analysis of a multifaceted and complex aspect of migration.

(iv) Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial Theories are quite diverse, but their central concern is to explore how European Colonialism's legacy remains active in both societies and academic discipline, long after former colonies have achieved independence. Postcolonial studies try not only to expose this continuing legacy but also to transform the core concepts and theories that failed to consider the impact of colonial and postcolonial relations.

The Postcolonial theory was developed by Said (1978), who drew attention to the relationship of knowledge relative to the dominant voice's power concerning what is heard, reproduced, and given value. Furthermore, Said (2003) explains the theory's function as providing the opportunity to give voice to the subalterns, oppressed and or marginalised, to participate on equal terms. Said's argument, ideally suited to the research topic, as these women represent a disadvantaged marginalised group within both UK and US societies. Additionally, regarding Caribbean migration, the women's voices have not been heard. Instead, the focus has been on the dominant views of their male counterparts.

The Researcher has incorporated Postcolonial theory because its philosophy reinforces the arguments concerning the marginalisation of these women. Postcolonial writings on transnational migration argue that in many ways, the Caribbean was an exemplar of Globalisation and Transnationalism long before it was fashionable to talk in such terms (Fryer, 1984; Alleyne, 1989; Gilroy, 2005; Said, 2003). As previously discussed, Transnationalism and the Push and Pull factors were two migratory approaches which once activated became the means through which many of these women travelled as migrant workers to either the UK or the US to work (Foner, 2009). Postcolonial theory sets the platform for consideration to Critical Race Theories (Ladson-Billings, 1998). This theory is concerned with the equality of people identified as part of a marginalised group based on their race.

(v) Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory began its development in legal studies in the US and emerged as a prominent theory during the 1960s, where the main concern is race. The Critical Race Theory has contributed to the civil rights movement (Delgado, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Critical Race Theory has basic tenets that appreciate African Caribbean women's knowledge and lived experiences in the study context. Critical Race Theory is also socially constructed; for example, when there is a shortage of unskilled or semiskilled labour, immigration is encouraged, and Black people are considered hard-working and reliable. However, once the crisis is over, the same racial group can negatively describe society's dominant voices. This thesis's context, including Critical Race Theory, enhances the argument that African Caribbean women are uniquely able to articulate what racism means given their history and experience. For this reason, Critical Race Theory suits the methodological approach of the research. It makes extensive use of narratives to give voice to those who have experiences of racism. A race optic encompasses the arguments as follows: Race is an ascribed difference, one that is not given and used in power to define others as different and or inferior from themselves in ways that maintain their dominant force. Cultural differences, signalled by such markers as language and food, can draw boundaries between races and single intrinsic differences. Regarding this thesis, Critical Race Theory reinforces the other migration theories' contribution to the analytical debates. Thus, it is an influential intellectual and social tool for deconstruction, reconstruction, and construction: deconstruction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency, and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power (Ladson-Billings, 1998:9).

(vi) The Feminisation of Migration

The process of Feminisation of Migration resonates with the presenting arguments within this specific research. Arguably, African Caribbean women who migrated during post-World War II were representative of the increasing number of single or married women who choose to migrate by themselves. The explanation of its occurrence is associated with a range of factors, including the absence of opportunities for paid work in the homeland, women being the sole bread earners, or seeking independence and autonomy predominates (United Nations, 2006).

Consequently, Castles and Miller (2009) state that the feminisation of migration recognises that women who migrate alone are distinctly different from historical migration patterns. In such a context, women migrated primarily to marriage or as part of a family reunification process. Political gender ideologies also shape the well-known female dominant flow from the Caribbean. Arguably, in many Caribbean islands, female-headed households are not unusual, and women are significant breadwinners. These responsibilities at home and the opportunities abroad influence their decision to migrate, including the decision to leave their children behind in the care of extended family members. The predominance of women was not always the case. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, men migrated to Panama to help build the canal. The numbers of women who migrated to find employment were considerably less and found various service occupations, including domestic service. The dominant male pattern also characterised the significant migration to the UK in the period following World War II. In 1948, when the Empire Windrush ship arrived at Tilbury Docks, the passengers were three times males to females migrating from the Caribbean (Phillips and Phillips, 1998:118). Arguably, this is not to suggest that African Caribbean women did not migrate to the UK but were in smaller numbers relative to men until 1961 when their net arrival began to exceed those of the men (Foner, 2009). Furthermore, since 1967, African Caribbean women have migrated to the US in higher numbers than men. It was easier for women to qualify for labour certification because of domestic labour and nurses' demand. The primary sector of employment was in the private household employed as domestic workers. By 1962 and 1972, the numbers classified as professionals were nurses (Foner, 2009: 8).

Chapter Summary

This chapter highlights theories associated with migration providing practical means to consider what factors impacted the African Caribbean women who migrated to the US and the UK during the early years of post-World War II. In this context, Transnationalisation theory included factors such as social spaces and social ties as it related to the migrant and supportive roles within family and friends left behind in the homeland. Globalisation theory, as it relates to Caribbean migration from an economic perspective. Equally, the Push and Pull Theory, from the sending and receiving countries strategies, were employed to deal with living in a new

environment. This chapter similarly included an account of Post-colonialism and Critical Race Theory as it relates to migration concluding with the process of Feminisation of Migration.

Chapter 3: Black Women and Theoretical Frameworks for Migration

Social Policy Perspective

This chapter's primary purpose is to provide a theoretical framework for the undertaking, exploring, and analysing Black women's social policy experience within the background of post-World War II migration. The historical origins of the social policy discipline illustrate the problem was compounded by the history of idealism and empiricism in post-war writings and the late arrival of theoretical and materialist framework in the 1970s. Arguably this is one reason why the recognition of feminist and anti-racist perspectives had been slow in their development in capturing these women's migration experiences. This chapter presents an overview of the socio-historical background and specific theories relevant to the African Caribbean women's lived experiences of post-World War II migration in the UK and US (Williams, 2010).

Socio-cultural Historical Background

Providing context to the research of the African Caribbean women's narratives that unfold in this study is essential to clarify the historical background from a postcolonial feminist approach and theoretical perspective that has shaped this research. The Researcher is aware that there is a growing body of literature in Black feminist writings that challenges Black women's experiences of invisibility, which is relevant to support the thesis's debates. Arguably, the research gathered from Black feminist debates is critical to this thesis because it will provide insight from the women's narratives regarding their account of migration framed around particular social, cultural and historical contexts. As illustrated in Chapter 1, there is much evidence to suggest that African Caribbean women did not receive equal access to social policy resources in their roles as mothers, with caring responsibilities (Bryan, Dadzie, and Scafe,

1985:15). According to Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe (1985), many women who migrated to the UK during that specific era were mothers or became mothers soon after arrival. Many of the women were away from their family network and had no support systems.

Given that their priority was to work, the women were in a difficult situation of balancing work-life and childcare duties. From a social policy perspective, these women did not have a voice to share their concerns about discrimination. The women faced gender inequalities based on the intersections of race, gender, social class and migration status. Subsequently, these women experienced marginalisation and viewed as being outsiders. As noted by Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, (1985), these women were mistreated and omitted within the debates concerning mothers' social policy provisions within the indigenous population. Consequently, this led to the historical forms of entrenched discrimination discussed in depth by Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, (1985) postcolonial writings about Black women and migration experiences.

According to Williams (1989), post-World War II in the UK, these women were seen as immigrant workers or wives of immigrant workers. The State systems saw them as a unit of labour, and as a result of this, there was a severe lack of support systems put in place for these women. Williams (1989) states that the situation that placed these women as workers meant that they worked full-time instead of white counterparts, who often employed in a part-time capacity. The latter worked around their caring responsibilities, while these women, often considered unfairly, as failed mothers precisely because of their position as workers. These women experienced discrimination from having the orientation of British social policy to familism (Williams, 1989).

The Researcher argues that the needs of Black women had no attention concerning their position as workers and mothers with children within the context of social policy. As evident in Peach's (1991) report, which identified that the state was not considering these women as rights to settle or held citizenship status. The discriminatory view of the situation implied that these women should be self-sufficient and organise their own childcare needs. Arguably, the lack of social policies positioned these women in structurally disadvantaged circumstances to work longer hours in low paid jobs. Compared with a white female counterpart, these women were disadvantaged with the challenge of juggling often heavy-duty work and motherhood. For most of these women, working the night shift was the only option that enabled them to carry out their responsibilities as mothers and breadwinners (William, 1989).

In the early 1960s in the UK, the state encouraged white women to stay home and embrace domestication and consumerism (Williams, 1989). The support of childcare provision was not available. However, having established that these African Caribbean women migrated to work, the lack of social policy support led to developing independent childcare strategies. Regarding the US, access to social policy for childcare support had draconian restrictions that were equally discriminatory to Black women. For these women, coming from a Caribbean culture, where women shared the responsibilities of caring for children, migration meant that such familial support was non-existent.

The literature indicates that many women during the early post-World War II years were becoming aware of their rights, which encouraged to challenge discrimination regarding childcare service, minimum wages, second-rated working condition and sub-standard housing (Williams, 2010). The women who migrated under the 1948 Nationality Act had the rights as citizens to enter, settle and work in the UK. However, according to the literature review, their gender needs from a social policy perspective were not considered (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985).

The Social and Political Context of African Caribbean Women Organising

The Researcher argues that during the early years of post-World War II migration, many African Caribbean women reconnected with established Caribbean traditions of building communities and social organisations to empower themselves and meet their unmet needs. As Hill Collins (1994) states, Black women have developed the concept of community mothering not just for themselves but for other vulnerable members within their local Black Led Churches and communities. Secondly, as part of community mothering, these women are actively engaged in collective and political struggles that focus on the physical survival of their children and community (Hill, Collins, 1994). Thirdly, contrary to traditional definitions of mothering, community mothering demonstrates caring and parenting, extending beyond the domestic sphere and kinship into the public and non-familial activities. In this sense, it ties into the argument that African Caribbean women are the 'gatekeepers' of Caribbean traditions. This aspect explored further in Research Question Two. The following section provides an overview

of the historical key social organising initiatives which African Caribbean women engaged in during this time frame.

Pardner Schemes

According to Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe (1985), the Pardner system, which has its origin in the Caribbean roots, has a historical function that has contributed to African Caribbean women's empowerment from an economic perspective. Pardner systems offered a way of saving capital for much-needed money. This form of community social organisation is dependent on personal knowledge, mutual trust and friendship. The Researcher argues that this specific cultural practice is a trend that has continued across the borders of migration and is an area of interest for the analysis.

Another area associated with African Caribbean women's historical culture is the connection to the Black-led community churches in their social organising spaces. According to Toulis (1997), Black-led churches in the US and UK are predominantly Pentecostal Churches or Seventh-day Adventist. Black-led churches tend to have and a majority Black congregation. According to Phillips and Phillips (1998), the Black-led Churches, which existed during the early days of post-World War migration, provided free help to new Caribbean migrants (Phillips and Phillips, 1998:149). Alexander's (1996) study of the Black women's historical relations and participation in the church highlights how they were formed and established as a strategic site of resistance within the UK. Alexander (1996) points out that the church served a dual purpose as a source of spiritual support and as a means of social organising, where specific needs of these oppressed women could be supported (Alexander, 1996:90). These are valid arguments aspect of the research to explore further within the analysis chapter.

Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, (1985) study from a postcolonial perspective of the early years of the 1950s confirms that it was during this time frame that Black women social organising began to take shape in the UK and the US to counteract the hostility often experienced. Arguably, this draws attention to Claudia Jones, a Black journalist who was a Marxist feminist. Claudia's commitment to fighting against discrimination and bringing about social change within the Caribbean communities was instrumental in the UK's political work and the US during the 1950s. Claudia passed away in 1964; however, her pioneering work in organising social

initiatives is evident as being a Black feminist. Claudia Jones's work has resonated with the Civil Rights movement, which became established within the US as a resistance site during 1965. The primary focus of these protagonists was grounded in raising attention to inequality issues from a global perspective. Her legacy to the Black community historical landmark, renowned collaboration with Amy Garvey in the West Indian Gazette Paper production, remains a prominent feature within the Caribbean community (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985).

The Researcher contends that African Caribbean women have utilised their skills to empower themselves as an act of resistance. The following section provides the chosen theoretical framework related to the women of the research based on the intersections of race, gender, and social class within the migration. The theoretical framework is relevant because it provides a structure to focus on analysing women's diversity that addresses Caribbean culture and traditions.

The Researcher comes from a Black feminist perspective and has insight, through lived experiences, of black women who have been silenced and their differing experiences to white women, as informed by race and gender that is often unexplored.

Black Feminist Perspective

As a Black woman, it is important from a personal perspective to be mindful of the multifaceted aspects of our lived histories and diverse experiences and not to make or draw assumptions about other Black women. As Hill Collins (2016) argues, from a Black feminist perspective, many of these women were seen only as a unit of labour. Arguably, the receiving countries' macro systems made little consideration or dedicated effort to consider any of these young migrant women's basic requirements. Subsequently, this meant that their needs as women and mothers with caring responsibilities were not given due consideration within social policy planning and welfare agencies (Reynolds, 2005).

Comparatively, Davis (1982) argues from a US perspective that Black women were anomalies within the ideology of femininity previously developed in the nineteenth century. The picture of women as nurturing mothers, gentle companions and housekeepers for their husbands was entirely contradictory within the view of these women living in the UK or the US. The ideology

that operated within the overarching capitalist class structure that dominated US society was oppressive towards these women, who had limited choices of the types of employment they could pursue (Davis, 1982:5; hooks, 1982). According to Hill Collins (1990), in this situation, the Black women worked as 'live in' domestic workers for middle-class white families where they had caring roles and responsibilities. On one level, this insider's relationship meant that the women could form a strong relationship with the children they nurtured. However, these women were not viewed as mothers who had their own families but considered 'carers' for others in these circumstances. This observation is strengthened by hooks (1990), who argues that Black women have vastly different mothering experiences to white women due to their subordinated racial and gender status in society.

Black feminist theory is politically crucial for the women in the study because it provides a critical opportunity for their experiences to be heard and valued. Black feminist writings tend to emphasise history, aspects of the past that informs current problems. Black feminism has contributed to developing theories of difference in Black feminist thought (Hill Collins, 1990). Preceding such development, discussions of differences were marked by political differences in feminism, such as radical, liberal and socialist feminism (Williams, 1989).

However, Black feminism argues that some earlier feminist analysis normalised white middle-class women's experiences while denying women belonging to other racial and social class groups. In feminist debates, Black women's voices have been silenced; hence their different experiences compared to white women, mainly informed by race difference, have remained unexplored (Carby, 1982; Aziz, 1992). While there has been some attempt by feminist to fill the gaps within the literature, they still have a way to go in developing a detailed analysis of the structural factors that shape and constrain divisions between Black and white women (Hill Collins, 1990).

In the context of the research, Hill Collins (1990) draws attention to the exploitation of Black women in the US as cheap labour, providing childcare and domestic duties that enable middle-class mothers to enter the workforce successfully in professional and well-paid occupations. In the UK, Williams (1996) highlights the power relations underpinning racial division notions: white women's racial status translates into structural dominance over Black women. Hill Collins (1990) argues that many African Caribbean women were disadvantaged by the Hart-Cellar Act 1965, which replaced the US Immigration Act 1924 and constructed an immigration policy

based on family reunification and workplace skills principles. For these women, this legislation was discriminatory and created hardship because of the challenges of obtaining legal status. These women were vulnerable to exploitation from employers who knew that the women had no legal papers and therefore had no recourse to complain. As argued, the debate relating to the insider and outsider position is essential to this thesis. The analysis will illustrate that many Black women were from diverse backgrounds with different attachments within their home of origin in the Caribbean.

Equally, Moraga and Anzaldúa (1983) make a valid point that illustrates that Black women who are outsiders use communication and language to make themselves visible, relevant and connect to those they share everyday experiences. In this vein, they argue that this is achievable through their abilities to aptly tell their narratives, thereby gaining insight into these women's lived experiences. Notably, the women speak very differently from how the dominant portrayal of their experiences is made public. The Researcher's literature review illustrates the importance of this aspect and intends to explore it in-depth within the analysis chapter. These observations support the study's main argument, which relates to the accounts of the African Caribbean women's lived experiences within the diaspora on post-World War II migration.

From a social constructivist perspective, the Researcher argues that the collective migration and histories of the women are shaped by the collective experiences of imperialism, colonialism and racial inequality. Using the intersection of race, gender, and social class as a perspective will provide the scope to critically analyse emerging issues pertinent to post- World War II migration from responses to the Research Questions. As argued by Amos and Parmar (1984), Bhavani (1990) and Aziz (1992), there has been a misrepresentation of African Caribbean women experiences within the context of social policy, where the tendency has been to add them as an afterthought.

Yet, it is not enough to add these African Caribbean women into an existing theoretical framework. It is unhelpful to try and incorporate the difference by merely extending and adding social categories. Attempts to include these women into the indigenous conceptual framework has led to misrepresentation and confusion (Amos and Parmar, 1984; Bhavani, 1994 and Aziz, 1992). The argument relates to the importance of identifying a theoretical framework, which appreciates the significance of the diversities of experiences and histories. Glick Schiller et al., (1999) constructive argument provides an autonomous approach to engaging with new and

different phenomena related to exploring the women's authentic experiences. In this context, the women cultural and value-based positions are a consideration. Writers often omit the reference to migrant women's voices within the dominant societies they migrated into (Peach, 1991). Furthermore, drawing specifically upon a Black feminist perspective allows conventional analysis of African Caribbean women's post-World War migration experiences to focus on these women's viewpoints.

During the second wave, Black feminists emerged, led by significant events such as the Civil Rights movement, on gender inequalities, which contends the campaigns about women's rights and the question of race or class dimensions are significant. Black feminists have been arguing for the specific materiality of Black women's oppression. Theorising emphasised diversity and difference was the challenge posed by these feminists such as Hill Collins (1990) to the more dominant forms of feminism. Many Black feminists argue that the primary feminist schools of thought paradoxically inclined to debate women's experiences as a general category. However, it is not valid to generalise women's subordination as a whole from one specific group's experience. Black feminist such as hooks (1989), is instrumental in this debate and contends any theory which does not take racism into account, cannot adequately explain Black women's oppression.

Arguably, Black women are far from homogeneous. Brah (1992) asserts that considering the differences and similarities amongst these women within the intersections of race, gender, and social class should be acknowledged. Even though the women in this study shared migration experience, they are far from being a homogeneous group and drawing upon Williams (1989) and seminal work by Bryan, Dadzie, and Scafe (1985), in which views of the argument, where heterogeneity relates to the diverse experiences of these women, is acknowledged because it reinforces the growing argument in the thesis.

Thus far, the thesis's argument is the omission of capturing African Caribbean women's authentic voices who actively engaged in migration during the post-World War II era. There is a significant gap within existing literature about their lived experiences. The assumption that the migration experiences of these women were similar to their male counterparts is equally an understatement of their considerable contribution within the UK and the US's socioeconomic societies. Glick Schiller et al., (1999) constructive argument provides an autonomous approach to engaging with new and different phenomena related to exploring the women's authentic

experience. In this context, the cultural and value-based positions of these women are a consideration. Writers often omit the reference to migrant women's voices within the dominant societies they migrated into (Peach, 1991). Furthermore, drawing specifically upon a Black feminist perspective allows conventional analysis of African Caribbean women's post-World War migration experiences to focus on these women's viewpoints.

Conceptualising Black Women's Position in Post-World War II UK and US Societies

In keeping with the preceding argument, this section seeks to keep the women voices at the centre related to personal identities and subjective experiences based on post-World War II migration.

The shared experience of being a migrant does not lead to a shared identity transcending race, gender, and class.

(Sylvester, 2020)

The above quotation is an adaptation of the Researcher's perspective based on personal knowledge associated with migration. It is significant to the thesis because it captures the diversity of experiences as related to migration. The above quotation has relevance to the argument and theoretical position of many of these women who originated from different regions and starting points within the Caribbean. Subsequently, these identities have been shaped and reshaped by various transitions such as migration, employment status, and their roles as wives, mothers, single women, and their communities' involvement. Concerning the research, the argument presented lies in these significant markers' impact during the women's life course. These, such as how childhood experiences within the Caribbean, religion, cultural values, hard work regarding employment, family commitments, and migration, have shaped these women's identities and subjectivities (Elder, 1994; Reynolds, 2005).

Thus far, the argument illustrates how a Black feminist theory offers a view through affirmative epistemological approaches and empowerment, which has relevance to the research because it provides a relative framework (Hill Collins, 2009). Equally, this framework is helpful as a means to appreciate the knowledge of these women's collective history. The research process seeks to bring forth untapped knowledge regarding the women's migration experiences to be obtained, as it relates to articulating through binding sites of motherhood, family, education, employment, housing, and community action within the context of their lived experiences. Arguably, using a Black feminist theoretical perspective provides the means to assess, explain and analyse these women's subjectivities related to their experiences. The Black feminist framework has relevance because it creates a relationship for exploring the intersections of race, gender, and social class. The preceding section focused on the Black Feminist Theoretical framework and its relevance within the analysis chapter. The following segment addresses a specific theoretical framework that encompasses the diverse histories of African Caribbean women.

Intersectionality Theory

The history of what is currently called intersectionality theory has origins in the famous historian Black Activist, Sojourner Truth, first-wave feminism, who influenced Black writers such as hook (1982) 'Ain't I a Woman?' Black feminists fulfilled significant roles in the development of Intersectionality theory, such as Crenshaw (1989) when she discussed legal issues surrounding Black women's employment in the US and the intersection of gender, race and social class in their exploitation and exclusion (Crenshaw, 1989). Similarly, an intersectional analysis was mainstreamed roughly at the same time by postcolonial feminists (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985). Equally, Harding (1997) identifies the parallel development of feminist standpoint theory, which many argue developed independently, as often the authors were unaware of each other's work (Harding, 1997:389). Intersectionality theory centres on the Black feminist standpoint theory, which attempts to position Black women at the centre instead of the margins. At the heart of the Black feminist standpoint, the premise addresses the specialised knowledge produced by Black women that clarifies a particular viewpoint of and about Black women (Hill Collins, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 2005c). Intersectionality is a metaphorical term aimed at evoking images of a road intersection with an intermediate or

contested number of intersecting roads. Arguably, depending on how it is applied will influence the amount of social division considered.

Drawing upon Crenshaw's (1989) definition of intersectionality resonates with this specific study on migration. She describes it as being a multi-dimension of marginalised women's lived experiences. Accordingly, Davis (2008) argues that intersectionality theory views the interaction of multiple identities, experiences of exclusion, and subordination as relatable to oppressed groups in society, such as these African Caribbean women (Davis, 2008:67). Whereas from a strength-based perspective, McCall (2005) sees intersectionality as one of the most important feminist contributions to women studies and related fields in understanding different experiences of women. McCall (2005) identifies three central positions concerning the intersectionality approach as follows:

- (i) Focus on the divisions, which is called the 'inter-categorical' and 'intra-categorical.'
- (ii) Relates to understanding the relationships assumed as existing between the various intersectional categories.
- (iii) Addresses the boundaries of the intersectional approach and thus the number of as well as which social categories to include, whether inter or intra-categories.

By inter-categorical approach, she means focusing on how the intersection of different social categories, such as race, gender, class, and others, affects particular behaviours or resources distribution. Intra-categorical studies, on the other hand, are less occupied with the relationships among various social categories and instead problematised the meaning and boundaries of the categories themselves, such as whether Black woman existed in the category as women in a particular time and space. The Researcher argues that while McCall (2005) categories are helpful, these two approaches are not mutually exclusive. Subsequently, in the context of the analysis process, it will combine the sensitivity and dynamism of the intra-categorical approach with the macro socio-economic perspective of the inter-categorical approach. Intersectionality is a strength-based theoretical framework that builds on the argument vital for these women's social positioning within UK and US societies.

The leading positions of the intersectionality approach in this thesis relate to how the intersection of different social categories, such as race, gender, and social, is considered within the context of migration. However, in keeping with the ongoing argument that these women are not representative of a homogeneous group, there is no assumption that each of these categories will have the same meaning. For example, discourses on race, gender and class have their ontological bases unique to each other. Postcolonial Black feminists such as Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, (1985) also remain within the triad of race, class and gender. There is no limit to the list which can be attached to intersectionality. There is no separate concrete meaning of any facet of these social categories. They are mutually constitutive in any concrete historical moment, such as the time frame of migration [See Figure 4].

Nevertheless, as noted by Butler (1990:143), a potential weakness in using intersectionality theory within the analysis is its potential to be conflated into a reductionist approach, hence rendering it less effective. Subsequently, the specific positioning and social divisions essential within this study will be focusing on race, gender, class, and migration. Hence, it makes intersectionality a robust theoretical framework to draw upon within the analysis chapters. Furthermore, an intersectionality approach ensures that Black women's experience is conducted to reflect the authenticity and remains suitable to reflect subordination multiple identities and subjectivities. As Crenshaw (1989) described, intersectionality theory is inevitably the best adaptation to use because the focus is on the lived experiences of the multidimensionality of marginalised subjects.

The following section presents the Research Questions, which resonates with the aims of the thesis. These questions are a bridge between the literature review chapters and the methodology chapters.

The Research Questions

The Research Questions' development evolved out of an iterative process that provided the scope to focus on the research topic to ensure that they concentrate on the conceptual, theoretical framework, as presented in Chapter 3. Research Questions in qualitative studies tend to be broad and encompass human experiences and realities, studied through continued contact with the persons in their natural environments producing rich, descriptive data that help

understand their lived experiences. The purpose is to achieve an understanding that will open new options for action and new perspectives that can encourage change in the world (Bryman, 2012:36).

The Researcher is primarily concerned with exploring the post-World War II migration experiences of African Caribbean women. An area of personal and professional research interest has socio-historical significance within the Caribbean legacy that has remained sparsely documented. The Research Questions place the women at the centre of the research to hear their voices. The ultimate aim is to contribute to the body of knowledge on gender and migration for policymakers (Alford, 1998:24).

Research Question One: Perception of Post-World War II Migration.

How can the migration and settlement experience of first-generation senior African Caribbean Women contribute to the Caribbean diaspora's legacy and provision of services for the future generation of young African Caribbean Women?

The following are three research sub-questions, which derive from the main Research Question:

- a) What motivated or inspired personal decision to migrate to the UK or US?
- b) Have these expectations matched personal achievement?
- c) What were some of the challenges you encountered, during the time frame as a migrant woman, travelling to the UK or US?

Research Question Two: Cultural Signifiers

What memories are triggered by your visual item as it relates to experiences of migration?

Research Question Two is related to exploring the meaning attached to a symbolic object and its intrinsic value embodied in the experience of personal migration. This question takes the exploration further into exploring memories of cultural belonging and identity as it relates to Caribbean traditions and values. Using both approaches will better understand these women's oppression and marginalisation experiences within UK and US. The findings obtained from the research will be drawn upon to inform knowledge relevant to the supporting systems for future female migration.

Chapter Summary

Within this chapter, the content presented an argument for drawing upon a specific culturally related theoretical framework relevant to placing the African Caribbean women at the centre of the margins. The Researcher draws upon first wave Black Feminism to argue the rationale for incorporating the historical perspectives of writers as presented within this chapter. There is a clear link made to second-wave Black Feminism, related to the positioning of these women within a theoretical framework relevant to their experiences. The chapter builds upon a postcolonial perspective which has relevance because it provides the space for those who have experienced marginalisation to have a voice. The chapter includes a discussion of Intersectionality theory as a framework that addresses intersections of race, gender, social class and migration within the analysis framework. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the Research Questions.

The forthcoming *methodology chapter* will justify the qualitative approach as the primary form of data collection to present the conceptual, theoretical framework that underpins the Research Questions and the research process, illustrating how each aspect is relatable to the specific theoretical framework presented within this chapter.

It begins with a rationale for the research methods chosen. Secondly, the design and the methods used. Thirdly description of the Pilot Study. Fourth, an explanation of how the primary data collection process was conducted and finally, the analytical strategy and presentation of the findings.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Methodologies cannot be accurate or false, only more or less useful.

(Silverman, 2016).

The *methodology chapter* is the heart of the research process and provides the theoretical framework of the research. There is a clear rationale as to the Research Questions as it relates to the thesis. There is a clear justification for the chosen research paradigm as it reflects the strategy employed by the Researcher. The data collection methods are clarified, the analysis strategy, specifically to findings arising from the iterative transcription process. Methodology, therefore, refers to the overall approach to the research process, from the theoretical underpinnings to collecting and analysing the data. On the other hand, methods refer only to the various means by which data is collected and analysed.

Part One: The Research Process

The Rationale for the Research Methodology

The philosophical underpinnings of qualitative research are various; Denzin and Lincoln (2003) provide comprehensive coverage. For many years, social research's two primary choices are quantitative and qualitative approaches (Bryman, 2012). The quantitative follow the 'natural sciences' such as physics, chemistry and biology. Whereas the qualitative focus on social research involving human beings in social situations (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative and quantitative research have different ontological and epistemological commitments, but they are not deterministic (Bryman, 2012:36). These differences are not straight forward but fundamental; Bryman (2012) argues that the epistemological orientation in quantitative research is related to the natural science model.

A quantitative study is a deductive approach underpinned by the positivist tradition, best when a relative proportion about the topic has been identified (Robson, 2011). The approach uses objective methods, disciplined procedures and formal instruments to acquire information that converts into numerical data collected and analysed with statistical techniques to provide empirical resolution to a given problem (Robson, 2011). These findings can predict or explain causal relationships between things or events, and by using *control* mechanisms, biases are minimised, imposing conditions on the research situation precision is maximised (Robson, 2011). Adopting a quantitative method is not justified in the current study as no numerical data were analysed during the process. On the other hand, qualitative research uses listening, talking, and observations methods to gather data. Thereby, relationships, concepts, and themes can be developed from given data to categorise common underlying patterns and arrive at interpretations, which suited the nature of the research study (Riessman and Quinney, 2005).

Comparatively, qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive (Bryman, 2012:36). These distinctions are useful in describing and undertaking social research, such as this specific study, not mutually exclusive but rather a polarisation. Qualitative research methods are a complex, contested field of the site of multiple methodologies and research practices. Using a qualitative interpretive approach is justifiable, as, unlike quantitative methods, qualitative research refuses to bury the participants' voice beneath piles of standardised data (Silverman, 2016). Instead, qualitative research recognises that people attach meaning to their everyday lives, objects and social relations so that it is possible to gain an understanding of how they evaluate their lives through beliefs and meanings (Silverman, 2016).

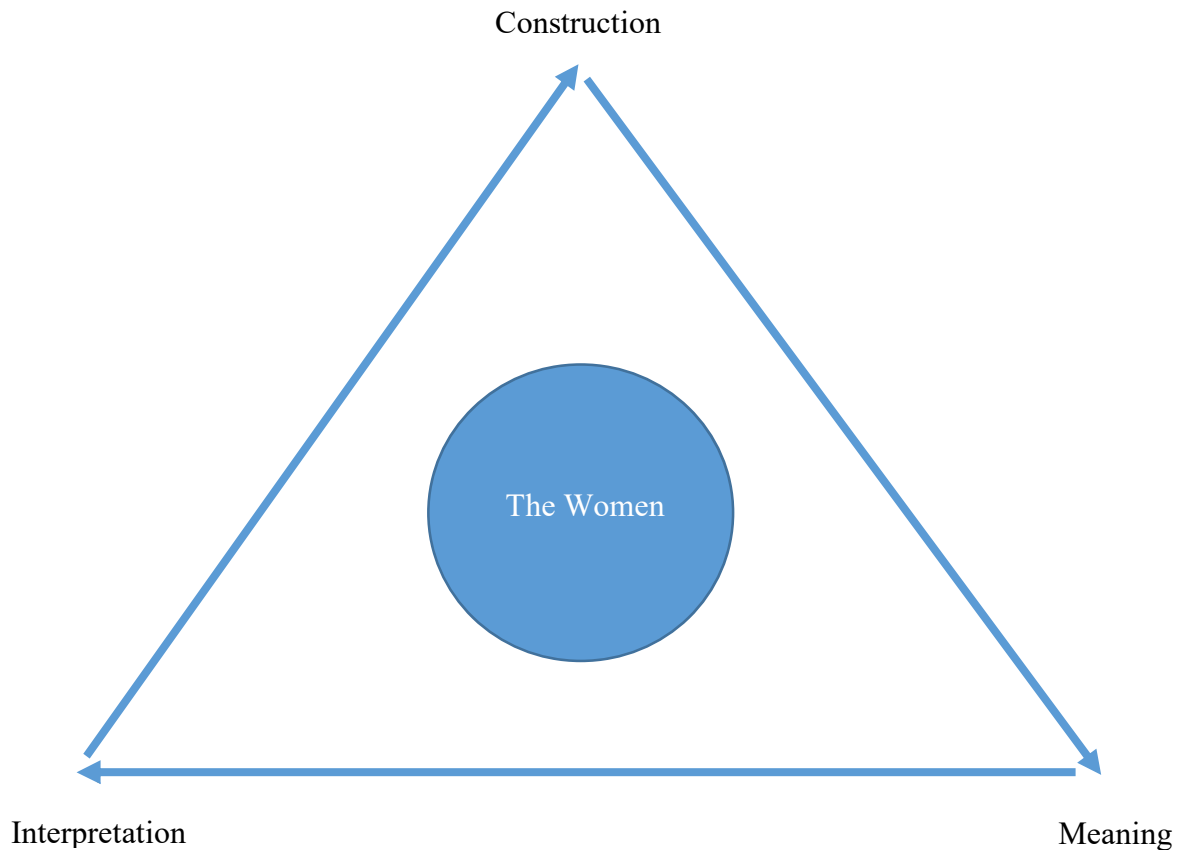
This research's primary focus entails engaging specifically with African Caribbean women using a humanistic approach, so they use their voices to share their migration experiences. This approach will provide the opportunity to gain insight, meaning and understanding that these women give to events or objects. Furthermore, how their lives the experiences and behaviour as shaped by the cultural and social context in which they live. A qualitative approach is a valid rationale offering the scope to be curious, open-minded, flexible and empathetic, providing space to listen to the women telling their own story within their natural setting (Silverman, 2016; Creswell, 2007).

According to Mason (2002), qualitative methods provide an in-depth understanding of the research focus. Through qualitative research, we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the

social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, with significance and meanings. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, social experience and are concerned with meaning. They seek answers to questions, the intimate relationship between the Researcher and the study, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry.

Social constructionism indicates that social properties are constructed through interaction between people rather than having a separate existence. This study illustrates how social constructionism gives specific attention and focus to the individual women's, lived experiences regarding how they made sense of their social world (Burr, 2003). An interpretive position allows the Researcher to focus on socially constructed reality, including the women's attitudes, beliefs, opinions, feelings, and experiences. As Schwandt (2007) points out, the Researcher's task is to understand the various social constructions of meanings and knowledge. The Researcher has adapted this interpretive approach as a framework for the research to help process the multifaceted histories associated with the narratives shared by the women in the study [See Figure 1]. This figure illustrates how social construction, as a theoretical framework, can be adapted for the research analysis by focusing on how the women draw upon meanings, interpretations and construct their social worlds. In this context, using an interpretative approach would offer the individual women the opportunity to have a sense of personal control and empowerment in having the freedom and ability for their voices to be acknowledged. Furthermore, to gain insight into how they may have created change and influence their social environment to construct an alternative meaning about their lives.

Figure 1: Social Constructionists



Source: (Sylvester, 2020)

A social constructionist approach uses feminist theories to help construct an understanding of these women's relationship within their respective society. Giving voice to the women means that their views and opinions are valued and taken seriously by the Researcher. Thus, in this context, by positioning the research within a social constructionist perspective, the women are in the dominant position of redefining themselves and their lived experiences from their perspective (Burr, 2003; Hill Collins, 1997). The following section provides an account of the methodological design's theoretical influences [See Chapter 3].

Feminist Research

The contribution of feminist approaches to the methodology suits the epistemological assumptions. Undertaken, within a feminist research perspective, stresses that the oppressed should define themselves and tell their narratives (Stivers, 1993). One way of challenging concepts advantageous to men is to adopt communication forms that express women's voice through storytelling. As Bryman (2001) points out, qualitative research has a higher affinity with feminist viewpoints, as it can also provide the opportunity for a feminist sensitivity (Bryman, 2001:287). Using a feminist approach suited the methodology design, resonating with the research aim in placing the women at the centre (Harding, 1991). By including a feminist approach, it is possible to draw upon the feminist theories discussed in considerable detail within the theoretical framework [See Chapter 3]. The Researcher argues that feminist research has value in social research with oppressed groups, such as these women, whose lives and experiences would otherwise be rendered invisible. The feminist approach offers the scope for the participants to be collaborators actively contributing to the research process. The Researcher chose to use feminist research because of its empowerment approach, adapting a non-hierarchical method through the research process (Harding, 1991; Oakley, 2000).

As stated, using a feminist research approach provided the opportunity to gain an understanding of the experiences from a gender perspective. However, to truly connect with the women, the Researcher adopted a Black feminist theoretical framework focused on race, which suited the research's nature. This approach concurs with the Researcher's viewpoints where these women's views and opinions have traditionally been overshadowed, marginalised or just silenced. As illustrated in the preceding chapters, the positioning is central to the Black feminist standpoint and Postcolonial theory, which challenges what is heard, reproduced and given value (Said, 2003) [see Chapter 3]. The following section focuses on how Black feminist theory and Intersectionality theory enhances the methodological design.

Theoretical Perspectives:

Black Feminist Theory, Intersectionality Perspective and Post-colonial Theory

"A theory in the flesh means one where the physical realities of our lives, our skin colour, and place of origin... all fuse to create politics born out of necessity."

(Moraga and Anzaldua, 1983)

This quote captures the intersections of gender, race and social class, which suited the social constructivist approach adapted within the research. In the preceding section, the Researcher focused on the Social Constructionist approach to describe how it afforded the scope to understand the multiple constructions of meaning and knowledge related to the individual participants. Using a Black feminist theoretical approach focuses specifically upon Black women and is concerned with how they construct and make sense of their world (Schwandt, 2007).

Combined Theoretical Framing

For this research, it was necessary to find a way to combine the three central theories included in the research design. These are Black Feminist Theory as described by Hill Collins (1990); Intersectionality theory, as connected to Crenshaw (1989); and Postcolonial theory, as argued by Said (1978/2003) so that they complemented each other within the analysis chapter. Using a combined theoretical framing provided the scope to explore these specific cultural and gendered issues related to gaining insight into the diversity of women's lived experiences of migration.

Black Feminist Theory

Black Feminist theory is a valuable framework to position these women's diverse backgrounds in sharing personal narratives of migration. Black Feminist theory is concerned with placing these women at the centre instead of the margins of debates so that they can assume an active role in re-(naming) and re-(defining) their own lives (Hill-Collins, 1990). [See Chapter 3]. At the heart of Black Feminist theory, these women produce a unique knowledge that clarifies a particular perspective of and about their experiences. Using a Black feminist framework thereby provides the women's scope to interpret and give meaning to their personal everyday lives (hooks 1982; Hill-Collins, 1997). Furthermore, using this approach avoids adopting a non-authentic voice, as the Researcher shares similar identities of race and gender with the women. Hence, there is an appreciation of how women use narrative topics that communicate their lives in a manner that involves everyday talk. There are, however, some *potential challenges* that require consideration during the methodological arrangements. The primary issue is being aware that Black women spend a good part of their lives taking an outsider's view into account, and their knowledge is rightfully subjective. Moreover, there is a tendency to dismiss or ignore vital information they consider as taken for granted or common knowledge; because of the shared experiences of migration, the women may not always pay attention to these details. (Mirza, 1997) contributes to Black feminist standpoint discourse by recognising Black women's other status as a third space between race, gender, and class margins. Black feminist perspectives rest on the concept of experience, which ultimately shapes the lives of these women. Using a social constructionist and Black interpretive framework resonates with the research's central aim to further understand (Hill Collins, 1998).

Intersectionality Perspective

The intersectionality perspective is the second framework, as purported by Crenshaw (1989) [See Chapter 3]. This approach is relevant to consider the intersections of race, gender, social class within the context of migration. As argued previously, the women are not a homogenous group; although they may share some similarities, they may also have polemic differences based on their bespoke cultural heritage. Subsequently, having a theoretical framework that accommodates such variables while recognising the variation of power and privilege is a critical aspect of the research.

Intersectionality theory advances and enhances Black feminist standpoint to a more complex and sophisticated field of study. This approach illustrates how each women's struggles, identities and subjective experiences are interconnected forms of oppression. Intersectionality theory is the interaction between gender, race and other categories of differences in women's individual lives. These encompass social practices, institutional arrangements, cultural ideologies, and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (Davis, 2008:68). Intersectionality does not end in combination with race and class; however, it integrates other intellectual thoughts and disciplines within the broader feminist spectrum. It supports the argument that Black women are not a homogenous group but are heterogeneous and have diverse histories (Lorde, 2007).

In sum, Intersectionality theory can also be seen as a methodology, focusing on the interplay between race, class, gender, aiming to generate more comprehensive and valid accounts of differently positioned women's divergent experiences. When these three factors interact, they may reinforce and intensify one another. Hence, making it a valuable theory to draw upon within the context of exploring the African Caribbean women lived experiences of migration (Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005; Davis, 2008). The Researcher argues Intersectionality theory is not merely a method for doing research but also a tool for empowering women [See Chapter 3].

Postcolonial Theory

Further to the preceding theoretical frameworks, the Researcher draws on Said (2003) [See Chapter 3], who presents Postcolonial theory, as a means to enable previously marginalised

people to participate on equal terms, valuing the viewpoint of these women. Moreover, this was an essential aspect of the methodology, as it magnifies the relevance of Postcolonial theory, which identified these women as representative of marginalised groups within society.

Subsequently, the argument resonated in the importance of designing a methodology that is fit for purpose and focuses specifically on gender issues. The Researcher recognises that the theoretical framework's logical function included being flexible to process the diverse histories, complicated and contradictory realities experienced by the women. By adhering to such principles, the Researcher is not reliant on previous based stereotypical impressions formed within popular discourse, focusing on the Black male counterpart (Foner, 2005).

Framework Summary

Combining Black Feminist, Intersectionality and Postcolonial Theory provided the opportunity to adhere to the research aims. The women remained at the centre of the study and had the space to present themselves, using their voice. Each of the theories is significant for recognising the impact of class, race and culture in shaping women's experiences. Using this theoretical underpinning equally reinforced qualitative research as an essential research paradigm that, through its flexibility, allows for a diverse range of feminist research methods. The following section explores the reflective aspect of the methodological design.

Reflexive: Women's Voices

The methodology planning required being reflexive of how the women developed their strategies of being silent. According to hooks (1989), whenever Black women chose to discuss personal issues, this was often in their home environment's reserved confines with family or friends. This observation is noted by Chamberlain (1995), who argues that these women's silences are viewed historically as sites of resistance. Consequently, this could be seen as a challenge if the Researcher came from a position, which did not recognise the cultural norms and historical legacy of these African Caribbean women. Thus, from a feminist epistemological perspective, having an insider understanding of the Caribbean culture and migration provided insight into the appropriate approach to develop a suitable methodological framework. Being

self-reflective provided with the opportunity to consider how to collect first-hand data from the participants while ensuring to avoid dismissing their knowledge as being anecdotal, or just their stories, however thought-provoking. Hence, reflexive is an integral part of the research process, as it will ensure that the women's experiences are valued and appreciated for the power which the narratives contain. Mirza (1997) suggests there exists no official language and discourse. This observation is significant because, in qualitative research, language is a necessary form of data collection. Consequently, these women are in a unique position as active agents in constructing their stories and discourse.

The sensitive nature of this study required direct engagement with the process of reflexive thinking continually throughout my engagement as a Researcher. According to Mason (1996), being an intuitive researcher means being mindful of the direct or indirect impact of self-regarding power within the research process. As a younger female African Caribbean researcher, it was essential to be open and transparent to the women who represented an older generation. Furthermore, based on insider knowledge, it was understandable that many of these women had learned to develop strategies of being silent about their migration experiences and could be reluctant to share their lived experiences with an outsider. However, from an epistemology perspective, having insight about Caribbean culture, values and integrity often channelled within older women, it was imperative to trust and maintain professionalism by treating each woman's narrative as truthful and based on personal interpretation. Thereby, the interpretive nature reinforced that interpretation is a critical aspect of reflexive thinking.

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professionalism by treating each woman's narrative as truthful and based on interpretation. Thereby, by engaging with the interpretive nature reinforced that chosen methodological approach and enhanced the critical aspect of reflexive thinking.

My positionality as an African Caribbean woman, with an experience of living in the Caribbean, UK, and US, provided a unique bond that was an essential part of the mediation process regarding building a respectful relationship with women. The shared knowledge offered a mutual space to appreciate how the women socially constructed the layers of reality. As a younger African Caribbean woman, I was proud that I shared similarities with these women regarding my cultural heritage, knowledge and lived experiences. Equally, as a Black woman living in the UK and US, I had a shared understanding and first-hand lived experiences of structural discrimination based on the intersections of gender and race. This mutual understanding created a trusting relationship of respect and being non-judgmental about the content of the women's narratives unique use of language and their use of non-verbal expressions [Figure 2].

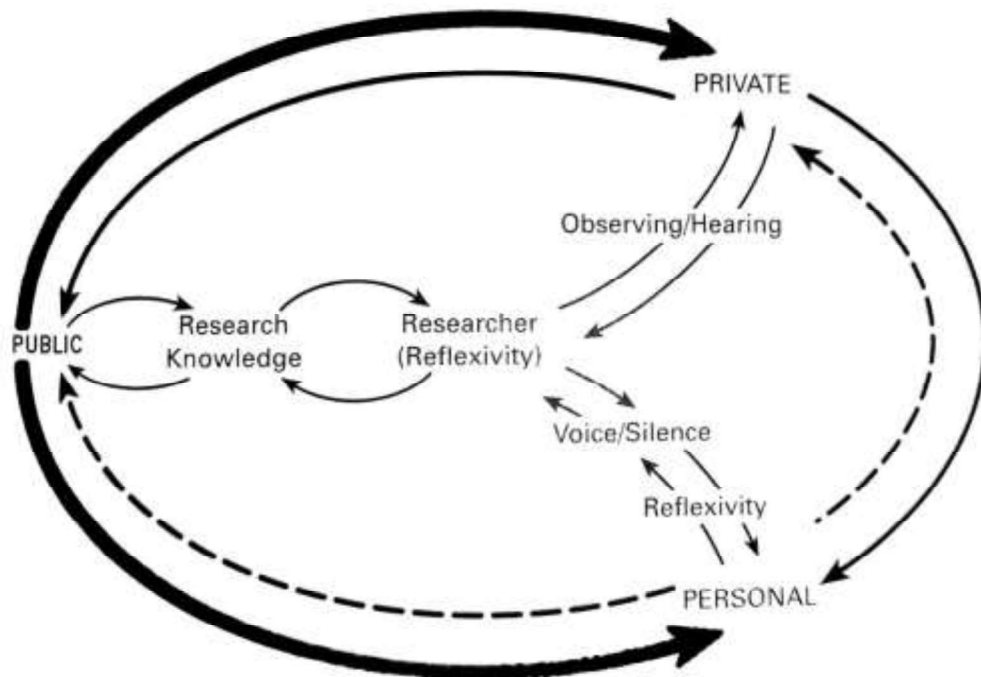
As a Black woman, I was aware that traditionally, African Caribbean women were private about their lives. Hence, being a Black female researcher, my lived experiences placed me in a unique position of shared knowledge and understanding, which provided exclusive insight. Subsequently, with all of the women, I was able to be open and transparent about my cultural heritage and links to my Caribbean identity in a non-judgemental and empowering manner that resonated with being reflexive and aware of the extent of self-disclosure. I was able to draw upon my lived experiences of travelling to the US to spend lengthy time with my mother. Notably, during such visits, my interest grew as we talked about her life as a migrant woman and the choices that she had made. From these deep and often personal discussions, my professional curiosity sparked as I considered other African Caribbean women of my mother's generation, who had chosen to independently migrate to the US and the UK. Yet, thus far, limited information was known or documented about their experiences.

In this study, class and generation divisions could have influenced the research process. However, focusing on shared heritage and commonalities facilitated the research development effectiveness within a mutually respected relaxed, and friendly manner. In essence, my insider position as an African Caribbean woman born in the UK during the post-World War II era, with personal experiences of living in the Caribbean and the US, provided me with the unique advantage and insight of the women perspectives. In this light, this affinity with these women enabled a visceral and trusting relationship to be formed and established, as their stories resonated with familiarity and aspects of my life based on cultural-socio historical factors known of the Caribbean. Consequently, as a qualitative researcher working with a marginalised group, I was critically reflexive during the research process.

Feminists, in particular, have engaged in debates on positionality reflexivity, difference and representation. Thus, a critical reflexive stance, which paid close attention to my positionality, was a crucial aspect of this study, mainly as the research entailed asking the women to talk about their lives' sensitive details. Silverman (2016) highlights how the research process can provide insight into meaning through voice, gesture, eye contact and silence. In this study, recognition of these unspoken codes helped me in my reflexivity as I endeavoured to gain insight into the women's meaning to their lived experiences of migration. As a Black feminist researcher, I have developed an intuitive understanding of my own racialised and gendered locations in society and how this may inform power relations in the research process.

In essence, my insider position as an African Caribbean woman born in the UK during the significant wave of migration following the post-World War II era provided me with personal experiences of being a child born to a migrant mother. Equally, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to live in the Caribbean and the US, which provided the unique advantage and insight to interact with the women from an informed position, which allowed me to understand their perspectives. In this light, this affinity with these women enabled a visceral and trusting relationship to be formed and established, as their stories resonated with familiarity and aspects of my life based on cultural-socio historical factors known of the Caribbean. Consequently, as a qualitative researcher working with a marginalised group, I was critically reflexive during the research process [See Figure 2].

Figure 2: Social Settings and the Researcher



Source: Adapted from Ribbens and Edwards (2000)

The diagram's arrows refer to how paths of influence or domination may occur between these different sites. As will be revealed later on within the data analysis, these arrows could refer to other things such as language, action, physical space, images, and representation. Finally, this diagram draws together the Researcher's position, situated at the fluid edges interface described as it relates to using a feminist methodology, such as qualitative research (Bryman, 2012).

This section of the thesis summarises the preceding discussion of *Positionality, Ontology, and Epistemology* and will be explored below.

Positionality

Positionality refers to the power relations between the Researcher and the participants (Rose, 1997). Positionality is an active factor that affects how the participants initially view the Researcher. The Researcher's characteristics, such as identity or background, can influence how the participants respond during the data collection stage. Unique features are known as

subjectivity and objectivity, affecting the information collected and the data's quality. In this context, the Researcher ensured that the dress code was suitable and respectful for the study's socio-cultural situation. It was important not to make mistakes which created a barrier with the revered older women.

Equally, being reflexive of personal experience during the research process was paramount because it helped me re-examine and evaluate my position as a Researcher to ensure that I reinforced a positive affinity with each of the African Caribbean women. Hence the research process was considered within the subject's sensitivity, ensuring that the research study's positioning was within a Black Feminist thinking and Critical Race Theory (Hill Collins, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Black Feminist thinking and Critical Race Theory provided a theoretical framework to navigate my way through the research process (Hill Collins, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1998). This specific approach served as a unique strength of this thesis as it suited the multifaceted perspectives arising within the analysis. Using this particular theoretical approach enabled the African Caribbean women's voices to remain at the centre. Black feminist thought reflects the positionality by and for Black women, of which self-definition and self-valuation are key themes (Hill Collins, 1990). Using this specific framework within the analysis helped define the nuances underlying micro recognition, provided insight into the subtleties and the intersections of discrimination based on race, gender and social class related to these African Caribbean women's social construction of their migration experiences.

The affinity shared with the women is one similarity in terms of race and gender and cultural identity as an African Caribbean woman inhabiting intersecting identities as an academic and researcher. I am aware of lived experiences such as alienation, isolation, marginalisation and being invisible. It was significant to establish the women's affinity in the study stems from my biographical cultural heritage as a first-generation African Caribbean woman born to a mother who migrated to the UK during the mid-1950s. My experience of returning to live in the Caribbean during my early childhood was a pivotal stage of my life span. The opportunity provided a strong foundation for my cultural heritage and reinforced my knowledge and understanding of Caribbean life, history, traditions, and values. Equally, having spent a lengthy

period in the US provided insight and insider's knowledge about the impact of discrimination based on the intersections of race, gender and social class.

These are significant markers that have influenced and shaped my identity as a Black woman living in the UK and US societies. These shared commonalities and experiences helped to facilitate a mutually respected and trusting relationship during the research process. Undeniably, drawing upon a Black feminist and Critical Race perspective gave me the tools to explore how the women socially constructed their world within the narrative analysis. They stated that they felt both hyper-visible and invisible as outsiders, living in post-World War II US and UK societies. In this context, my biography and understanding of Caribbean values and cultural traditions provided an insider's perspective, which helped form a bond of trust and respect with the women, which provided a positive engagement and rich findings from the research process.

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Epistemological Perspective

In the study context, epistemology is concerned with knowledge about a specific phenomenon, such as migration. Attention to the concept of 'truth' is reflected upon as it relates to whether the data collected reflects factual events. In judging truth or falsity of claims, the Researcher is aware that is reliant on the facts to speak for themselves.

Comparatively, as a younger African Caribbean woman conducting this research with senior African Caribbean women, there is recognition at a personal level of knowledge and lived experiences of being part of an oppressed group within both UK and US society. This insider's knowledge is valid to the research study, as it prevents the preoccupation as to ask whether the women are sharing the truth about their experiences. The Researcher's epistemological position influenced this qualitative research's methodological approach. Additionally, the opportunity to return to the Caribbean during my younger age and spending my formative years growing up under the care of maternal grandparents afforded me the chance to experience the rural country life in the Caribbean and appreciate the phenomenon of child shifting. Later on in the 1970s, when my mother migrated to the US to continue her advancement within the nursing profession, it provided the chance to visit and spend time living in the US. These significant events have provided insider knowledge and contributed to placing me in the central position of conducting this research in a manner that has meaning and significance because it can relate to these African Caribbean women authentically and inherently.

Bryman (2012) provides a generic definition of epistemology as being concerned with what is known as knowledge. In the study's context, his interpretation of interpretivism focuses on the interconnections between the Researcher and the participants. Epistemology is concerned with experience and how it is understood (Bryman, 2012:33). In other words, it explores the phenomenon associated with the truth, as it relates to gaining insight into the social world from a cultural perspective. The epistemological position influenced the process taken to conduct the qualitative research, which resonated with the research data generated from the socially constructionist approach related to the women's ability to be reflexive of their position within both the UK and US society.

Participants as Collaborators

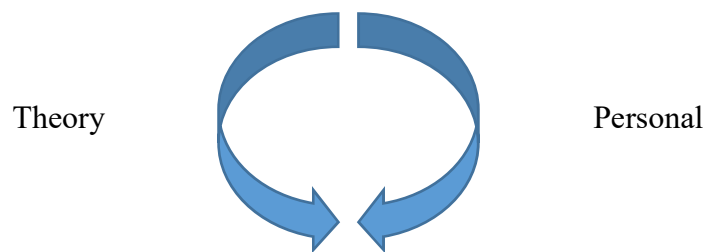
Following the social constructionist approach, discussed earlier, the participants are collaborators to construct their reality within the research. Thus, gaining depth and understanding with the participant's interpretation of their memories and significant aspects of their social existence. As researchers, we are continually trying to get a little closer to understanding and unearthing the complexity of social worlds and people's ways of moving in

them. Qualitative research leaves a lingering sentiment that there are words left unsaid or unreached with its exploratory focus. Hence the inspiration to use multiple layers of data collection to foster deeper understandings. The initial overview considers some of the different theoretical and philosophical stances that underpin narrative and visual research. Thus consideration of epistemology, ontology, positionality, and reflexivity will enhance the viewpoints of women's voices' public and private spaces, as discussed in the following section of this chapter.

Combining Theories: Ontological and Epistemological

Combining the ontological and epistemology stance made it feasible to consider how these two approaches' different philosophical positions are contentious and debatable. Therefore, it is essential to be aware of the relevance of combining both approaches within qualitative research, which seeks to understand a situation such as migration within a cultural context, which occurred during a specific time during the post-World War II era.

Figure 3: Theory and Personal Experience Continuum



Source: (Sylvester, 2020)

In sum, this section has focused on the *theoretical and philosophical* understandings used within the research. In this context, the above diagram illustrates how theory and practice experience are interlinked to provide an overview of application within the research study. As Moraga and Anzalda (1983) states, *a theory in the flesh* means one where the physical realities of gender, race and social class amalgamate.

The following section focuses on the two primary qualitative approaches, Narrative research and Visual Research-Based Inquiry (Riessman, 2008; Rose, 2016), which are drawn upon to explore the Research Questions. Narrative Inquiry and Visual research are qualitative research methods involving reflexivity (Pillow, 2003). These methods flexibility suited the research direction of addressing African Caribbean women migration's personal and cultural experiences. According to Hill Collins (1990), reflexive research means that as a Black female researcher, it requires taking account of oneself and my role in the research process by accounting for power and privilege.

Accordingly, reflexivity influenced the qualitative research methodology offering a significant confluence of the two research methodologies, Narrative Inquiry and Visual research, which involved a mutual collaborative relationship with the participants, in the co-production of knowledge of the research process's visual aspect. This form of reviewing my position within the research was a positive feature of the study because it ensured that constant evaluation of self and impact on the women remained of conscious concern throughout the research process.

Part Two: The Rationale for Using Narrative and Visual Based Inquiry Approaches

The Researcher chose to include two complimentary qualitative research methods, namely Narrative and Visual Based Inquiry, as the thesis aims to place the African Caribbean women at the centre of the study so that their voices remain at the centre of the research process. These approaches are suitable because they offer the research design's flexibility (Riessman, 2008; Rose, 2016). While the research aims to engage with these women, information and knowledge concerning their lived experiences of post-World War II migration is no longer a silent phenomenon. It can be acknowledged and appreciated in terms of contributing to theories about gender and migration. From a social research perspective, minimal information exists about how the women socially construct their lived experiences of migration. There is limited knowledge of their subjectivities and identities related to their position within their new environment. Arguably, personal narratives provide a critical avenue to understanding women. However, the inclusion of Visual Based Inquiry research is beneficial because it allows for exploring other types of data associated with memories of the interrelation of the personal,

social and cultural perspectives. Both approaches enriched the feminist nature of the flexible qualitative designs as follows:

Narrative Inquiry

Narratives are told by all classes, all human groups have their narratives, and narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself.

(Barthes, 1982:252)

The opening quote suggests narratives are often regarded as the central means through which people construct, describe, and understand their experiences. Thus, the narrative is not merely a way of describing reality but also a way of socially building reality, establishing what the connections are, were or might be among events, feelings, thoughts, and actions (Bold, 2012). Narratives constitute stories, and stories rely on narratives, as Robinson and Hawpe (1986) point out as story straddles the line between uniqueness and universality. Narratives have the particularity of an event because they are told in a contextualised account. They also resemble other stories to varying degrees because they are built upon a generic set of story structure and relationships. The narrative is one of the few human endeavours that is far and wide as a fundamental aspect of human life and an essential human expression strategy.

Narrative inquiry has developed as a research methodology over the last thirty years, providing a way of gathering, investigating and analysing narratives capturing experiences of events. The characteristic feature distinguishing narrative from other forms of discourse is sequence and consequence. Events are selected, organised, connected and evaluated by the narrator as meaningful for a particular audience (Riessman, 2008). Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou (2008) state that narrative form is the universal way people make sense of their experiences. First-person narratives provide much of the material used by researchers. Holloway and Wheeler (2002) assert that the content of such accounts necessarily emerges from memory, which is selective. However, they emphasise that the *remembered* events and the experiences people chose from their vast store of memory focus on the significant aspects of their social

reality (Holloway and Wheeler, 2002:202). Using Narrative inquiry suits the collaborative approach of the research design in which the participant are co-producers of knowledge. The Researcher recognises the importance of adopting a postcolonial feminist approach, which seeks to avoid using research approaches that misrepresent or create a misunderstanding of vulnerable or oppressed individuals.

Using a Narrative approach provides the scope to move beyond omitting the women's views related to their migration experiences. The Researcher strongly argues that the narrative approach allows engaging in a dialogue of their subjective experiences so that their voices can be heard. Moen (2006) argues that the narrative approach is valuable in its capacity to be both *the phenomenon and the method*. Moen (2006) implies that narrative-based methodologies are not only tools for collecting data, but they are also theoretical frames of thinking and practical approaches for implementing self-determination, empowerment, and eventually social change (Moen, 2006:57). The point recognises narrative-based methodologies provide space for marginalised voices to acquire authority in knowledge production. As Czarniawska (2004:7) explains, narrative-based methods open up the remaking and negotiating reality's meaning.

In the next section of the thesis, the focus is on Visual Based research which justifies the complimentary approach used within the secondary data collection process. This section addresses Research Question Two by providing specific data on Caribbean traditions and values from a multi-layered standpoint. Data obtained from this question would give a holistic presentation of each of the women as diverse individuals with their personal histories, as defined by themselves.

Part Three: Visual Based Narrative Inquiry

To gather photographs is to collect the world.

(Sontag, 1977:3)

Visual based narrative Inquiry is storytelling research that uses visual methods such as images, objects, paintings, signs and symbols (Mitchell, 2012). The last two decades have seen interest in visual research methods grow substantially as the potential of image-based methodologies is increasingly being appreciated. Visual images can play a valuable role in the research process in a variety of ways. The above quotation aptly suits the justification of using this approach within the data collection process. In this context, where Sontag talks of photographs, the Researcher has expanded upon the original quote and utilises the term objects to enhance the research further.

In recent years, participatory visual approaches have become popular in sociology, race and ethnicity, and gender studies (Packard, 2008). The inclusion of visual research was identified as a possible means for achieving an emancipatory style of qualitative research among studies exploring marginalised or subordinate groups (Packard, 2008). Building visual methods into research designs enable participants to contribute to the research process to allow their voices to be heard, thereby altering the Researcher and participant's power.

This approach allows the participant to have greater freedom in their expression and the recollection of their memories. Researchers have used memory work introduced by Haug (1987) for various purposes as a collective and individual method. For this study, the Researcher began the process of memory work by identifying key themes in the literature explicitly associated with the Caribbean. The inclusion of visual research is in recognition of the feminist interpretive focus of the study, which recognises the women as co-producers of knowledge related to the personal, cultural and social understanding of Caribbean traditions. Also shown is how visual methodology through memories brings forth rich data lacking quantitative analysis and traditional qualitative accounts.

The use of visual materials in the research process confirms the growing awareness within narrative research. The Researcher has utilised a collaborative approach to collect and analyse qualitative data (Bryman, 2012). Visual objects are helpful to elicit and provide unique data

in a significant role in the research process in various ways (Weber, 2008:47). Thomas (1991) confirms that it is the inherent meaning that gives it significance to an object rather than its purpose. An item may have a range of material qualities, often referred to as affordance. However, when someone symbolically refers to the object, many of these qualities become activated and significant.

The Researcher argues that objects are a significant part of our lives, even shaping who we are. Subsequently, it is equally acknowledged from an insider's perspective that many migrant African Caribbean women tend to surround themselves with visual objects and artefacts associated with their Caribbean cultural heritage (McMillan, 2009). When it comes to objects, they are not what they are but what they have become, in terms of having a range of potential meanings (Thomas, 1991:4). However, often the connotations remain dormant until mobilised in a specific context, such as the act of social distance associated with the memory of migration. In this context, culture and socio history become significant in shaping an object's value and purpose. Thomas (1991) explores how the significance of objects and the influence associated with cultural identities suggests that the agency of objects means that empirical investigation of specific encounters between objects and people may not only define each other but may change and disrupt each other. The undertaking of Research Question Two will provide the scope for further exploration during the research process.

Thus, visual images can be used as stimulus material in many research contexts, including one-one interviews. However, as the Researcher found, carrying out research where visual objects and their analysis have a central role is different. It is not a natural choice and should be attempted only with an understanding of the complexities involved. As Knight (2002) comments, the use of visual research is so new in social science that there is little to guide the consensus for dealing with visual material; hence it requires a great deal of thought, discussion and persistence on the path of the Researcher (Knight, 2002:102).

Using Visual-Based Inquiry as a research method places the participant at the heart of the research due to them being the producers of the objects they chose to present within the study. In this context, the Researcher ensured that the participants had the final say in interpreting the meaning and attachment of the object related to personal memories of migration experiences. Rose (2014:28) has gone as far as claiming that almost all Visual research methods involve talking between the Researcher and the researched. This focus suited the research study,

keeping with the epistemological shift in generating knowledge through visual-based Inquiry. Subsequently, it is envisaged that using this two innovative approach will produce unique information. Firstly, through the telling of the narratives, many women may reveal aspects of their personal and social identities, often not publicised. Secondly, the inclusion of visual data in Narrative Inquiry is a positive feature of the research. It will broaden the field of narrative Inquiry to encompass visual images to share the participants' lived experiences.

Summing up

The section argues the significance of using two complementary qualitative approaches, encompassing narrative and visual research methods. Soutter (2000), who writes from a feminist perspective, points out how a still object can evoke a story and impact the research. The Researcher provides a rationale for using a postcolonial feminist approach, which values participative methods placing the experiences of marginalised women at the centre of the study. The purpose is to ensure that the African Caribbean women's personal subjective experiences of migration are heard and considered within the intersections of race, gender, and social class. Using such techniques will contribute to the broader debates on gender and migration to influence change professional practice, social research education, and social policy.

Part Four: Design of Data Collection Method

This section is concerned with the method used for the data collection, ethical approval, purposive sampling and recruitment processes, ethical consideration related to the twenty-two participants. It concludes with an initial transcription process relevant to the Research Questions (Riessman, 2008).

Ethical Issues

All social research involves an ethical issue because the study involves collecting data from people, and about people

(Punch, 2005:276).

This research study received ethical approval from the University Research Committee prior to the research process's commencement and before the participants were contacted or recruited to participate in the purposive sampling group. This process is in keeping with ethical consideration and good practice, as stated by Kant (1997 [1792-64]:3). The capacity to judge one's actions and thoughts is paramount before *actively* embarking on the research journey. Understanding how research affects and affects those it touches, attending to this influence's rights and wrongs and the possible harms or benefits that might accrue required significant consideration. As this research involves women who are representative of the marginalised, oppressed group, there must be an agreement between the researched and the Researcher. The communicative methodology becomes more than a list of research methods supported by a particular scientific paradigm. Instead, it is a holistic approach to research that implies a certain level of commitment to social justice and openness that any participant can challenge.

Purposive Sampling

From the onset, senior African Caribbean women were the primary recruitment target group for the research study. These women were selected based on meeting the purposive sampling criteria regarding race, gender, age, socio-cultural and migration experiences. The aim entailed choosing African Caribbean women who had migrated to the UK and the US during the post-World War II era and lived, worked and raised their families within their migrant country. Consequently, purposive sampling was required using a deliberate and specific purpose in mind, used for this research section (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The necessary technique drawing on knowledge and judgement in choosing women who best enabled the Research Question to be answered and meet the research aims. Using this approach provided the opportunity to select a relatively small number of participants, such as the African Caribbean women, whose knowledge of migration met the research criteria.

Purposive sampling suited the qualitative research, based on having established insider's knowledge and affinity with the women, of shared characteristics such as identity, culture and experiences of living in the UK and the US, which provided a helpful resource. Equally, drawing upon the literature review process confirmed the Researcher's objective of selecting a

purposive sampling group comprised of African Caribbean women who migrated to the US and the UK during the post-World War II period (Peach, 1999; Foner, 2005).

Sampling is as essential in qualitative research as it is in quantitative analysis. Sampling decisions required that the chosen target group of African Caribbean women specifically suited the main interest requirements to respond to the Research Questions and the research aims knowledgeably. The research protocol placed no constraints on sample size, for as Patton (2002) highlights, there are no fixed rules about the numbers in qualitative studies. However, sampling in qualitative research usually relies on small quantities as what is essential is depth and detail about the phenomena explored (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Silverman, 2016).

Recruitment focused explicitly within the Midlands of the UK and Southern State of the US, which had a high demographic population of senior African Caribbean women who resided within established Caribbean communities. In this context, they met the essential criteria of the research aim, which entailed knowing the lived experiences of historical Caribbean migration (Peach, 1999; Foner, 2005).

Bailey (1994) states that gaining entry to a new research field is a complicated process, and the particular route one takes impacts the rest of the study. To access the participants entailed the Researcher, using a community approach, which involved meeting with key personnel who could provide the opportunity to meet the attendees of the respective organisations informally. The Researcher visited Black Led Churches, Day Care Centres, and Outreach projects within the voluntary sector, within specific geographical locations of the UK and the US, providing access to women's target group. Within each of the centres, the Researcher was invited as a guest speaker, which entailed spending time within the organisation. This offered the opportunity to talk informally to the women, answering questions about the study, such as the aims, objectives and purpose. The positive responses were enlightening and encouraging. What became apparent was that the women had a personal interest and wished to share their migration experiences for the future generation and were potentially suitable to be included within the purposive sampling group. The individual women interested were provided with an information leaflet about the study and invited to participate provided they met eligibility criteria purposive for the study (Miles and Huberman, 1994) [See Appendix 1]. However, a personal reflection observed across all community agencies, whether in the UK or the US, was

a warm, genuine response expressed by the women, who showed enthusiasm and a genuine interest in participating in the research.

The women, who responded to the recruitment request, could be considered because they met the sampling criteria based on gender, race, age and cultural experiences of migration. Of twenty-six women who showed initial interest in the US, the actual figures who agreed to participate study settled at eleven. Whereas, from the UK location, from the initial group of thirty-seven women who showed an interest, the actual net figure who agreed to participate in the research was eleven women.

Insiders Knowledge

The Researcher acknowledged that the positive response from insiders' knowledge with the women was common understanding based on shared mutual respect and trust. Similarly, having characteristics of gender, race and cultural heritage and being part of an oppressed and marginalised group of women. The Researcher found the scoping process a positive aspect of the research as this delineated the imbalance of power between the women. There was a cultural exchange level based on insight and knowledge of Caribbean traditions, which helped cement the women's links. The Researcher also acknowledged that from a personal perspective, the opportunity of living within both the UK and the US across thirty years was a positive aspect of having an insider's knowledge. Similarly, as a first-generation child born to migrant parents, it gave relative insight and insider's knowledge into Caribbean migration, which was valuable.

Building Rapport

Having established the sample group of twenty-two women, this entailed building individual relationship with each of the women. Adopting a reflexive approach during the research process involved being open and transparent and did not make any assumptions about underestimating the investment required in building and establish rapport with the women (Davies et al., 2004). Keeping in mind that many of the women have never spoken about their migration experiences in a public space, it was significant to be respectful and truthful while

carrying out the research. As an African Caribbean female researcher who espoused personal and professional integrity, it was necessary from values perspective to carry out the research process professionally, open, trustworthy, and respectfully. Kanuha (2000) warns of the problems that can occur being an insider, preventing the Researcher from exploring the phenomenon by relying on presumptions (Kanuha, 2000:444).

The challenge as a Researcher was not to over-identify or misinterpret the narratives which the women shared. Equally, from an insider’s perspective, it was significant not to be viewed as a friend or counsellor as this is in keeping with the empowerment of feminist epistemological position. Birch and Miller (2002) state that being aware of ethical values, respect, and responsibility are essential aspects of the data collection process, especially when undertaking sensitive research (Renzitti and Lee, 1993).

Furthermore, while it was apparent that the women were motivated and keen to participate in the research, sharing a cultural background meant having a shared understanding of being an insider and understanding their narratives. As shown in [Table 1] below, the purposive sampling worked within the recruitment process. This specific selection method provided the scope for the Researcher to engage with the representative target audience of African Caribbean women. The women had the characteristics regarding gender, race, social class, age, cultural background and post-World War II migration experiences aptly met the main recruitment conditions (Patton, 2002; Reynolds, 2005).

Table 1 shows the number of women approached, and from which source of contact, and the actual figures of those recruited into the sampling group;

Table 1: Participant List

Type of Contact	Locations	Individuals Contacted	Participants Secured
UK			
Black Led Community Church	2	20	6

Caribbean Day Centre	1	10	3
Outreach Community Project	1	4	2
Total	4	34	11
US			
Black Led Community Church	2	20	7
Caribbean Day Centre	1	4	2
Outreach Community Project	2	2	2
Total	9	26	11
Overall Total			22

The main lesson learnt from the recruitment process was the importance to adhere to a common-sense approach. To improve the quality of the data collected, follow ethical consideration, and ensure that the chosen data collection method is fit for the purpose.

Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration saturates all stages of the research process, beginning with the Researcher's choice of topic, why the research is worthwhile, and who will benefit from the study. Punch (2005) summarises harm, consent, deception, privacy, and data confidentiality as the primary consideration. The point to stress here is that the Researcher needs to be aware of and sensitive to the ethical issues involved in the research and to consider them during each

stage, thereby avoiding any potential issues.

The following process was undertaken with each participant:

(i) The introduction process entailed spending time talking broadly about the research aims and methods to collect the data.

(ii) The participant information leaflet's content contained comprehensively relevant information about the research study. Permission was sought, and agreed to photograph the visual object or artefact the participant selected to present within the interview, which would be included in the study's final findings.

(iii) As agreed, each of the women's identities was protected and allocated a pseudonym for the subsequent transcription and data analysis (Clark, 2000). Each participant signed, dated and kept a duplicated copy of the consent form, of which the other copy was retained by the Researcher for reference [See Appendix 1].

(iv) To ensure complete anonymity and protect each of the participants, the Researcher has chosen to use the term 'Caribbean' rather than naming the individual island, as this could potentially reveal a participant's identity. The research obtained informed consent to audiotape the interviews and take a photograph of the object presented in the research interview.

(v) Significant consideration was to ensure that the research process was conducted sensitively and respectfully, thereby eliminating the possibility of harming any participants. Reflecting on both subjectivity and positionality is essential before, during and after the research process.

(vi) Finally, the Researcher spent time explaining the *benefits* of the research and the individual women's appreciation in participating in the study. The Researcher firmly believes that it is essential to be open and transparent about the research objectives, thereby providing each of the participants with space and opportunity to explore queries appropriately.

Appointments made were kept, as each of the women had more autonomy in terms of being retired. They were in control of choosing what time and where the interview took place. Some women were involved in volunteer work or attended an agency, where the time arranged conflicted with their attendance. In those cases, the women chose the location for the interview. The Researcher was quite respectful not to impose personal views or values on the choice of destination selected by the women and appreciated that confidentiality was paramount; therefore, any inconvenience was manageable.

In sum, ethical issues can arise in quantitative and qualitative research. They are more likely to affect and be more critical in qualitative research since this process often intrudes into and examines individual lives' most sensitive aspects (Punch, 2005). The Researcher reflected upon the research's nature, which could evoke deep-rooted painful feelings and memories when collecting the data. The point to stress here is that ethical issues are inevitable and should be considered throughout the entire research process to reduce unforeseen problems.

The following section explores the pilot stage, two main data collection methods, which comprised Life Narrative interviews, to look at the women's life and carry out an in-depth study of individual lives. Secondly, Visual Based Inquiry chosen as it provided each participant's scope to control this aspect of the data collection process (Margolis and Pauwels, 2011). Both methods rely on language and the interpretation of its meaning, including close human involvement and the creative process of theory development rather than testing (Bryman, 2012:613). For transparency, each method is presented individually from data collection, leading to the initial transcription stages.

Part Five: Pilot Stage

According to Robson (2011), a pilot study provides the opportunity to try out the proposed research and identify potential snags impacting the fuller analysis. The Researcher carried out a small pilot of the research study, which consisted of interviewing three participants during the spring of 2015. The aim was to ensure that the research process was authentic, sensitive to the participant's needs. Address and amend any snags or challenges encountered. Equally, to confirm that the research posed no risks or harm to either the participant or researcher and

ensured that it was fit for purpose (Bryman, 2012).

Life Narratives

Research Question One: Life Narrative Interviews with the Women

Life Narratives is the study of lives and personal history, as a method is concerned with looking at Life as a whole and carrying out an in-depth analysis of individual lives (Atkinson, 2012:116). Using Life Narrative interviews is one of the most common forms of collecting personal narrative data from women (Yow, 1997). This approach, constructed on the concept that one's life narrative is a social construct comprising social reality and a personal experiential world (Rosenthal, 1993). This interview method, built on the unstructured, open-ended interview format, which entails using a single question to promote long sections of talk, has become a central element of narrative research (Robson, 2012). Its characteristics made it a suitable tool to use in the data collection process. Furthermore, this confirms the justification of using the Life narrative approach. Atkinson (2007) posits how personal narratives fit into research endeavours.

Atkinson (2007) defines life narrative as follows:

The story a person chooses to tell, about the life she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another

(Atkinson, 2007: 237)

In keeping with the research, the Researcher reflected on C.W. Mills (1959), who talks about life narratives at several levels, such as 'private troubles' and 'public issues' related to the historical, societal and personal issues. This study used a life narrative because it offered

women the scope to explore memories associated with their private life experiences. It also works well to capture talk about the present and look ahead towards the future.

According to Munro (1998), the following are some of the advantages of using a life narrative approach:

The holistic nature of life narrative allows for a complete biographical picture. A life narrative provides a historical contextual dimension. In studying a life narrative, the dialectical relationship between the participants and society can be explored

(Munro, 1998: 8)

Subsequently, one of the strengths of using life narratives lies in its astuteness of the subjective reality of the individual, which allows the women to speak for themselves, which is reflective of the recommendations of the Black feminist framework, as mentioned in [Chapter 3] (Hill Collins and Blige, 2016). This observation, thereby, illustrates the importance of using a data collection method, such as life narrative, which values the all-Black female embodiment of the research study (hook, 2000). Life narrative interviews are appealing because attention can be given to the various levels of the women's personal lives while being sensitive to the historical and social layers that their narrative contains. They include a way of better understanding significant events, experiences, and feelings of a lifetime, as discussed by the participant.

Before carrying out the life narrative interviews, the Researcher revisited the consent form to participate in the research process. Each participant had the opportunity to ask questions about the research's logistics, which included the reminder that they could stop and withdraw from the interview process at any stage. The Researcher consistently reminded the women that they had complete autonomy to take regular breaks to suit their needs. Therefore, it is imperative not to lose sight of the research purposes and reflect on theoretical perspectives underpinning the research. It is also vital to maintain professional, ethical standards throughout the research process so that the women voices remain at the centre. As Narayan and George (2012) state:

How an interview runs its course depends very much on all the participants involved. The interviewer needs to be flexible and ready to follow the unexpected paths that emerge in the time of talking with the interviewee.

(Narayan and George 2012:515)

As explained earlier, the narrative is a subjective discourse of self and intellectual construction of reality. A central aspect of using Life narrative as a data collection method is to examine narratives' formation. Riessman (2003) stresses that there should be an understanding of how individuals assign meanings to their lived experiences to deconstruct and reconstruct their identity and subject position. For example, through telling their life narratives, the African Caribbean women can negotiate alternative definitions of the self.

Non-Interrupting Process

The primary narrative research process used 'Life Narrative' interviews, a non-interrupting approach to obtain the monologue narrative data. Keeping with a fundamental principle of narrative inquiry entailed asking one single question, subsequently remaining a quiet active listener. Thereby, the women decided how they wished to share their narratives. Using this approach was an empowering feature of the research study because it placed the women in a dominant position of controlling the research environment. Each of the women decided at what stage they began their narratives when they paused or chose to return to a specific topic, based on their memory of the event presented. Lishman (2009) states that as human beings, we express six kinds of emotions, namely, *sadness, anger, disgust, fear, surprise, and happiness*. Thus, it was essential to consider the interview process's impact on the participants, which confirmed the use of the **audiotape recorder**. As the main form of collecting the historical verbal data made it possible to fully concentrate the participant's body language, attitude, and behaviour during the interview. Before starting the initial interview, each of the women had time to adjust to the research process. The Researcher negotiated with each of the women, which they felt comfortable participating in the research.

Audiotape Recorder

At the start of each interview, there was a slight negotiation about where to sit so that the audiotape was positioned strategically in a non-invasive manner. The benefit of taking time to put the participant at ease meant that they were relaxed and effectively led to a more organic engagement. An advantage of using an audiotape suited the research because when placed appropriately, it was not invasive or distracting to the participant during the interview process. Equally, this approach offered flexibility and empowerment to each of the women to ask for the tape to *pause* if their emotions became overwhelming. Another significant advantage of using audiotape is that recordings may be kept electronically and revisited. It also meant that it was possible to replay the audiotape back to the women to listen to themselves, thereby helping to eliminate misrepresentation of their data. A disadvantage of using the audiotape was that occasionally some women spoke softly or became emotional. Thereby, this entailed having to pause and listen carefully to the tape to ensure that information obtained was accurate, which impacted the transcription process by prolonging it.

However, using the audiotape was the preferred option, as it offered confidentiality and anonymity. Equally, it ensured that consent was ongoing. Hence if the women wished to withdraw their narrative at any time, they had the power to do so. Finally, given logistics associated with travel and access distance, ensuring that all women had space to participate in this aspect of the interview was imperative, thereby eliminating any misinterpretation or misrepresentation within this data collection process. Similarly, it provided the women with the opportunity to listen to their migration accounts from their perspective.

Following the initial process of conducting the Life Narratives and completion of the data collection process, the second stage of the research process entailed the data collection for Research Question 2, which entailed using the method of Visual based inquiry. In this section of the research process, the women were co-collaborators and responsible for taking the lead in the data collection process. All of the women were in control of the choice made regarding the selected visual object associated with their migration. Upon choosing the visual object, it was formally introduced into the research environment as indicated below:

Visual Methods

Research Question Two: Symbolic Object Data Collection

This section of the thesis responds to Research Question Two, which seeks to emphasise presenting the twenty-two women in their holistic space in terms of co-collaborators of the data generated for collection. There is a specific focus on their social life in the context of Caribbean traditions, from a socio-historical, political and cultural perspective. This element entailed each of the women selecting an object they identified as having significance in their lives because of their migration experiences.

This research stage had a clear purpose that did not seek or meant to gain entry into the initial interview process. The specific objective was to trigger a conversation about memories associated with migration and establish rapport with the women. In the context of the research, the data collection process entailed the presentation of objects seen, touched and photographed for inclusion in the thesis (Mitchell, 2011; Harper, 2002:13; Rose, 2016)

Visual Research in the Field

As explained, the use of visual research is comparatively scarce, even though the inclusion of image by the social scientist in the field of anthropology and human geography is well established. There remains a gap in the provenance of research collecting visual data and conducting analysis (Rose, 2016). Equally, this approach is innovative and reflective of the growing demands for inclusion of visual literacy methods, relevant to the critiquing analytically, class, race and gender (Becker, 2004; Pink, 2004; Weber, 2006). Subsequently, using visual methods with the participants as collaborators helped balance the power between them and the Researcher.

The inclusion of visual materials in the study resonates with the argument that African Caribbean women migration to the UK or the US included having an object or artefact, which resonated with Caribbean traditions. This knowledge is in keeping with the argument that women are responsible for transmitting the Caribbean's cultural values to the next generation.

The Researcher held an insider's understanding of Caribbean traditions, which confirms that many African Caribbean women will have a living room or private space within their home where they have a sentimental attachment. One of the spaces could be a display furniture item such as a Cabinet, where such an object is reverently kept sacred and irreplaceable. In this context, this object is significant as a cultural signifier that conveys and denotes essential aspects of Caribbean cultural values and identity to their children. Having obtained prior permission and consent from each participant, it provided the scope to take a photograph of the object for inclusion in the analysis [Participant Consent Form-see Appendix 1].

Chosen Object

In keeping with the feminist research approach, each of the women had control in introducing and sharing the memories attached to the symbolic object, which the Researcher captured in textual form. The women also had power and the final say in how the object was ultimately displayed and photographed. This flexibility provided a relaxed atmosphere and gave the women mental space to be reflective and participative within the research process. Some women elected to display their object onto a soft cushion, capturing against a soft background. Others, who selected books, bibles, cultural artefacts, jewellery, birthday cards, and crochet, placed their object on a table throughout the process. During this stage of the data collection, it was evident from the gentle manner in which the women dealt with the chosen object that it held powerful sentimental attachment and meanings.

Indeed, the Researcher observed that many of the women kept the object either on public display inside a Cabinet or in a private place out of sight. In gathering the visual data, each woman showed a close emotional relationship and connection with their item. During this stage of the data collection, the women's verbal accounts illustrated that their objects were symbolic. The visual objects engendered memories of the benefactor and the strong bond to their links to the Caribbean. Equally, the objects were diverse and varied in size, shape and function. The women had produced collectively an array of Caribbean cultural artefacts, which held symbolic meaning and a significant purpose in their roles as gatekeepers to teaching the next generation about their cultural heritage [See Chapter 6].

Disengagement

At the end of the data collection process, the Researcher actively engaged with each of the women to ensure that they were satisfied with the research process and that their emotional state was stable. The Researcher used this disengagement stage to reassure and reaffirm that data collected during the research process would be treated with utmost care and confidentiality stored safely in an encrypted safe as per ethical agreement. The women expressed their contentment with the research process and agreed that they found the experiences positive and rewarding.

Part Six: Introducing the Participants

The following section begins with a timeline [Figure 4], which relates explicitly to the participants and provides an overview of post-world-war events' critical historical moments. The women's social identity characteristics are summarised in a chart [See Table 2]. This section concludes with a brief introduction of each of the twenty-two women, biographical detail, and the style of 'telling' used to share their narrative. It ends with a photograph of their visual object.

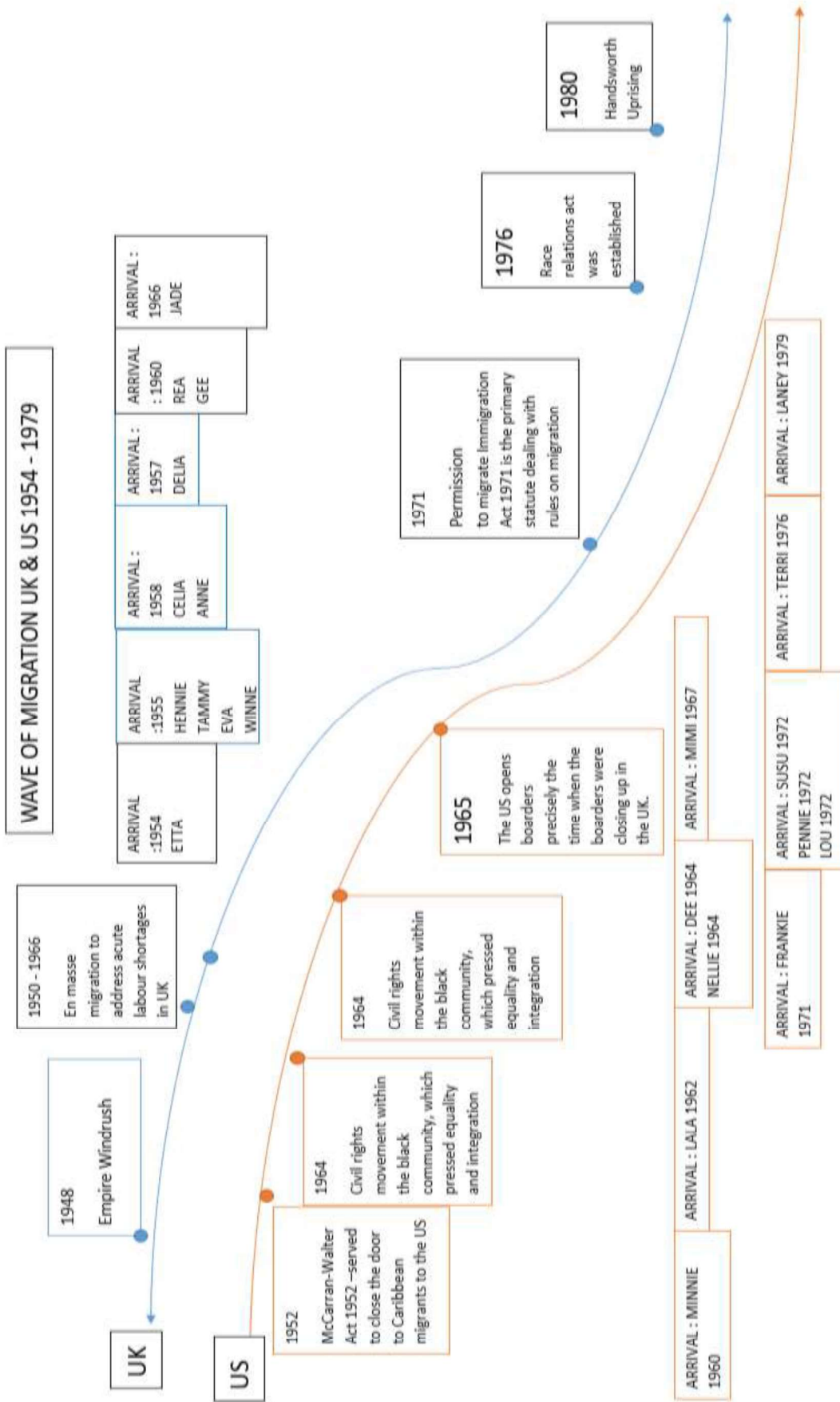


Figure 4: Timeline - UK and US Migration

Table 2: Social Identity Characteristics of Participants

(Pseudonym)	Gender	Age at Interview	Race	Employment status	Country of Residence at Interview
Rea	Female	81	Caribbean	Retired semiskilled factory worker/volunteer work in local Black Led Community Church	UK
Etta	Female	84	Caribbean	Retired/State Registered Mental Health Nurse	UK
Gee	Female	77	Caribbean	Retired semiskilled /factory worker/Seamstress/volunteer Sunday school teacher	UK
Annie	Female	77	Caribbean	Retired Care Assistant/volunteer Day-care centre	UK
Jade	Female	68	Caribbean	Retired Mental Health Nurse Community worker –Mental health groups	UK
Winnie	Female	79	Caribbean	Retired/Care Assistant	UK

Delia	Female	80	Caribbean	Retired School Teaching Assistant / Community worker	UK
Eva	Female	77	Caribbean	Retired Social Worker/Gospel Singer/outreach Community worker in Schools and the local community	UK
Tammi	Female	72	Caribbean	Retired semiskilled Factory/Care Assistant/Volunteer in local Black-led Church	UK
Hennie	Female	80	Caribbean	Retired/Ward Sister-Volunteer- Day Centre Manager for Older Adults	UK
Celia	Female	78	Caribbean	Retired District Nurse	UK
Minnie	Female	81	Caribbean	Retired-Secretary	US
SuSu	Female	77	Caribbean	Retired Professor of Nursing/Outreach Community worker	US
Laney	Female	81	Caribbean	Retired-Care Assistant	US

Mimi	Female	82	Caribbean	Retired Nurse/Community Nurse	US
Lala	Female	70	Caribbean	Semi-retired Professor of Nursing	US
Dee	Female	77	Caribbean	Semi-retired Day Care Educational Manager	US
Nellie	Female	77	Caribbean	Semi-retired school teacher	US
Terri	Female	88	Caribbean	Retired-Midwife	US
Pennie	Female	80	Caribbean	Retired-Social Worker	US
Lou	Female	76	Caribbean	Retired-Accountant	US
Frankie	Female	77	Caribbean	Retired- Senior Managing Nurse	US

The Twenty Two Participants

The following introductory section contains a photograph of the Visual object from each participant with the accompanying insert of the extended caption as transcribed from the participant's narrative. Each participant assumes a chronological space.

UK Participants

Interview One: Rea [Pilot No.1]



Description: Print of Rose Hall – Cultural Treasure Heritage Building

The symbolic object chosen by Rea; is a framed picture of Rose Hall haunted house built in the 17th Century, owned by a famous witch, historically known in Caribbean folklore, to dispose of all her husbands. Rea expressed a fondness for the chosen object, which reminded her of a past life in the Caribbean. Rea was the first

participant to be interviewed and formed part of the pilot group.

Rea was age 79 at the time of the Interview. Rea was a married mother born in the rural countryside in the Caribbean, into a large family, and comes from a working-class background. Rea migrated alone to the UK during the early 1960s to join her sister, who lived in the UK Rea worked predominantly in factories as a semiskilled worker until she retired and returned to live in the Caribbean. However, following her marriage's failure, she returned to the UK to be with her family. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Rea had a pleasant personality, spoke quickly, and included lengthy pauses to emphasise significant memories and turning points. Rea used laughter to defuse aspects of her narrative, which contained complicated actions about her lived experiences. Rea spoke of the future with optimism as she reflected upon the object and her past life memories.

Interview Two: Etta [Pilot No. 2]



Description: Handmade Crochet White Lace Runner

This piece of delicately handmade crochet runner beautifully crafted design, created by a friend who took five days to make the item so that Etta could bring it with her to the UK

Etta was age 84 at the time of the Interview. Etta was married, a mother was born into a large family and lived in the rural countryside in the Caribbean. Etta migrated solo to the UK as a young woman in 1954 to join her friend who worked as a nurse and secured her a place on a Nurse training programme. Etta worked as a nurse for over fifty decades and achieved a senior position as a Registered Mental Health Nurse before she retired. She now works as a volunteer within her local community church. The Interview took place in the Church Office.

Telling of Narrative

Etta presented her narrative calmly and authoritatively. She spoke using long monologues, with short insertions of pauses and sighs. As she reflected upon her future, she made explicit reference to the visual object by remembering her past. Etta's attachment to the runner is a reminder of friendship, identity, and personal achievement.

Interview Three: Gee [Pilot No. 3]



Description: Jewelled Heart Shape Brooch

The jewellery was yellow gold with inserts of real gemstones, leaf with turquoise jewels, surrounded by heart-shaped pearls, of which there are ten in each set.

Gee was age 77 at the time of the Interview. She was a divorced single parent, born in the Caribbean and came from a working-class background. Gee migrated solo to the UK in the 1960s after relinquishing her self-employed sewing business to join her husband. Gee found employment as a semiskilled worker within local factories, where she worked until retirement. Gee engages in a volunteering capacity within the local community. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Gee spoke in a slow and measured manner as she recalled her past life in the Caribbean. As she talked about her present life's significant turning points, the sentences became shorter with lengthy pauses' insertion. Gee's attachment to her brooch reminded her of a past life when she was a successful self-employed seamstress in the Caribbean.

Interview Four: Annie



Description: Brown Cover Bible

The Bible was delicate, the cover was water-stained, and the pages are yellow. Annie recalled that she received a gift from her nephew when she was twelve years old.

Annie was age 77 at the time of the Interview. Divorced mother, she was born in the Caribbean. Annie migrated solo to the UK, aged 19, to live with her father, a British army soldier. Annie worked within the care sector and is now retired and works as a Day Care Centre volunteer. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Annie spoke rapidly, uninterrupted, in her flow, and only paused when she seemed to recall an unexpected past event in her narrative. She talked about the present hopefully, and at times seemed to contradict her story. Annie spoke passionately about the future and her children's hope to find good jobs and settle down. Annie's attachment to her Bible is apparent regarding the values shaping her identity as a mother.

Interview Five: Jade



Description: Gift of a Silver Pen

This silver pen is simple in design and excellent condition, displayed on a Standard inside an antique Cabinet. Jade returned to the Caribbean at the age of 21 to work within an internationally well-known food company and received the Silver pen to recognise her hard work.

Jade, age 68 at the time of the Interview. Divorced mother, born in the Caribbean. Jade migrated solo to the UK in 1966 as a young, unmarried pregnant woman to live with her father and stepmother. Following her son's birth, Jade attended evening classes and obtained her professional qualifications in accountancy and nursing. Jade returned for a short while to the Caribbean and worked as an Accountant. On her return to the UK, she worked as a qualified Mental Health Nurse until she retired. She currently involved in community work within the mental health sector.

Telling of Narrative

Jade temporally told her narrative. She spoke in a clear and precise manner with the occasional interjection of laughter. Jade factually reflected upon her memories of getting married and having two more sons and returning to the Caribbean with her family to attend a private school. Jade's voice conveyed pride as she revealed her social-economic achievements in being appointed within the Account Department of an internationally known food company. However, she recalled significant turning points and complications within her present life, which resulted in her returning solo to live in the UK Jade works within her local community as a volunteer, supporting adults with a mental health-related illness. The Interview took place in her home.

Interview Six: Winnie



Description: Book by Singer on Instructions for Art Embroidery and Lace Work

The book is an accompaniment for the Singer Company, which manufactured sewing machines in the 1940s. The book Winnie received the book in 1953, a gift from her mother, who wanted her to learn the art of lace embroidery on the sewing machine. The book was in good condition.

Winnie, age 79 at the time of the Interview. Widow, mother, grandmother and great-grandmother. Born in the Caribbean, she migrated to the UK in 1955. Winnie's husband was a soldier who served in the British army during World War II. Winnie is a retired care assistant. She now spends her time working in the Caribbean community with organizations and charities, concerned with the 'forgotten' Caribbean soldiers who served in the British army during World War II. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Winnie became sad as she recalled significant turning points experienced in her past. She talked of complicating actions that had a considerable impact on her and used laughter to embellish a past event's memory. Winnie's attachment to the craft book is symbolic because it reminded her of her mother, who instilled independence and empowerment.

Interview Seven: Delia



Description: Bible

The Bible is in excellent condition has a Brown leather cover, bounding on the outside. Delia received the Bible from an American woman missionary in 1956.

Delia, age 80, at the time of the Interview. Widow, mother, grandmother and great-grandmother. Born in the Caribbean, she migrated solo to the UK in 1957. Dee was a

qualified accountant when she arrived in the UK to live with her aunt before meeting her husband and getting married and settling down to start her family. Delia worked in numerous employing agencies as a semiskilled factory worker. At the age of 73, she retired as a Teacher Assistant, then took on another role as a Community Youth Officer. Delia was a recipient of the Lord Mayor's award for her unstinting community work with young people. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Delia spoke assertively temporally, delivering her narrative. She talked in a soft lyrical, clear voice as she described her past life and the turning points encountered. Delia used pauses intermittently to reinforce a significant turning point within her narrative as she remembered joys and sadness within her life. Delia's attachment to the visual object was symbolic because it reminded her of unity and shaped her identity as a community activist.

Interview Eight: Eva



Description: Brown Suitcase Grip

The 'Grip', which was the common name used to describe the Brown suitcase, was dark brown, shiny and kept in good condition. It had two coloured brass clasps and a sturdy leather handle.

Eva was 77, at the time of the Interview, a married mother with grandchildren. Eva was born in the Caribbean, and she migrated solo to the UK in 1955 to live with her cousin. She eventually pursued a career and trained and qualified as a Social Worker. However, Eva retired early on ill-health grounds and worked as a volunteer within local schools, teaching Caribbean cooking. She has also had become a Community Minister and a gospel singer and received an award for the best female artist. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Eva spoke her narrative in a temporally ordered manner. She talked quietly and calmly as she remembered memories of life in the Caribbean, which helped shape her cultural identity as an academic woman. She recalled feeling displaced as if she was waiting for a turning point in her life. Eva explained why the 'Grip' was symbolic because it reminded her of her past family life and cultural heritage

Interview Nine: Tammi



Description: Green Cover Story Book: Story of Jesus

The book contains religious stories. There is a distinctive embossed in gold lettering on the front cover, with an imprint of a visual depiction of one of the parables. The book a gift received over sixty years ago from an aunt when she was a young girl. There is embossed lettering in gold lettering of the

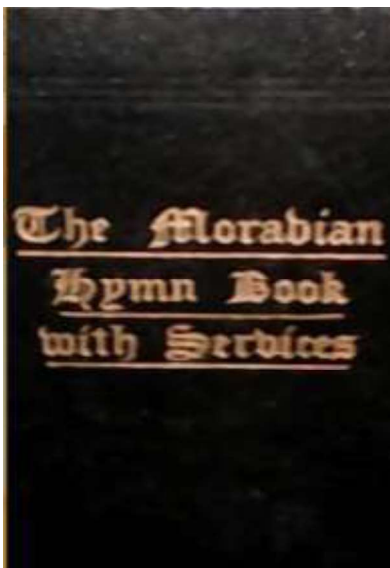
book title on the front cover, which is quite antique in style.

Tammi, age 72, at the time of the Interview. Widow a mother and grandmother. She was born into a large family in the rural countryside of the Caribbean. During the 1950s, she migrated solo at 17 years old to join her older siblings, who had previously migrated to live in the UK Tammi worked in factories and supported her family until she retired. She is a voluntary worker within her local community church, where she is actively involved in contributing to helping older adults in the community. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Tammi said her narrative in a linear temporal manner. Tammi spoke with a soft inflexion which made her delivery quite lyrical. She interjected laughter as she reached significant turning points in the past, which made her sad. However, as she spoke of the future, Tammi's voice became optimistic as she reflected upon the future generation's good fortunes. Tammi explained that her symbolic object has influenced her identity into adulthood and is a keepsake of belonging, friendship, and community spirit.

Interview Ten: Hennie



Description: Hymn Book

This oil-covered skin Hymnbook is a unique artefact that is very delicate and a precious keepsake from her mother. This book is associated with one of the oldest Protestant denomination in the world.

Hennie, age 78, at the time of the Interview, is a widow, mother and grandmother. Born in the Caribbean, Hennie migrated solo to the UK in the mid-1950s. Hennie comes from a middle-class background, which offered her the financial opportunity to study for a nursing and police services career. Hennie is now retired and is responsible for running the Day Care Centre and the Senior Women Fellowship group within her local Black Led Community Church. The Interview took place in the Church Office.

Telling of Narrative

Hennie's spoke quickly and assertively as she told her narrative, temporally. She talked about her life positively; however, she identified a few significant turning points. Hennie explains the attachment she has towards her symbolic object because it is an invisible bond that she has maintained with her mother across the decades and death, which gives her solitude.

Interview Eleven: Celia



Description: Plaque of National Treasures

This picture frame is a national artefact of the Caribbean Island of her origins. The picture frame consists of prominent historical figures and contains various national imagery.

Celia was age 78 at the Interview, a widow with two children and grandchildren. Celia was born in a large family in the Caribbean. Celia was 17 years old when she migrated solo from the Caribbean to the UK in 1958. Celia already had four brothers who had previously immigrated to the UK and made it easier for her to settle.

She completed her training to become a Nurse and successfully worked as a District Nurse for thirty years until she retired on ill-health grounds. Celia enjoys visiting the Caribbean regularly. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Celia temporally delivered her narrative. She used laughter to punctuate significant turning points in her life course. Celia spoke assertively and measured each word with the inclusion of a considerable pause. She had a secure connection to the symbolic visual object because it reminds her of home ties in the Caribbean.

US Participants

Interview Twelve: Minnie



Description: Brown Book Bible

The Bible was frayed and delicate with yellow stained pages. A parting gift received from her parents.

Minnie was 81 at the time of the Interview, married without children. Minnie was born into a middle-class family in the Caribbean in 1936. In 1960, Minnie went to the US to receive private medical care. She remained in the US, married her husband,

and worked within the Administration sector until she retired. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Minnie temporally said her narrative. She spoke in a soft lyrical voice as she recalled the tragedies encountered. Minnie paused intermittently, and during her Interview, request to halt the audiotape until she felt ready to resume the Interview. Mimi described why the visual object was symbolic because it was a gift from her mother, who has since died. This book is religious and provides spiritual comfort and emotional inspiration.

Interview Thirteen: SuSu



Description: Antique Cup with decorative design

SuSu received the antique cup as a family gift when she was migrating to the US. SuSu explained that the cups have been in her family for many decades.

SuSu was 76 at the time of the Interview, married with one child. SuSu was born into a middle-class family and lived in an affluent area in the Caribbean. She held a professional position as a Head teacher at the local community college in the Caribbean for fifteen years. SuSu migrated from the Caribbean to the US in 1972 to pursue her ambitions to improve her life opportunities. SuSu undertook further training and became a qualified Nurse. After a while, she returned to her teaching career, where she became a research fellow and retired as a Professor. SuSu worked as a volunteer within her local community Church before entirely resigning to enjoy travelling. The Interview took place in the Church Office.

Telling of Narrative

SuSu's temporally told her narrative. She spoke clearly with precision and assertiveness as she set the pace and rhythm for her tale's delivery. SuSu used pauses to emphasise significant turning points within her narratives, as she recalled events that were of significance to her past experiences. She also used inflexions such as [erm] quite explicitly as part of her sentences' delivery. SuSu presented her narrative articulately and confidently and used touches of laughter to manage memories that were either private or too painful. She did not wish to expand upon within her narrative. Susu's attachment to her object is symbolic as it captures her positive approach to life. It is also a strong influence in developing her identity and shaping her through connections with cultural heritage.

In the following section, a photograph of the Visual object is presented below, with the accompanying insert of the extended caption as transcribed from the participant's narrative. Each participant assumes a chronological space.

Interview Fourteen: Laney



Description: Blue Common Prayer

The book was a gift that Laney received from the Minister who presided over her marriage over fifty years ago. It is blue, exceptionally well preserved and contains midday prayers, evening prayers, and prayer for everyday living. Laney finds the book of great comfort because it reminds her of her husband, who died many years ago. Laney reads the volume regularly.

Laney was aged 82 at the time of the Interview. She was married, mother, grandmother, and great grandmother. She migrated from the Caribbean to the US in 1979 when one of her sons, who worked for an Airline company, gave her a discount Air ticket. Laney visited the US, intending to return home to the Caribbean that was forty-four years ago. Laney and her husband work together in a Nursing home until he died. Laney is now retired. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Laney spoke her narrative in a linear temporal manner. She began by talking about the circumstances associated with the first time she considered migrating to the US. Laney was very open. She focused on the factors that motivated her decision to migrate to the US. She explained that it was a strategic decision based on opportunity and economics. Laney's attachment to her symbolic object is hugely sentimental and personal because it is a reminder of her identity and has helped shape her into being a wife and mother.

Interview Fifteen: Mimi



Description: Antique Grey Coloured Bible

This Bible is an artefact that is quite worn and delicate and falling apart. The Bible was a gift from her nephew and a symbolic gift because it reminded her that she had misplaced many items when she migrated to the US.

Mimi was 79 at the time of the Interview. She was married, a mother with children and grandchildren.

Mimi left the Caribbean in 1967, following her decision to migrate solo to the US to pursue a nursing career and lay the path for her family to eventually join her. She successfully gained her Nursing qualification and entered the Nursing profession. Mimi has now retired as a volunteer for her local Community church. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Mimi temporally told her narrative. She rapidly with distinctive insertions of laughter which punctuated throughout her story. She delivered her tale clearly and concisely and used lengthy pauses to reinforce significant events in telling her narrative. An important turning point that has had a long-lasting impact on her was her younger sister's untimely death, who died in the 9/11 tragedy. Mimi paused for a lengthy while, and her voice became emotional as she reflected upon her memories. She explained how significant the Bible is in helping her shape her identity as a mother and teach her children about their Caribbean heritage.

Interview Sixteen: Lala



Description: Plaque –National Treasure Flying Fish

The object is a plaque with a treasured colourful souvenir depicting a Flying Fish, a popular, versatile dish that is part of the Caribbean culture.

Lala was 77 years at the time of the Interview. She was married with children and grandchildren. Lala migrated as a family unit with her parents when relocated from the Caribbean in 1962 to the US. Lala completed her senior level schooling in the US, where she trained as a Nurse, then pursued a career in teaching and became a Research Professor. Lala is currently an independent consultancy agency. Lala interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Lala told her narrative in a linear temporal way. Lala's voice blended her national lyrical accent combined with the American overtone. Lala talked about her life in a factual reporting style as she recalled the sequence of events and turning points she experienced. Lala attachment to the object connected her to memories of her home of origin.

Interview Seventeen: Dee



Description: A Birthday Card

This card is a simple birthday card embossed on delicate paper. It is colourful and artfully composed. It is also historically based on the age of the recipient. The Birthday Card was a simple design containing a single rose on

the front cover. However, for Dee, it has poignant because it is the last one she received before her mother's untimely death.

Dee was 78 years old at the time of the Interview. She was married with a child and grandchildren. Dee left the Caribbean in 1964 to migrate to the US. Dee worked as a full-time qualified schoolteacher in the US and only returning to the Caribbean once a year to visit her husband. Dee is now semi-retired. The Interview took place in the school where she worked.

Telling of Narrative

Dee's said her narrative in a linear temporal manner. She spoke in a quiet, authoritative style which illustrated that she was used to public speaking as a schoolteacher. Dee used pauses, sighs intermittently and became emotional, remembering her memories and the subsequent turning points in her life course.

Interview Eighteen: Nellie



Description: 18th Century Teacups

These 18th Century Teacups are dainty, and delicate are pristine, and made from bone china. These cups have been in the family and passed down to each generation of women in the family.

Nellie was 79 at the time of the Interview, a widow with no biological children. Nellie was born into a middle-class family of which she was the only girl. Nellie trained and qualified as a School teacher in the Caribbean. Since migrating to the US, she studied for her Doctorate and concentrated on opening a Day Care educational centre for young children. The Interview took place in Nellie's office.

Telling of Narrative

Nellie temporally told her narrative. She expressed memories of her past in the Caribbean and the educational achievements to become a qualified schoolteacher. She spoke assertively and described how she coped with challenges. Nellie showed a strong sense of agency in the negotiation as a surrogate mother to the school's young children. Nellie explains the attachment she has to the antique teacups and the links to her female ancestors, who traditionally assumed a guardian role.

Interview Nineteen: Terri



Description: Teaching Certificate

This Certificate presented to Terri for achieving outstanding academic accolade during 1948. The Certificate is symbolic because, in the educational establishment, it was the first one of its kind to be given to a woman. The Certificate is well looked after and kept in a wood frame on display.

Terri is 85 years old at the time of the interview, a widow, mother and grandmother. Terri was born and educated in the Caribbean. Terri was awarded her Teaching Certificate in 1948 and worked at a local school, then onto a University, Caribbean until she migrated to the UK in the late 1950s. She decided to migrate to the US during the 1970s to pursue a better life. Terri joined a training programme and qualified as a trained Nurse, and specialized as a Midwife. Terri worked professionally for over thirty years until she retired on health grounds. Terri was interviewed in a quiet room in the Day Care centre, which she attends.

Telling of Narrative

Terri told her narrative in a linear temporal manner, with precision and assertiveness. Her voice became emotional as she remembered her passion as a teacher and feelings of achievements when she positively impacted her students' lives. Terri spoke of her mixed emotions, her decision to migrate from the UK to the US during the 1970s. Terri showed a sense of agency as she recalled the negotiation within her supportive family. However, she became solemn as she remembered the significant turning point at work, which severely damaged her spinal column and ended her nursing career.

Interview Twenty: Pennie



Description: Glass Ornament

The object is a religious artefact that is multi-coloured in design and kept on display inside a cabinet. The glass object was heavy and solid.

Pennie was 85 years at the Interview, married, and a mother of three children. She was born into a large family in the Caribbean and came from a professional middle-class background. Pennie migrated to the US during the 1970s with her family. Pennie achieved her Masters in Social Work as a mature student and worked as a Social Worker and a Counsellor for over twenty years. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Pennie told her narrative in a linear temporal manner. Her narration concisely and assertively, which resonated with her social class background. Pennie's story is spoken with passion as she recalled having a strong sense of agency to bring about change in vulnerable people's lives. However, Pennie has experienced sadness with her son's death, who died while on duty in the army. Pennie's attachment to her chosen object is symbolic because it reminds her how she formed her identity as a mother, based on memories of traditions and living in the Caribbean.

Interview Twenty-One: Lou



Description: Wooden Plaque of Jamaica

The plaque carved in the shape of the Caribbean country from which she originates. Lou recalled that she was

given this artefact as momentum to remind her of her home in the Caribbean.

Lou was age 76, at the time of Interview, a widow, with one child. Educated in boarding school in the Caribbean and obtained a good standard of education qualification. Lou migrated to the US in the 1970s; however, she was initially unable to settle. She returned to the Caribbean until she eventually decided to return to live in the US. Lou is retired and worked as a Church mother within her local community church. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Lou temporally said her narrative. She began her story in a quiet, reserved voice by talking about her professional achievements within the career choice and the success she has experienced as an Administrator for a prominent company. Lou reflected upon the complications of her life experiences, which created turning points, such as her son's untimely death and the significant emotional impact. She asked for the tape to be put on pause so that she could compose her emotion. The Interview ended with Lou being optimistic that her local community church will be her surrogate family. Lou's attachment to her object is symbolic because of her deep-rooted memories associated with personal losses.

Interview Twenty-Two: Frankie



Description: Plaque of a Caribbean Island

This object is a national artefact associated with the Caribbean culture, which is a reminder of 'back home' and embodies a sense of belonging. It has symbolic value because of its very detailed design and contains many visual images that depict the Caribbean culture's richness.

Frankie is 79 years, at the time of the Interview, divorced with no children. Frankie was born in the Caribbean, and she initially migrated to the UK in 1961 to pursue a nursing career. Frankie met her husband, who was in the UK army and married in 1967. In 1970, Frankie decided to migrate to the US to enhance her professional opportunities. Frankie was the first person in her family to obtain a college degree. Since her divorce, Frankie has suffered from a range of medical conditions, which has left her with mobility issues. Frankie lives in a comfortable environment and is appreciative of her good fortunes. Frankie lives with her pet dog. The Interview took place in her home.

Telling of Narrative

Frankie presented her narrative temporally and linearly. Frankie spoke in a soft and clear voice as she recalled her life course events and the tragedies encountered. Frankie talked about her past in terms of poverty and of the wealth achieved. She spoke about significant turning points in her life when diagnosed with a terminal illness and how it changed her life. Frankie explained how her attachment shaped her identity to a symbolic object, based on personal connection and memories to the Caribbean.

Part Seven: Data Analysis

This section provides an overview of the data collection and analysis framework used in processing the twenty-two women's narratives. This chapter illustrates that qualitative data analysis is a continual process that starts when the first data are collected. More importantly, this process confirms that narrative research relies heavily on interpretation (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000).

Narrative Analysis

The term narrative can be so vague and encompassing that Carlisle (1994) laments it is sometimes no use at all as seen below:

The narrative of the world is numberless. Narrative is first and foremost a prodigious variety of genres [...] narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: It is simply there, like life itself.

(Barthes, 1977).

The Researcher found this quote from Barthes (1977) helpful because it is a clear reminder that narratives are a way of understanding human experiences. The quotation reinforces the research aims to give the women space for their voices to be at the centre. Understanding qualitative research data analysis is the first stage of conducting narrative data analysis. Sequential data analysis and interpretation work in tandem and works towards finding meaning. Riessman (2008a) proposes three steps of narrative analysis, namely: *telling, transcribing and analysing*. Riessman (2008a) also states that narrative research is unique in its strategy, as it does not follow a standard set of procedures. The focus is on how and why events are storied, not merely focusing solely on the content. Riessman (2008a) proposes a typology of *four main types of analysis: thematic, structural, visual, and dialogic*. However, she notes the blurring of boundaries between these four groups can sometimes be blurred. Riessman (2008a) argues that thematic and structural approaches are the two foundations of narrative analysis and that the dialogic and visual methodologies build on these. In the context of this research, a thematic,

structural and visual analysis suited the data analysis process (Riessman, 2008).

Developing an Analytical Framework

This thesis employed a combined adaptation of thematic analysis and structural analysis to explore the narratives (Riessman, 2008; Labov, 1972). The focus was on *what* content the description communicated. As Riessman (2008a) is careful to point out, the thematic narrative analysis only appears straightforward and intuitive, as the actual process of narrative research is methodological, focused and detailed (Riessman, 2008). The thesis focused on the "*telling*" of the narrative, sequencing, specific language, *pauses and emotion, tears, and laughter*. Notably, this will enhance and add depth to the analysis of the women's narrative. Riessman (2008a) states that thematic narrative analysis differs from how they attend to the structural features and the language of the narratives and the content. In the research context, this entailed considering what types of analysis were useful to process the data collected in response to the Research Questions.

There were identifying common elements shared by research participants and their reported events and actions and using this to theorize across cases, in an established tradition in qualitative research (Riessman, 2008a). Notably, other qualitative approaches, principally Grounded Theory, is similar in several ways (Glaser and Strauss, 1999).

In analysing narrative data, Rosenthal and Fischer-Rosenthal (2004) distinguish actual events and narratives, which The Researcher found helpful and involved the following process:

The five-stage process of narrative analysis:

- a) Analysis of biographical data,
- b) Reflection
- c) Re-construction of the life narrative as experienced
- d) An analysis of individual texts

- e) A process of comparison between narrative and life as experienced as it related to the Research Questions.

In sum, while the term narratives may appear vague and encompassing. Having a clear analytical framework is vital for the research findings (Rosenthal and Fisher-Rosenthal, 2004).

Thematic Analysis

In the context of this research, the Researcher drew upon thematic analysis because it provided the scope to identify *key themes* that are common within all of the twenty-two women personal narratives. The Researcher found this valuable approach because thematic analysis suited working with multiple narratives to elicit the research data's interpretative and sense-making process. It involved constant comparison of the raw data. In this vein, it is possible to acknowledge the similarities which this approach has in common with Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). A thematic analysis approach is valuable as it provides comparisons across narratives to explore themes embedded within the narratives, which contains data relevant to the Research Question. Using thematic analysis was helpful because it offered the women's narrative scope to give its most whole meaning and interpretation and ultimately retained its power.

In sum, the thematic analysis offered a powerful and flexible way to explore central elements in the narratives constructed by the women. Such analyses provided valuable insights into how narratives produced by the individual women are structured and shaped by post-World War II migration contexts. Equally, the thematic analysis illustrates how these narratives, in turn, are considered within the context of social and cultural societies (C.W. Mills, 1959). Arguably, the thematic analysis allowed for a widening, deeper, and embeddedness of the women's narratives' content to appropriately explore.

The initial stage entailed using an inductive analysis process reflective of Czarniawska (2004) account of a pedagogical approach was used. The Researcher used the strategy to carefully investigate each of the twenty-two narratives by identifying common themes. This primary study aim was to provide the space for African Caribbean women to share their personal lived experiences of post-World War II migration in their voices. In dealing with this analytical

process, three vital critical themes emerged from the theoretical framework: *motivation, arrival and settlement*. In addition to using thematic analysis, the Researcher drew upon specific structural analysis characteristics illustrated within the next section (Riessman, 2008:17).

Structural Analysis

Similarly, as with thematic analysis, there is no single way of analysing narratives from a structural perspective. Structural analysis prioritises narratives in terms of formal properties and function. Probably, the best-known approach comes from sociolinguistics (Labov and Waletzky, 1967: Labov, 1972), who identifies six components of narrative structure as follows:

An abstract - summaries the main point of the story.

An orientation - identify the key actors, time, place and situation

A complication action - sequence events

An evaluation - comment on the meaning of the narrative

A resolution - the outcome

A coda - an ending and return to present time.

(Labov, 1972)

From an analytical perspective, the Researcher was mindful not to assume that each of the women's narratives would contain *all six* components of Labov's (1972) model because narratives as human beings do not organise talking in this manner. Therefore, structural analyses can be applied to address the 'how' questions, similar to the phraseology used for the Research Question. As with thematic analysis, there is no single way of analysing narratives from a structural perspective. The narrative analysis focuses not on who does what but how events presented differently shape a narrative's meaning.

Furthermore, the structural analysis offers a lens into social, cultural and historical differences in narratives to be critiqued (De Fina and Johnstone, 2015). The structural analysis provided

an effective way to examine the women's narratives by exploring how different components are ordered and connected to give plausibility and durability. Such process revealed fundamental similarities in what a thematic analysis might suggest are quite different narratives and the critical variation where such differential impact cannot adequately explain by their content alone. While recognising the uniqueness of the respective women's narratives, some commanded more attention than others. By adopting this approach to the thematic analysis, this context succeeded in accomplishing a combined analytical framework that provided the best outcome from the Research Questions. All the women produced data that required an aspect of delving into memories associated with their past events. Using Labov (1972) 'Coda' element was an implicit means for the women to return from the past to the present, which indicated that they had completed telling their narratives and the research interview completed. Labovian approach equally provided the analysis process to draw an inference as to similarities and differences. Lastly, this approach provided the opportunity to explore the women's narratives within a social, cultural and historical context.

The following section explains the process of undertaking the transcription of the verbal data related to the analysis of findings to the Research Questions presented within the final chapter of the thesis.

Transcription Process

Taping and transcribing are essential to narrative analysis involving interviews. The Researcher used an iterative process to analyse the first preliminary transcription. The Researcher had the full responsibility to transcribe each word on the tapes obtained from the participants. For consistency, each participant was allocated a pseudonym during the transcription stage, which had no resemblance to their original names. Similarly, each participant personal identity was protected by not revealing the unique island of birth within the Caribbean. Instead, each participant biographical detail was identified in globalised terms such as the Caribbean, living in UK or US.

The process of transcription analysis began upon completion of the data collection stage. Even at the early transcription stage, it was evident that the data's content was vibrant and informative. While a few of the women exhibited sad emotions as they remembered a tragic

memory in their lives. In the main, they took control as to the timing and pace of the interview session. Equally, it was possible to recognise when there was a point of saturation when no more new issues were forthcoming and the data collection. As illustrated in the analysis process, this observation was evident in the US cohort interview [participant No. 22].

The Researcher found that, while the verbatim transcript's production was too time-consuming, for instance, a sixty-minute interview took up to eight hours to transcribe. Taking responsibility to transcribe each tape helped to inform and enrich the process of data analysis.

The Researcher drew on inherent knowledge of cultural language and synonyms, making it easier to decipher speech and meanings originating from a Caribbean dialect. The three processes of thematic analysis are detailed below.

First Stage of the process

Theme One: Motivation

The first stage of analysis resulted in identifying blocks of text from each transcript related to the three themes of *motivation, arrival, and settlement*. *The relevant data that matches the subject is selected*. The thematic stage revealed that while some of the women talked less about the *motivational* reasons for migration. The majority of the women had an idea for pursuing their migration analytically; this stage focused on what Labov (1972) coined the *abstract*, which provided a summary of the story to come to life. Similarly, the orientation and complicating actions which the women used, as they sought to put their narrative into a coherent order, which made sense to them, was equally relevant. This action reflected a key point made by Plummer (2001:235) of the way memory works on several interconnected levels, in the way people focus on narratives on their past in the present and the underlying motives behind their narratives.

Theme Two - Arrival

In this context, the narratives contained a combination of *orientation and complication actions* and *evaluation*. The women gave a skeletal plot of what was to come within the main narrative.

Many of the women included an evaluative element as they remembered a critical point in their narrative, thereby justifying its telling. Furthermore, in some instances, the Researcher noted that the women emphasised specific aspects of the narrative to reinforce the feelings that resurfaced in remembering past events. Some of the women's narratives contained external evaluation. The participant paused to tell their narrative to explain or reinforce a specific point that held emotional feelings that they wished to convey. Labov (1972) identifies three types of evaluation: *external, embedded and evaluative* action, which were apparent within most of the narrative. Riessman (1993:21) states that evaluation is the soul of the narrative' expressing both the story's point and, crucially, how the narrator wants to be understood.

There was also evidence of external evaluation as it resonated with preserving a dramatic point felt at the time. An example is apparent in Terri's narrative where she describes how the sound 'pop' resonated with the sound of her spinal column breaking' during the process of lifting a patient, and realised afterwards that she was carrying most of the weight compared to the other nurse, as follow:

One day we went on to the ward. Then I went upstairs to help look after some people. A man he needed care, and a nurse was standing there and I 'said come... let's lift him and turn him around, and I lifted that man thinking she was lifting, and I heard my back go 'pop!' and that was the last day I worked [pause]. So that's my story.

[Terri, Life Narrative Interview [US]

Whereas Nellie's narrative illustrates embedded evaluation as she explained how she felt at a frightening episode in her life when she felt the impact of power based on race, gender and social class:

One day I went to a lady's house and erm her house was truly filthy, and I cleaned up for the day, and when I was ready to leave I said to her I'm finish she said 'so I said can I have my pay so that I can go? Her reply was, 'you better get out of here before I call immigration on you, and I had to run out of there so fast...

[Nellie, Life Narrative Interview [US]

Theme Three - Settlement

Each of the women's narratives illustrated their life trajectory, which impacted their lived experiences of migration. Again, the content was variable regarding the multifaceted perspectives which existed between the participants. Each included evidence of resolution to illustrate that they had reached the end:

You know that even in my old age, because I was in my 50's, I could achieve, and I think I have achieved... you know. It enables me to sit down and enjoy the little activities I get at the end of the rope.

[Pennie, Life Narrative Interview [US]

The following excerpts illustrate where necessary to exclude unnecessary discussion, repetition, digressions, and examples shared by the participants. Attention to the sequencing of events by the participants was conserved. Furthermore, the Researcher ensured that original expressions which held cultural meanings remained within the analysis. Similarly, the sequencing of activities by the participants was preserved and not altered:

I am proud because I didn't believe that I would reach this far when I came here first, but thank god that I have made it. Sorry again if there anything else that I should have said but didn't say it, but I am just a simple country girl who enjoys life to the full. ...end.

[Etta, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Obtaining data regarding settlement was more manageable due to listening and transcribing the women's narratives:

Second Stage of the Process

Upon completion of the second stage of transcribing the text, it offered a different sort of reading. It became apparent that the women's narratives conveyed both a private and a public perspective, of which some held emotional content. However, changing the taped interviews into text provided the distance required to engage in the analysis process. This process required reviewing the printed version of the transcript to proofread for any anomalies or typographical errors.

In this context, the interest in transcription was less on the mechanics of speech and more on the interview's informational content as it related to the social and cultural meaning that the participants attached to their stories. It was important that the information was accurate and not misrepresentative of the individual women's one-one interview.

The sequencing was preserved, and the text left in blocks relating to the event or topic the women were discussing. Any significant pause where they sighed or laughed were observed and included in the analysis. Additional considerations included translating pronunciation, such as slang, of individual words based on regional cultural accents (Oliver et al., 2005). In this context, the Researcher read each transcript carefully, scrutinising each section of the narratives:

I got married, we never had the money to go and rent a place to have the reception, we lived in an Asian mans' house, and he gave us the front room. We had the reception in the front room, and that was very kind of him indeed.

[Hennie, Life Narrative Interviews [UK].

Third Stage of the Process

This process involved deeper immersion into the excerpts noting where the women returned to a theme within their life narrative interview. The Researcher used different colour codes as markers within the specific sections, page numbers of the transcript, highlighting the relevant part of interest, making the themes easier to identify within the women's life narratives. These

key themes were developing from the first stage because they provided the scope to be more analytical and reflective of the research findings. The third stage of analysis required further interrogation of the transcript to find commonalities and differences between the women life narratives relative to the key themes. In this context, the Researcher could re-experience the events within the life narratives' core heart.

The example of Hennie is a useful illustration:

I missed my family terribly... especially my mother we kept in touch by letters because the telephone was not prevalent in those days. I vowed at the time that I would spend only three years in this country and returned to my homeland, but this never materialised at all

[Hennie, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

I never had to come to this country because I had my job right. I was a trainee nurse, and then I applied to join the police force, which I was just waiting for them to call me when I came over here and when I came here, I had to start like all over again in the nursing profession you know.

[Hennie, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Chapter Summary

This chapter comprises the theoretical and practical aspects of the methodology and the methods used to conduct the research process, consisting of two sides of the same coin. The chapter commenced with justification for the theoretical, conceptual framework approaches drawn upon for the research design. It provides an account of feminism, positionality, private and public spheres, which has influenced the research design and implementation's theoretical framework. There is specific consideration for the most effective process to explore the women's subjectivities and identities across the life span course of migration. The rationale for the Research Questions is appropriately critiqued and considered from African Caribbean women's perspectives. Equally, explicit links are made to the literature review chapters to reaffirm the sensitive social research topic's personalised nature

In this context, Narrative research drawing upon Life Narrative interview and Visual-Based Inquiry as described by Atkinson (2012), Rose (2016) provided the most appropriate approach to explore the fullness of the women lived experiences from a social, cultural and historical perspective. This section addressed the two primary forms of qualitative methods utilised for the data collection used within the study. Ethical consideration, sampling and recruitment

processes as to the twenty-two participants, and concludes with an early impression drawn from the transcription process, which identifies with the initial themes arising from the qualitative narrative and visual data (Riessman, 2008). The blending of narrative and visual inquiry-based research is an innovative aspect of this research and provides the scope to explicitly draw upon a theoretical framework, which suits the feminist nature of the research study (Harding 1992; Rose, 2016).

Subsequently, the rationale for the inclusion of visual materials in the thesis is clear. This approach provides an innovative feature of complementing the data collected through Life narrative interviews (Riessman, 2008). Furthermore, it offered a creative and empowering way to acknowledge that even though the women had left the Caribbean, they had invested in bringing with them an object which held symbolic meanings about their culture, values and traditions. It was worth noting that this research aspect provides greater depth and insight into each of the women from an intersectionality theoretical perspective. In the absence of a previously established social research study within this specific migration area, perhaps this uniquely combined data can inspire and illuminate conversations associated with conducting visual research from a feminist perspective.

This chapter explains the data analysis processes undertaken for the thesis. There is an account of thematic and structural analysis used to identify the vital critical themes which emerged from the theoretical framework (Riessman, 2005). Drawing upon an adaptation of Labov (1972) six-part model complemented the feminist research because it supports collecting linguistic data in a natural setting (Labov, 1972). There is also reference made to the different stages used for the transcription of the data. The type of analysis undertaken on how each of the women actively and conscientiously positioned themselves during the interview process while sharing their narratives.

The following **two chapters** will focus on the presentation of the twenty-two women's verbal and visual data. The following section provides the opportunity to gain an insight and a more holistic picture of African Caribbean women. Chapter Five introduces the *Migration Triangle framework*, which is an analytical tool inspired by the Researcher. The Researcher will use this unique framework to present the three broad themes: **Motivation** for undertaking migration, secondly, experiences on **Arrival** into the country of destination, and thirdly, personal lived experiences of **Settlement**.

Chapter Six focuses on the data obtained from the Visual Based Inquiry approach. In this context, a *Visual Analysis Cycle* designed by the Researcher provides the scope to present the data. The two themes arising from the data is loss and separation.

Each chapter explores the key themes identified by the Researcher as being relatable to the Research Questions.

Chapter 5: Presentation of Findings Narrative Data

This chapter addresses Research Question One, which explores the African Caribbean women's voices related to their lived experiences of migration during post-World War II, to live either in the UK or the US.

Life Narrative Interviews

The Researcher has designed a Migration Triangle Framework to facilitate the analytical process of the participants' Life Narratives Interviews. This framework has provided structure to the organisation and presents the data collected from undertaking the non-interrupting of the Life narratives interviews.

Migration Triangle Framework:

The Researcher has designed the Migration Triangle Framework specifically to address each of the three key themes as follows: [See figure 5]

The First theme: Motivation

This was a critical area that the Researcher specifically wanted to find out the push triggers that motivated these women to leave their homeland to migrate from the Caribbean to respond to the pull factors either in the UK or the US. This area was discussed within [Chapter 1], which is a critical factor of interest. It resonated with historical Caribbean heritage associated with the migration influences that have impacted these women.

Two sub-themes that arose were as follows; the US was viewed as the *Land of Opportunities* and the UK, the *Motherland*, which was evident within the respective bespoke narratives.

The Second theme: Arrival

This is an area of specific interest, as this uniquely captures the individual encounters and lives experienced by the women. In this context, issues related to subjectivities and identities are considered. *Eight sub-themes emerge, consisting of; Motherhood and Work, Food, Economic Constraints, Change in Personal circumstances, Community Mothering, Feminisation of migration, Church and Housing.*

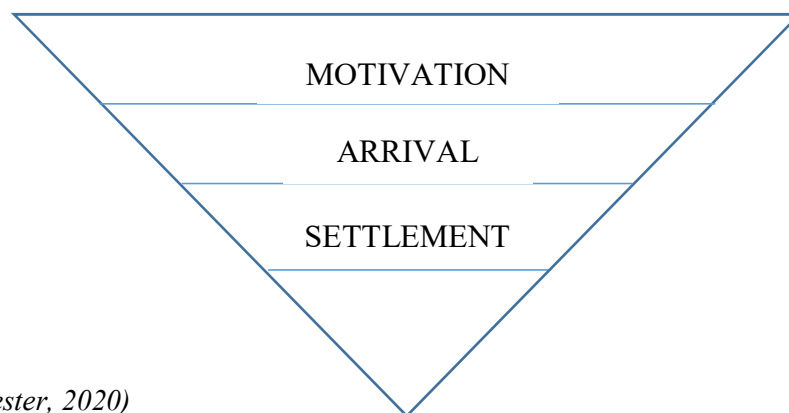
The Final Theme: Settlement

This aspect has two sub-themes, *belonging and betterment*. These themes permeated throughout the participant's narratives as to why they have not returned to the Caribbean.

As previously explained, data analysed within a theoretical framework consisting of narrative and structural analysis within the context of the respective theories, already discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 and was drawn upon to enhance the study of the women's narratives.

In this instance, the Researcher was looking for certain kinds of knowledge related to social, cultural and historical experiences of migration, which would provide insights into the diverse aspects of lived experiences that these participants would have encountered as migrant women. The Migration Triangle offers a clear structure to present the themes logically and coherently related to the Research Question.

Figure 5: Migration Triangle



Source: (Sylvester, 2020)

Theme One: Motivation

Motivation in this context of the research refers specifically to the impetus that influenced women to leave their homeland. We hear their unique personal voices related to their experiences. Subsequently, while there will be differences, it is envisaged that there will also be similarities presented. The Cambridge Dictionary defines motivation as the need or reason for doing something (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2009).

Motivation is a significant factor in migration. As motivation is a key theme, this section of the thesis looks at how motivation is woven throughout the narratives of the twenty-two women. Postcolonial theory refutes dominant voices, depicting the public social image of Caribbean history and migration. Hence, the tendency to focus specifically on the male reporting whilst omitting the females, thereby minimal data available as to why many of these women migrated to either the UK or the US. Indeed, taking a Black feminist perspective helps place the women at the centre of the margins so that their voices can be heard. As Plaza (2000) asserts, many of these women were motivated to migrate in search of opportunities and a better life. As presented below, some women provided important details about their experiences. However, some were less clear about or did not discuss explicitly their motivation to migrate. Motivation can be intrinsic or extrinsic, although, at times, the distinction between these two categories becomes blurred, as the reasons become intertwined depending on personal situation. For some, essential motivation migration included particular interest, or extrinsic, associated with seeking employment, improving economic prospects (Dodgson, 1984). [See Figure 5].

Motivation [UK participants]

Rea

Rea's motivation for migrating stemmed from being a young woman of 17 years old who sought adventure and another way of life. Rea travelled, alone from the Caribbean to be with her sister, who had already migrated to the UK as below:

I came on a plane to the UK in 1960 to my sister... [Laugh].

[Rea, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Rea was born into the new postcolonial generation, a relatively working-class background, and sought independence, which shaped and developed her identity as a young woman. The push factors that existed within the Caribbean socio-economic systems were also motivating, as there was no economy for the younger generation.

Etta

Whereas comparatively, Etta came from a social class background which provided her with the financial opportunity to train as a Nurse. Etta's reason for leaving the Caribbean to migrate to the UK is an example of the push factor of the lack of opportunity to complete her nursing career and find employment. The pull factor that existed in the UK, where the offer to join a nurse training programme made it possible for her to leave the Caribbean independently:

After leaving school in the Caribbean, there was not much choice of employment or what I could do being born and bred in the country. I did love nursing and wanted to be a nurse. I made several applications to the nearest hospital by me, but I had no reply. So, I applied to a hospital in the UK, applying for a post as a student nurse. I got the response to say 'yes', and I left the Caribbean on 11th August 1954.

[Etta, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

The Push theory impact is evident in this narrative, which illustrates how the best of the young professional students often migrated in search of better career opportunities. The UK pull factor was the NHS hospitals, which capitalised on many young women choosing to migrate without any thought to the consequences. Arguably, Etta was an active agent in the migration process. She knew that her life chances of obtaining employment in the NHS sector would improve her status from a socio-economical perspective.

Gee

For Gee, gender roles and responsibilities played a significant part in her decision:

My husband was already here, so I didn't have to go through all the rigmarole. I arrived in the UK in December 1960. I had a self-employed business as a dressmaker in the Caribbean; that is what I was doing for my living.

[Gee, Life Narrative Interview [UK]]

Gee's narrative illustrates how migrating to the UK impact her discernment of shaping her identity. She was a self-employed dressmaker in the Caribbean, which meant from a Black feminist intersectionality perspective, she was socially an empowered woman with her independent means of employing a small workforce. In this context, migrating to the UK meant relinquishing her financial independence, becoming reliant on her spouse, and relinquish her social mobility status.

Annie

Comparatively, Annie's reasons for migrating to the UK illustrate the autonomous nature of women who chose to migrate independently. According to the push factor of the lack of employment opportunities that existed in the Caribbean. The pull factor of the UK was a desirable option because it offered a chance to change her life course:

Mine was to better my life. I have the intention of being a nurse because that is what I wanted to be. So, work-wise, I just finish school. I could not get any work, and I think of what to do with myself.

[Annie, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Drawing on a postcolonial feminist theoretical perspective, many of these women were ambitious, independent and hardworking. It was part of the shaping of the social construction of their identity [See Chapter 2]. Indeed, there is a growing body of literature regarding Black feminist writings that seek to challenge these women's experiences (Williams, 1989; Phoenix, 1997). These debates provide theoretical accounts of the intersectionality of race, class and gender, and explores how Black feminist perspectives primary focus is to put these women experiences at the centre of analysis.

Jade

Jade was a teenager and wanted a better life for herself and her baby. From a transnational cultural perspective, this narrative captures a comprehensive account of child shifting within the Caribbean and the consequences of early motherhood. Despite being pregnant with her first child at the age of 15, Jade chose not to become dependent on others. The empowerment and encouragement which she received from her grand-aunt gave her the positive motivation to pursue her ambition to migrate to the UK, and reinforces the argument of first wave Black feminism:

I quickly learnt that I am on my own without my parents, and I learnt to be an adult very quickly. I was always a self-motivated person. I did not need anyone to tell me that education was necessary, and I must not give up.

[Jade, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Jade's determination to make a good life for herself and her son motivated her to attend night school. She achieved the relevant qualifications, which helped her find a professional occupation. Jade achieved social mobility through her motivation and determination to improve

herself, despite her challenges as a young woman growing up in the Caribbean. Jade's narrative illustrates the multifaceted aspect of racial discrimination and the struggles of getting a job. It also exemplifies the vulnerability she experienced as a young single parent without State support (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985). However, Jade reunion with her father was complicated hindered by her poor relationship stepmother, who showed no consideration for supporting Jade as a young single parent.

Winnie

As a young soldier's bride, Winnie had no prospect of finding a job in the Caribbean without formal education. She was young, stuck and broke and responded to the push factors that existed in her homeland and decided to migrate to the UK. Winnie's husband had served in the British army and obtained citizenship accordingly. Subsequently, the pull factors of having citizenship was a motivating factor that promised employment and a better life in the UK. In 1954, she travelled solo for three weeks on a cargo ship to the UK and still have negative memories of the journey. The inadequate facilities in which many women travelled from the Caribbean to the UK are undocumented and often only spoken about within close families' private conversations:

A few months after we were married, he lost his job, and we had no money. We had a lovely little house, but a home needs money to keep it going. The opportunity came for us to leave the Caribbean. My husband left, for the UK, in December 1954. I followed him in 1955. I landed in the UK, which was the most frightening place I could imagine at that time. Travelling over from the Caribbean, we were on the ship, which someone had converted to a passenger ship. In fact, it was just a cargo ship, which was small, and I can still smell that ship, sixty years down the line.

[Winnie, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

This narrative is an example of the feminisation of migration. As early as 1955, women were travelling independently, as illustrated in this narrative. Winnie's narrative captures her determination as she described her memories of her journey and arrival into the UK in 1955. She told the experience illustrated that she travelled in substandard conditions unsuitable to meet her gender needs. Some women faced double discrimination, not only as a migrant but

also as a female, because gender ideologies rooted in patriarchy may not consider the impact of travelling in appalling conditions.

Dee

From a socio-political perspective, Dee's narrative illustrates that her motivation, not to migrate to the US but instead chose to migrate to the UK, was based on the political unrest which existed in the US. Equally, the UK was the '*mother country*' and offered legal citizenship and the right to settle and work:

The reason why I came to the UK because, in those times, the US was going through a lot of problems with Black people. White people wanted Black people to go at the back of the bus ...and I wasn't going to stand for that. When the British people asked us to come here to do the jobs that the English people weren't doing, I thought, well, being a British subject, I'd chance it, so that is the reason why I come here.

[Dee, Life Narrative Interview, UK]

Dee's narratives capture an awareness of the socio-political and historical accounts that existed during the late 1940s in the US at the onset of the Civil Rights movements. The reference to Rosa Parks' sit-in' on a bus in Alabama would have been popular news in the Caribbean and reaffirm the early awareness of Black feminism and social justice. It is apparent from Dee's narrative that the *historical event's memory* was significant to her, hence migrating to the UK instead of the US.

Eva

Eva's narrative captures the postcolonial climate, which existed and factored in young women seeking job opportunities in the UK. Eva confirmed that she was motivated by recruitment agencies' pull factor, which guaranteed work within the National Health Services:

In the '50s, there's the opportunity for people to come to the UK to do Nursing and thing like that, two of my cousins went to a Hospital in the UK, and we corresponded and [erm] I wanted to apply to the

same hospital to train as a nurse. They sent me the application form, I filled it in, I sent it back, and then they replied and requested my birth certificate, which at the time was at the passport office. Well, I thought...If I come, maybe I could take it myself. I left maybe fifty-three years ago.

[Eva, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

The post-World War II period saw the end of the British Empire. A significant number of trained and newly qualified nurses from across the Caribbean who had British citizenship obtained employment and recruited to work in the National Health Service. It was the period of implementation of the National Health Act, 1948, and the Windrush Empire's arrival at Tilbury dock in June 1948. It was also the era of tighter immigration control that included proof of citizenship and active discrimination towards many young migrant women (Gilroy, 1994).

Tammi

Tammi's motivation to migrate illustrates that personal reasons to get married as the main push factor. However, she also refers to the phenomenal recruitment drive of Caribbean women signing up in response to the Nursing recruitment drive, which was a pull factor, and indicated that the UK government's promotion drive had reached local rural communities within the Caribbean. The negotiation which she made with her sibling stated that there was some uncertainty of the future. Tammi's narrative reinforced the complicating actions that formed the spine of her narrative and presented the structure of the events, which ultimately motivated her to migrate to the UK:

My memories of migrating to the UK go back to when I was 17 years three months. At that time, I came to get married, although I could not say I was getting married because I was a child at 17. So, my sister suggested that I should join a college or school. At that age, people from the Caribbean signed up to do nursing. I did not mind leaving home because I did not have to go to church. No matter where you lived in the Caribbean, on a Sunday, you have to go to church...unless you're sick.

[Tammi, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Tammi's narrative suggests that she used the opportunity to migrate to live with an older sister in the UK to escape from the traditional roles expected of young women growing up in the Caribbean during the 1940s. From her perception, migrating to the UK meant breaking from traditional cultural values and experiencing life's fullness. Tammi's desire was not unique, as a teenager who wished to take control of her life, which meant she would find strategies to facilitate such adventurous initiatives. In this context, feminist influence played a part in the decision-making process to migrate. It was also a means to escape traditional roles, which included going to church every Sunday.

Hennie

Hennie approached migration from a professional career perspective. Hennie was a student with a qualification in Nursing and as a trainee Police officer. Hennie originated from a middle-class social background, which provided her with the financial means and opportunities to undertake two separate training programmes. Hennie's narrative captures insight into the post-colonialism Caribbean and the UK's attachment, commonly known as the 'Mother Country'. The pulling factor of having a British citizen status made her decide to migrate to build her nursing career in the UK. However, her narrative equally indicates that arrival in the UK was a disappointment:

Well, it was the mid-1950's I was encouraged to travel to the mother country. Having an adventurous spirit, I decided to give up my job as a trainee nurse, and I had applied to join the police force for which I was waiting to be called for training when I left the Caribbean for the UK. When I landed, I was disappointed, for this was not the UK that I had envisaged. There was smoke billowing from the chimneys, and the houses were all joined together. The blackness.

[Hennie, Life Narrative Interview [UK].

Hennie's narrative metaphorically captures the challenges she later experiences as a young migrant mother living in the ghettoised area in the inner-city UK.

Celia

Celia's motivation stemmed from the pull factor and opportunities available in the UK. For Celia, who came from a strict family where traditional values influenced her upbringing, this was an opportunity too good to miss:

I was 17, I just leaving school, my friends left and came to the UK, so I said to my mother, 'oh that sounds good...[pause] I would like to go to the UK as well'. I had four brothers living here at the time. However, my mother said 'no..., just stay and finish your studies. I said, 'alright, I'll finish it before I go to the UK'. On the 24th of March 1958, I landed in the UK and joined my siblings.

[Celia, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

In 1958, Celia was seventeen years old and was exhibiting her awareness of being a teenager, seeking to develop and shape her identity as a young woman. It was an era from a transatlantic perspective, which saw many women migrating into the UK, from post-colonial countries such as the Caribbean, searching for employment. Celia's narrative is similar to Jade and Tammi. They emigrated as young, ambitious women seeking to escape the confinement of life in the Caribbean as they wanted to experience life in another country and environment. The 1948 Nationality Act confirmed the British citizenship of people who lived in the Caribbean Islands. The UK was the Mother Country made migration a less challenging and more straightforward process to negotiate with their home environments.

Motivation [US participants]

Minnie

Minnie's motivation to migrate to the US was geographically situated near the Caribbean and was locally known as the land of opportunity. Minnie had a chronic medical condition that was difficult to treat in the Caribbean due to its complication. Her parents were instrumental in supporting her to travel to the US for medical treatment, and resulted in Minnie embarking alone to the US:

I came here some years ago for medical treatment. However, when I arrived, I was told that they had to extend my time because of my deficiency, and I end up having to process my papers. I'm still here, unexpected of course, because I had planned to go back to take care of my mom, but it didn't work out like that.

[Minnie, Life Narrative Interview [US]

Minnie's motivation was the pull factor of accessing expert medical treatment in the US, even though there would be a personal and financial cost to pay. Minnie never recovered fully to return home to live in the Caribbean, and as consequently lived in the US for over fifty decades.

SuSu

For SuSu, the personal achievement was a motivational push factor to migrate to the US, as she was determined to maximise to her fullest academic and professional potential:

I migrated to the United States in 1972, and I got married and started a small family. I had a little boy, six years old. I decided that I wanted to go back to school to accomplish my goals in life. I worked very hard and relentlessly to achieve what I needed to do with my job and my family. It didn't stop me because I wanted to do the best that I could.

[SuSu, Life Narrative Interview [US]

During the period of active migration to the US, many Caribbean were motivated to pursue their ambitions.

SuSu talks of motherhood and working full time as two equally important aspects of her identity as a woman. These two categories have a synonymous association with gender roles and responsibilities. SuSu also demonstrated leadership qualities which were apparent in the decision-making process of how she describes her life course events. This narrative illustrates how the intersections of race, gender and social class played a significant role in migrating.

Laney

Laney's narrative explains the impetus that motivated her to migrate and illustrates the pull factor of visiting the US, even though it seemed spontaneous and unplanned. As Laney indicates in her narrative, she left her husband in charge of looking after their nine children:

My son had just finished school, and he had gotten a job with an air travel company so he could get me a ticket at a discount. I left my husband at home with nine kids and decided to stay and earn some money to send them to school.

[Laney, Life Narrative Interview [US].

For Laney, the opportunity to go to the US opened up different prospects, which was empowering and life-changing. She had changed her life script by choosing to migrate and leaving her children in the care of her husband. Laney's decision was exceptional and a turning point in her life, as she had become an independent woman and the primary breadwinner for her family.

Mimi

Mimi's motivation to migrate to the US coincided with the push factor of poverty and lack of job opportunities within the Caribbean. She had mothering responsibilities and a family to care for, which meant migrating solo to the US posed its challenges:

My primary reason to leave the Caribbean was that things were getting so bad you couldn't get a job you couldn't get into a training programme there was nothing for young people, and I was getting older, and I had children, so my thoughts were to come to this country.

[Mimi, Life Narrative Interview]

Mimi's situation highlights the child shifting arrangements that she made with her mother to become her five children's primary carer. Taking a transnational perspective into consideration, the need to travel in search of work has been a long-accepted reality for many women. Mimi was motivated by the desire to improve herself and family life opportunities and responded to the pull factor of migrating to the US to escape the treadmill of poverty in the Caribbean.

Lala

Lala migrated to the US as part of a family unit with her two siblings to join her parents, who decided to migrate to the US:

My father travelled to the United States when I was about five years old, we were left behind with mum and grandparents, and our whole family, I had two brothers. Then my mum joined him later in the United States, and we were left behind. Then in 1962, we arrived in the United States.

[Lala, Life Narrative Interview]

Lala's narrative is unique because it illustrates that her parents were the ones who migrated to the US to make a better life for her and her siblings. In this context, Lala remained behind in the Caribbean, in the care of her grandmother. She was involved in the shifting of child-rearing responsibility from her mother. Lala's narrative illustrates child shifting is a well-established feature of African Caribbean family life viewed as a strategy for economic and social survival of the mother and child (Russell Browne et al., 1997:224).

Dee

Dee's motivation to migrate to the US was based on opportunity, which came her way when a friend invited her for a holiday:

I came here in 1964; a friend of mine invited me to come here on vacation. I found a job working with a family doing housework.

[Dee, Life Narrative Interview]

Historically, the classical employment pattern for African Caribbean women in the US has been higher but reliable because of low wage occupation availability (Foner, 2009). In this context, it made finding employment relatively more straightforward, especially for women who were looking for short term employment and financial independence.

Nellie

Nellie stated that she was motivated by the opportunity offered by a friend who had previously migrated to the US to pursue a career in nursing:

I migrated from the Caribbean in 1969 due to a friend of mine who was a nurse who invited me up for a vacation. When she left the Caribbean, I looked after her four-year-old son for about two and a half years. So, when she took her son, she invited me to come up for a vacation. When I came, it was a shock to me. I heard of America being so gorgeous and everything.

[Nellie, Life Narrative Interview [US]]

Since 1967, African Caribbean women have migrated to the US in higher numbers than have men. It was easier for women to qualify for labour certification because of domestic labour and nurses' demand. Fifty per cent of Caribbean women who migrated to the US in 1968 worked as domestic workers in a private household. Between 1962 and 1972, a third of the

legal Caribbean women classified as professionals were nurses (Foner, 2009:8).

Terri

This predominance of Caribbean women in migration flow is equally characteristic of Terri, who initially migrated to the UK during the late 1950s'. Terri decision to migrate to the US during the late 1970s because she was disappointed with her life in the UK:

I told my husband that I would be going to the US, and he decided that we move from the UK to the US. I saw a hospital, and I thought, I am going over there to get a job he said 'no you not' and I said 'yes I am'... so I walked over to the hospital, and following my interview, I was successful and got the job as a nurse.

[Terri, Life Narrative Interview]

Terri falls into an unusual phenomenon, which was practised generally by some Caribbean women. Some of the women who migrated to the UK did not feel that they had met their full potential. In these circumstances, the women engaged in the double loop of migration, migrating to the US to pursue employment. These women would be much more strategic and often responded to the pull factors available in the receiving countries that offered better-paid jobs. However, many of these women were mothers and had children, which they would often leave behind in the care of a family member.

Pennie

Pennie's motivation to migrate from the Caribbean to the US was influenced by the push factor, which offered limited prospects for herself and three children. The pull factor in migrating to the US was to develop her full potential and make a better life for her family:

I brought my three sons up from the Caribbean; they all went into the military when they finished high school.

[Pennie, Life Narrative Interview, US]

Lou

Within Lou's narrative, she talks about visiting the US and weighing up her choices to whether to migrate:

Before I decided to migrate, I usually visited the US, and I stayed here for a short while, then I decided to come back to the US.

[Lou, Life Narrative Interviews [US]]

Lou's narrative illustrates that job opportunities' pull factors were the main reason that motivated her to migrate to the US. Lou's narrative highlights *complicating action* aspect of the Labovian model, as illustrated during the process of providing background to her narrative, in which she uses 'then' fill in the structure to give linear and form.

Frankie

Frankie adopted a positive attitude to the opportunities offered from migration to the US:

In 1971 I decided to migrate to the United States. I had a lot of opportunities. I eventually went back to college, got my Bachelor's degree. I was the first person in my family to have a profession and have a college degree. I came here, and I worked hard.

[Frankie, Life Narrative Interviews [US]]

Frankie's narrative illustrates that women are independent and ambitious and can achieve a successful career if given the opportunity.

In the preceding section on motivation, twenty-two women's voices give their account. The narratives highlighted that many of the women migrated to the UK because of their British citizenship status. The women who migrated to the UK used the term *Mother Country* to describe their connection. The primary pull factor was the opportunity of employment and 'rights to settle'. The women who migrated from the Caribbean to the US chose it because of its proximity to the Caribbean. The US was also known as the *Land of Opportunity* and had a historical association of providing jobs to migrant workers.

The following section explores the **second of the three** themes their lived experiences of migration, captured within narratives, based upon **arrival** within their destination country.

Theme Two: Arrival

The following theme on arrival addresses the women's lived experiences of migration from the first-hand experience. The sub-themes address the multifaceted factors which also impacted the women. In keeping with the analytical framework, adapted from Labov (1972) combined with Riessman (2008), this aspect also included sub-themes that reinforced analysis.

Eight Sub-themes:

Motherhood and Work

Food and significance within Caribbean Culture

Economic Constraints and Considerations

Change in Personal Circumstances

Community Mothering

Feminisation of Migration

Church

Housing

Motherhood and Work

Migration, both internal and external, has played a significant role in emphasising and reinforcing these women work status. In this situation, being responsive to human agency's interplay related to different degrees of oppression was a strategic situation that the women had to negotiate. As workers continue, Caribbean women's cultural legacy continues, as evidenced by several studies highlighting the centrality of paid work in these women's lives (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe. 1985; Williams, 2010).

A central concern of the study is to challenge homogeneous and essentialist constructions of mothering. Female-headed households are firmly embedded in Caribbean history, and they exist as a long-standing and well-established cultural tradition of Caribbean families. Historically and cross-culturally, the celebratory image of the matriarch who is strong, independent and the lynchpin of family life continues to be a dominant image of Caribbean mothering. Balancing work, motherhood, and for some, single parenthood, separation offered numerous challenges for many of the women. A consequence of migration meant that most women had no formal or support network and subsequently relied mainly on the informal system they had formed out of necessity. This section of the analysis highlights the critical areas of intersectional levels, which impacted the women as mothers. First, there is a racialised difference between Black and white mothers and their responsibilities to work.

Secondly, some women were engaged in child shifting arrangements and relied on family back home to support them. Thirdly, there are structural differences between the mothers as a result of social class divisions. With this in mind, this section explores the theoretical relationships between race and gender divisions. It explores the significance of Black mothering's social constructions in media and policy debates, thereby exploring the diversity of household structures, family patterns and living arrangements that historically characterise Caribbean family life.

This aspect is illustrated by Gee's account of managing single parenthood:

I filed for divorce for him, and then he went away. Anyway, I was on my own doing everything, looking after children working, supporting them and keeping them. I work in the factories all my time, you know.

I worked three jobs, yea, to sort of keep us going. I fought along through life to send the children to school while working all this time. It was challenging.

[Gee, Life Narrative Interviews [UK]

As Gee stated, her situation of being a single parent was unexpected; she worked full-time and had the full responsibility of caring for her children. Her marriage breakdown placed more pressure on Gee, who had to work three jobs to make ends meet. Gee's tension reflects the turning point she experienced within the complications associated with single parenthood. In this thesis, Caribbean women's structural position in the labour market also influences their decision and choices around full-time work. Black mothers are multifaceted, constructed as going against the western middle-class idealised notion of the two-parent, married family household. Compared to white mothers who were actively encouraged to remain at home and be full-time mothers (Williams 1989). Gee did not have the option to stay at home because she was the primary breadwinner, and therefore her children were solely dependent on her, including family back home in the Caribbean (Faist, 2011).

Instead, Gee's focused on her cultural knowledge of balancing motherhood and employment. Gee talked about within her narrative that her concerns about ensuring that while she was at work when her children returned home from school, they had a ready-cooked Caribbean meal. For Gee, purchasing a fridge freezer would have been an expensive item to buy, but she felt it was essential to support her as a working single mother:

I bought a big fridge so that there was enough food in the house for them, encouraging them to bring their friends to the home so that we knew where they were. Life wasn't easy, and I would never encourage anyone to leave their homeland.

[Gee, Life Narrative Interviews [UK]

Food and significance within Caribbean Culture

Food is an integral part of Caribbean culture and identity; however, the obviousness and taken for granted in food have meant that it remains an under-researched area. From the respect of these women, who were mothers, Caribbean food is a cultural artefact imbued with meanings and values and a significant element of mothering roles and responsibilities. As a working mother with young children, her children needed to receive a cooked meal in Gee's case. Hence, she focuses on the importance of purchasing a Fridge Freezer to prepare meals ready for her children when they arrived home from school. Gee was unable to be at home because of the demands to work full-time to make ends meet. Gee's narrative reinforced the observation that many African Caribbean mothers' entered the UK as workers and were mainly employed in semi-skilled manual labour, which often meant working long hours away from their families. The women position contradicted the popular discourse of the time that advocated notions of the *good mother*, whose central location was in the home, and their primary role as domestic homemaker, nurturer, and carer. In this context, Gee's narrative confirmed that she was in a disadvantaged position as a single parent without any immediate family network support.

Particular foods hold a special cultural significance, as Tammi narrative illustrates this memory:

On Sunday, you would get a proper breakfast. Sunday morning was a good breakfast. We would have Ackee salt fish and bread.

[Tammi, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Caribbean food is also used as a cultural signifier to revisit and remember their childhood and construct a collective memory of cultural belonging: For instance, many of the women spoke of their memories of eating traditional Caribbean meals, especially on Sundays after church. Caribbean food is an essential part of cultural identity. It forms part of family rituals celebrating a cultural signifier is perhaps one of the most apparent manifestations of how notions a collective Caribbean cultural identity is represented at local islands level and amalgamated and redefined in serving Caribbean cuisine (Sutton, 2004).

Economic Constraints and Considerations

Migration for all the women entailed full-time work, low pay, and long hours away from their families. Many of the women in this thesis assumed the breadwinner's role and had no choice but to work based on economic reasons.

For instance, SuSu narratives provide an example of the tensions which she experienced:

I worked very hard. I have been working relentlessly to accomplish what I needed to do with my job. I also had a family. It didn't stop me because I wanted to do the best that I could, and with a full-time job and going to school part-time, I was able to become a Registered nurse in 1983, and then from there I went back to school I was able to do my Bachelor's Degree, and Master's Degree and my Post Master's Degree.

[SuSu, Life Narrative Interview [US]]

Indeed, Bryan et al. (1985) assert that a striking aspect of migration is that these women must work longer hours, hence higher full-time employment rates based on structural and economic constraints. As a result, tensions develop around the women balancing these western ideals of mothering alongside their cultural expectations and practical considerations. Annie's narrative provides an example of the complicating actions of working full time and being a wife and a mother:

So, I was working evenings, and my husband worked from morning to evening as he's coming through the gate as I am going through the gate. So I make sure that the kids are looked after, cook, clean and tidy make sure that everything prepared before I leave for work. When he came, he is looking after the kids until I come back at night.

[Annie, Life Narrative Interviews [UK]]

Caribbean mother's work status has important childcare implications. The occupations that these first-generation mothers who arrived in the UK shortly after the post-World War II period

entered, such as nursing and manufacturing industries, employed shift systems. Annie's narrative illustrates that working shift systems helped facilitate childcare and domestic arrangements by working opposite her partner. These mothers had limited access to child from within their family network in the Caribbean. During those early post-migration days, childcare support for Caribbean women was non-existent.

Davis (1983) and Skeggs (1997) explore the intersections of race, class and gender in shaping these women's employment experiences. Consequently, it created a situation as evident in the study, where these women enter a profession in higher numbers than women from other cultural groups. The primary reason, being to make up the economic shortfall in the household. As Hill Collins (1992) states, while many women tried to leave the paid labour force, the limited opportunities available to their spouse made it virtually impossible for the majority of Black families to survive on their male's wages alone:

Minnie illustrates this point as follows:

I was worried about my children. Finally, I went back after fourteen months, picked up my visa took them to my mother's house because my husband was not capable of looking after them, so I took them to my mother's house, and that made me feel better and erm that I brought them up in four months I brought them up.

[Minnie, Life Narrative Interview [US]]

This narrative confirms that based on economic constraints, *child shifting* as an option for mothers to leave their children in a grandmother's care was a common phenomenon. This narrative reinforces the observation made by Faist (2011) about the relationship between migrant mothers and their families back home (Faist, 2011:64).

Change in Personal Circumstances

Equally, a woman's independence can change when confronted with an unexpected situation that significantly impacted her. In this instance, the health risk was associated with Terri,

working alongside a work colleague as illustrated below describes a complicated action and a turning point:

One day we went on to the ward, then I went upstairs to help look after some people who were... A man he really needed care and a nurse was standing there and I 'said come... let's lift him and turn him around, and I lifted that man thinking she's lifting and I hear my back go 'pop!' and that was the last day I worked [pause].

[Terri, Life Narrative Interview [US]

The unpredictable nature of the circumstances, which resulted in Terri leaving her job as a qualified nurse, was not planned. Terri enjoyed her professional status as a Nurse and Midwife and welcomed the independence and autonomy which she had achieved. Terri's circumstances illustrate consequences that can impact by having to adjust to change due to extraordinary situations. This narrative demonstrates the impact of change regarding the loss of self-independence, socio-economic means, and the opportunities to gain social mobility.

Eva and Frankie were professional women who sustained medical conditions, which impacted their ability to work. Notably, even though each of the women situations was unique because they lived in different countries. Both narratives mirrors similarities in terms of the impact of complicating actions which can create life-changing outcomes. From an intersectionality perspective, each of the women held the primary position of being the bread earner within their household. Consequently, they were disadvantaged by the misfortunes, which created significant changes in their lifestyle.

Community Mothering

Historically, African Caribbean women have collectively organised care for each other children within their local Caribbean community through their role as community mothers. During the 1960s, the State was busy encouraging White mothers to remain at home and embrace domestication and consumerism (William, 1989). In the UK, African Caribbean women were seen as immigrant workers or wives of immigrant workers. The UK state not prepared to offer

any childcare support to Black mothers who had to work. In such circumstances, these women had to develop their collectively helping strategies, as it was the only way to manage work and care for their children.

Winnie's comments expressed the trust and bonding which many of these young mothers had with each other:

One of the other women in the house had small kids as well, and that's how we helped each other. We were all in the same boat, and we all helped each other out. The lady looked after my son when I went to work because she didn't go to work, and I would pay her, she was kind to the kids, and they loved her.

[Winnie, Life Narrative Interviews [UK]

The role of community mothering is a role developed between Black women who seek to nurture the Black community. Gilkes (1982) suggests that community mothering can be vital in stimulating Black women's decision to become community activists, such as Claudia Jones. The latter's community's involvement was instrumental in developing community initiatives, including Notting Hill Carnival in the UK during the 1950s. Whereas in the US, she actively promoted access to education for Black people (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985). For many of these women, this entailed setting up Day Care facilities, working in a teacher and student capacity, to full-fledged actions as community volunteers and leaders.

Nellie, Terri, and SuSu illustrate within their narrative their commitment to act as community mothers:

Giving back to our community, I have found that you become a role model from helping people and trying to live a decent life. This is just like when I was back home, and I use to be teaching and helping young people acquire what they desire to attain. Since I am in the United States, I have been teaching for 15 years in the community college, and [erm] helping young people achieve their goal.

[SuSu, Life Narrative Interview [US]

These women illustrate the development of the concept of community mothering, which revealed first the social and collective responsibility of African Caribbean mothers have for children and other vulnerable members in their local community. In this context, of whom, many of the other children are not biologically related. Historically, through their role as community mothers, Caribbean mothers have collectively organised care for Caribbean children in the community. Indeed, community mothers such as the women in this study have made essential contributions in building a different type of society, often in hostile political and economic environments:

Working with the police at this school with some lads who were damaging the school, and I had to come out all hours at night to help [Pause].

[Dee, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

There are women such as Dee, and Nellie, whose narratives illustrated how they took on visible and active roles as community mothers to bring about change within their local communities.

Feminisation of Migration

Since 1967, Caribbean women have migrated to the US in higher numbers than men. In this time frame, it was easier for women to qualify for the labour certification Visa because of domestic labour and nurses' demand. Fifty per cent of Caribbean women workers in 1968 worked in the private household sector as domestic workers. Between 1962 and 1972, a third of these women were professional nurses (Foner, 2009:8). The following narrative encapsulates this phenomenon of working as a helper in a domestic capacity and the discriminatory challenges encountered:

Nellie talked of her experiences based on the necessity to work and the complications associated with her vulnerable position as a Black woman:

I started looking for a job, and I found out that no one would hire you unless you have a visa permit to work. The only job you could get was housekeeping, and I was a teacher back home. I had a helper at

home and left my county and came to the US to help somebody else [laugh]. It was different, but I needed it. I did some housekeeping work, but one day I went to a lady's house and [Erm] her house was filthy, and I cleaned up for the day, and when I was ready to leave, I said to her, I'm finished, and she said 'so?' I said, 'can I have my pay so that I can go?' Her reply was, 'you better get out of here before I call immigration on you.

[Nellie, Life Narrative Interview [US]]

This narrative illustrated the exploitative experiences which impacted African Caribbean women, who were desperate for a Visa, but also afraid of the juxtaposition of being caught by immigration control as an illegal worker. The history of US migration has had comparatively speaking relatively liberal immigration laws for much of its history. The most significant piece of legislation leading up to the 1965 act was the Immigration and Nationality Act 1952, also known as the McCarran-Walter Act. The implementation of this act resulted in a set of criteria that would impact the rights of migrants regarding immigration policy and visa control (Schuck, 2003:85). Mimi's narrative illustrated that women were becoming autonomously independent in their aspiration to migrate. MiMi, like the majority of the women in the study, migrated independently, and as can be seen below, had a backup contingency plan:

My primary reason to leave the Caribbean was that things were getting so bad you couldn't get a job, you couldn't get into a training programme there was nothing for young people. I was getting older, and I had children, so my thoughts were to come to this country, and if I weren't successful here, I would move onto Canada because, in those days, Canada and the Caribbean islands were under the British Empire.

[Mimi, Life Narrative Interviews, US]

As described by Castles and Miller (2009), the feminisation of migration is evident in the debates on gender and immigration. Post-World War II migration of African Caribbean women confirmed that the un-investigated assumption that in the past, the majority of immigrants were men and that if women migrated, it was as the dependent to the men. However, as is observed from this thesis, it quickly becomes apparent that women accounted for close to half (47%) of

all international migrants as early as 1960 (United Nations, 2006). Equally, the characteristics of this process of feminisation of migration indicated that most of these women, either married or single, migrated independently (Castles and Miller, 2009). African Caribbean women are distinctively different from historical migrations where women primarily migrated with a partner or as part of a family unit. The feminism of migration movement is attributed to a range of push and pull factors, including the absence of opportunities for paid work within the homeland and the recruitment drive within the receiving countries.

Other factors which come under this specific heading are divorce and separation that often leave women as the primary breadwinners for their families. The result offers a new variation as to the historical assumptions about African Caribbean women and migration. Historians Gabaccia and Zanon (2012) provide a valuable and more nuanced typology to categorise gendered migration flows in demographic terms. They argue that the shift to more gendered balance flows for some migration streams occurred before and not after 1960, which resonates with the significant influx of women migrating during the late 1940s (Gabaccia and Zanon, 2012:199). As Foner (2009) points out, while women have consistently migrated, it was not until 1961 that the numbers spiked and began to exceed the male counterpart. Indeed, in many Caribbean islands, women account for 40% of the workforce and, to some extent, accounts for a significant number of single women migrating to the US and UK in search of employment (Lloyd, Evans and Potter, 2002:42).

During this era, the US saw the initial stirrings of the Civil Rights movements, which began to gather momentum over the subsequent months to bring about change for women within the Black communities. Claudia Jones (1964), a civil rights activist, focused on education because it was the gateway to Black women's opportunity. In keeping with the women narratives, they aspired to access teaching as a means of personal empowerment. The following women, SuSu, MiMi, Nellie, Lala, Pennie, and Lou, shared similarities as mature students. They were able to overcome challenges to continue with their studies and eventually achieved their relevant professional qualifications. Mimi's narrative illustrates this point:

I took the high school test and was able to pass it. That was simple but going into college. [Erm] I applied to go into nursing... you don't get into nursing just like that, so I signed up for remedial courses to bring me up to par. So, my greatest achievement is getting a formal education [laugh].

[Mimi, Life Narrative Interview [US]

Drawing specifically on Lou's narrative, it depicts the strategies employed to achieve a prominent position within her work environment:

Where I worked, I was the only Black person, and I did my best to be the best because all eyes were on this Black girl in this position.

[Lou, Life Narrative Interview [US]

In this context, Lou's narrative illustrated how the intersections of her race, gender, and social class were drawn continuously upon to measure her successes within the organisation where she worked. Ultimately, she felt under extreme pressure in terms of maintaining high standards and overall performance. One of the dangers facing African Caribbean women working in professional occupations is the glass ceiling effect, which required them to prove themselves to be super best continually. The pressures often placed upon these women are indirect forms of discrimination to succeed. During the early post-war years, many of the women found support within the local, Black-led churches.

Church

In those early years, both in the UK and the US, the women's narratives illustrated how the established churches provided help and support, which the UK and US social policy systems had failed to offer. The churches provided the Black women with their primary source of sustenance, offering some continuity with the form of social and community organisation they had known in the Caribbean. For many women, these churches offered the only way of recreation they had to release the pressures of their working lives and meet their emotional needs. Collectively, the following women's narratives, Etta, Winnie, Eva, Tammi, and Hennie, illustrated how religion provides comfort, support in time of need:

We started to go to church because we were brought up in the church because coming from the Caribbean, and I always close to the church. The first Sunday we went to that church, and there was a white man, and he stood, at the door, and he crossed his hands as much as to say 'don't you dare come in here'. There was no welcome, and there was no smile. There was nothing, so we step past him. We went in and sat at the back of the church. We didn't exist as far as he was concerned. I thought I am not having this, and he will not run me out of the church because I am going to go back, and from that Sunday, we went to church every single Sunday. I kept going until 1970 when I eventually left that area.

[Winnie, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

During those early years, these women were not merely passive victims of racism. They were equally active agents in bringing awareness of racist practices by dominant groups in society and creating change. From a social class perspective, these women suffered discrimination from white churchgoers, primarily middle class. As illustrated in Winnie's narrative, the feeling of exclusion and marginalisation in mainstream traditional churches motivated the increase in Black Led Churches established throughout the UK and US. Goulbourne (1989) attributes Black-led churches' growth during this period to key intersectionality factors, including the rejection of a white congregation towards the migrant women. While the political organisation was not paramount, eventually, the women became galvanised into organising in a more overtly political way. A significant aspect of migrant life, which reinforced discriminatory practice, was that many of these women were denied access to these churches to obtain the rights to marry. For many women, getting married in a Registry office was not reflective of their cultural traditions as many were regular churchgoers and held strong religious beliefs. Equally, having the wedding reception in a room where they lived in rented accommodation was not what they expected. Tammi provides a reflective account:

A wedding reception, we would use any room as long as the wardrobes and the beds, and everything was taken out. You could have your reception in the room. You know what I mean. [Pause] sometimes you had nowhere.

[Tammi, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Despite the challenges that many women experienced in gaining access to their local church, they were not passive victims but active agents in raising awareness of discriminative practices by dominant groups in society and creating change. During the early years of migration, in the absence of social policy support, the Black-led churches were the origins of some of the earliest social and welfare organisations to be found. Many of these churches offered financial help, welfare support, and shelter to homeless migrants who could not access mainstream services.

Housing

The different histories that these women brought with them from the Caribbean and the practices, skills and resources subsequently developed have resulted in very different housing and employment careers and very different patterns of needs for State support. From a UK perspective, where there was a high demand for employment and where migrants settled in, there was fierce competition for housing immediately after the post-war period. Rex and Moore (1967) revealed that post-war immigrants' accommodation was generally in substandard conditions, in deprived areas, and designated for clearance. Local housing authorities were reluctant to re-house what they deemed a 'stranger' population and often decide not to clear the properties. The net result was that the visible immigrant population concentrated in small areas of run-down housing in the cities' more impoverished locations.

The following three women, Rea, Winnie, and Hennie, highlights different strategies which they each employed to address the complicating actions associated with their vulnerability in securing housing for themselves and their families as follows:

We only had rooms because we couldn't afford anything else. , to buy a place of your own [Pause] Yes, and we had to throw a Pardner, because you know the wages were small and I mean you could not throw a big Pardner you see, you could only throw like maybe five pounds a week, because you could get a right amount of cash at the end of it and that helps.

[Rea, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Pardner Scheme

A historical tradition in the Caribbean has survived to the present as a widely used and efficient community lending and saving Pardner scheme. In the early days of migration, Pardner money provided the women with the only regular and available funds when they needed a significant sum of money, such as a mortgage deposit. In the absence of support from Building Societies or local Banks, these women strategised as being self-reliant was a common objective, which served to bind them together as they strove to establish and support each other within their communities. Here, Winnie narrative illustrates issues of vulnerability and complicating actions associated with burgeoning motherhood:

So being pregnant, I complained to the landlord about the condition of the bed. The landlord went out, got four bricks, and placed one brick under each leg of the bed, and he thought that would be the answer to his problems. Looking back on it now, it seems incredible, but in those days, you had no choice, they were no councils offering you new homes or nothing, you had to put up with conditions, or you sleep on the street, [pause]... but we survived.

[Winnie, Life Narrative [UK]

Sub-standard housing

In this context, Winnie describes the substandard housing conditions she experienced when she arrived in the UK during the post-World War II period. The analysis of social policy related to housing provision during the 1950s and 1960s illustrated that the Local Authority in the UK imposed stringent eligibility criteria, which disadvantaged migrants to access council housing. Here, Winnie talks about her experiences of living in substandard housing accommodation:

...you have nowhere to wash its cold water, you got no lights, you have no other means of washing, and again you have a bathroom, but there are that many people there was no way you are going to get a bath. People saying, why did you live like that? What else were you supposed to do?

[Winnie, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Notably, by 1978, the proportion of African Caribbean women living in homes without baths, running hot water or inside toilet was more than twice the national average. This period also coincided with African Caribbean women becoming aware of political issues, both individually and collectively, against the housing policies associated with the onset of the ghettos (Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe, 1985). In this instance, Hennie talks about her traumatic emotional experiences of looking for accommodation as follows:

The accommodation was difficult..... Those days, the notices used to be on the door, no blacks, no Irish, no dogs. And we use to see that on the door so needless you go and ask for a room to be rented, and you would not be successful.

[Hennie, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

These women's narrative illustrates that the necessity of accepting low-paid jobs, combined with discrimination, meant that many of them and their families lived in overcrowded rented accommodation. This form of discrimination has been captured in the infamous 1950s boarding house sign that read, **no Black, no Irish, no dogs** (Hampshire, 2005). This quote illustrates the hostility from the indigenous population, which existed towards these women. Furthermore, access to Local authority housing stock was through fulfilling the residence requirements, which offered the least desirable housing. In 1961, at the beginning of the migration movement, Caribbeans were excluded from council housing's social housing sector. Mostly, the Caribbean population was an exploited class at the mercy of racist landlords (Rex and Moore, 1967).

From a US perspective, *Project* housing, which was highly stigmatised and not a desirable place to live, was often offered to African Caribbeans. However, as illustrated from the women's narrative, they lived with families, making their migration experiences significantly different. In this context, Laney's narrative provides an uncomplicated explanation within her narrative:

I stayed with my family for two weeks when I came up.

Most women who migrated to the US stayed with family or close friends, as this was the informal arrangement that existed in the 1950s. Women who did not have family support pursued domestic work within private homes as live-in helpers. However, both aspects were equally vulnerable and precarious, as potential conflict could create jeopardy and unsettle the arrangements. In this context, many of the women had less traumatic examples of housing issues. Many of the women who migrated to the US found restriction existed, which prevented them from leaving the country to attend family funerals. If they returned to the Caribbean, they would forfeit the qualifying residence requirements. This policy meant that some women were vulnerable to exploitation and hardship by employers who knew that a woman who had no papers had no recourse to complain until a work permit was issued.

Theme two illustrated the multifaceted, often acrimonious situations which the women experienced. This section of the study addressed Research Question 1.

The final theme on the *settlement*, focusing on each of the women's lived experiences. This section concludes the responses from Research Question 1.

Theme Three: Settlement

The preceding sections were concerned with exploring, firstly, the theme of motivation for undertaking migration. In this context, the research has focused on the voices of twenty-two women. Similarly, in the second section, the focus was on the women's diverse lived experiences based on arrival, to live either in the UK or the US. This section is concerned with how the women settlement in a new country is gendered. The two sub-themes of belonging and betterment provide the scope to explore the life span trajectory of these women's migration during a timeframe with limited documentation in terms of gender. The diversity of women's migration experiences is relevant because it illustrates that they are not a monolithic group. Instead, an individual's identities, options and experiences are formed by factors including the intersections of age, economic class, and race.

Being an 'outsider' and 'insider' is relevant to exploring status from an intersectionality perspective. Identity transformation in migration country has been discussed within Chapter 3 and relates to the personal history, level of family support and the country of migration. While the women's reasons may vary to some extent, there is a shared perspective that migration entails social and cultural dislocations as one leaves the familiar and is required to encounter living and settling in a new environment and raising a family. For example, post-colonial feminist has shown that colonial and post-colonial racial hierarchies are in part by portraying the subordinated 'other' as feminised, weak, and passive. In the context of migration, the fissures of political and economic inequality that underlie these women's position within both UK and US societies is evident within their narratives.

Settlement

One of the characteristics of settlement is the *feminisation of migration*, as it relates to the women, and the responsibility they have with families they have left behind and the commitment to their new family, Rea's narrative illustrates this point:

I went back home to live, and I could not settle there again, so I came back. I feel I just want to be here. I don't feel I want to live there anymore [Pause]. Especially when you are getting older, you see, and you lose most of your families and relative [Pause] living here for such a while you know more people here than what you know back home. So, you just have to call it home.

[Rea, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Furthermore, meanings as with identities often shift for the individual women throughout their lifespan. In many ways, the women's explanations support identity theorists' claims, such as Hall (1995) states how identities are dynamic, fluid and constituted within their narratives, through temporal and by spatial means. As the women's narratives illustrated, retirement offers an opportunity for deep reflection on the entire life course. Etta's narrative combines aspects of her identity related to her ambition to pursue her goals to become a lay preacher, even though she had already achieved an established nursing career. After retirement, she continued to

attend postgraduate courses, and qualified as a lay preacher, and contributes to the ministering within her local church:

There was a course going for lay preachers in the church. I thought to myself, 'keep your grey matter going, girl', and I just simply asked if I could just... just come and attend the lectures. You know... the lecturer said 'no you can take the exam..' and I was successful each time I get a certificate you know it made me feel proud to know that 'retirement is not the end of your life.

[Etta, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Here, migration to the UK provided Etta with the opportunity to take a risk and not be defined by the intersections of race, gender, social class or age. Etta found that she had a passion for studying and refused the cliché of her age, being a factor to prevent her from fulfilling her educational potential. In this case, Etta's desire to become a lay minister was a choice she made and pursued a successful outcome. Being part of the Black Led Church, as an older woman, provided the opportunity to take on leadership roles and become actively involved in the ministering undertaken within the local Caribbean community.

Betterment

The *betterment* of migration contributed to the opportunity for Lou to gain a higher socio-economic status. Lou's employment in a senior position within a professional occupation was a personal achievement. However, while Lou achieved positive outcomes within her public role, she expressed sadness because she suffered extreme loss and loneliness within her private life:

Here I enjoyed my work. I went to work with a brokerage firm, and that was a very good job that I had... [Pause] I was there for about ten years... and then one of the executive left that company and went to another company and erm I don't want to say recruited or invited but... on her recommendation I went to work for another company, I did well there, I met some outstanding people.... but I have come out very lonely.

[Lou, Life Narrative Interview [US]

The dilemma facing some African Caribbean women, within the context of having a demanding professional career, is the challenges associated with balancing both public and private responsibilities. C.W. Mills (1959) identifies this holistic epistemology as the "sociological imagination" and identifies its task and promise as a way of knowing that enables individuals to grasp the relations between private troubles and public issues within society.

Lala provides evidence of *betterment* by talking about her achievements, even though throughout her professional learning and employment career, she experienced different forms of oppression. Lala's performances reflected her ability to be confident in knowing that she was knowledgeable about the field she sought training. Lala eventually became an Associate Professor in Nursing research and was successfully employed within the Health sector:

I migrated from the Caribbean in the 1960s, made my nursing career and now embarking on my own consultancy business.

[Lala, Life Narrative Interviews [US]

African Caribbean women such as Lala only become empowered when there is an understanding of the oppressive forces and strategies to overcome, as stated by SuSu:

Being a Professor in the nursing field makes me feel really wonderful that I have been able to accomplish regardless of the US's struggles, which is not easy for Caribbean women. I am one of those who do not allow anything to stop me from achieving.

[SuSu, Life Narrative Interview [US]

Here SuSu talks about her achievement, which illustrates how, through education, she could obtain a better form of employment. Whereas Pennie reflects on the opportunity to study for her Masters' qualification, at the age of 50, she offered her empowerment in securing a professional position within Social Work. She was also able to obtain financial rewards:

I was a childcare worker for 17 years, with erm a Batchelor Degree, and after I got the Master's Degree, it pushed my salary up by ten thousand dollars right away for a year... So, it was just... you know... a piece of paper that was it.

[Pennie, Life Narrative Interviews [US]

Using one's standpoint to engage how the sociological imagination can empower the individual. The ability to focus and integrate all the parts of oneself by allowing the power from all sources to come together, without the restriction of externally imposed definition, is the most liberating course of action, which one can take. In this context, even though the intersections of gender, race, social class, and age significantly impacted Pennie. Other personal determination not to be defined as an empowerment factor helped facilitated a successful outcome.

Frankie explained why her achievement was so outstanding. Even though her marriage had failed, she was fortunate to have financial independence, which was empowering and gave her added security:

I came here and achieved success. I worked hard and all my dreams because I was a very ambitious person, and all my dreams and aspirations to accomplish. A lot of material things I was able to accomplish, I was doing exceptionally well until 1999. In the '90s, my marriage fell apart, but it didn't bother me because I was independent, and my ex-husband did not divorce me. I divorced him. I had it all, the homes, cars, investments, and all the material things I worked for, and I had it all.

[Frankie, Life Narrative Interview [US]

Frankie illustrates that achievement is possible if there is the courage to break away from a stressful situation, such as a failed marriage. Arguably, it is not uncommon for women to

remain within a marriage because of the stigma and threat to their identity as divorced women. However, it is possible to analyse how some women of that generation may be reluctant to enact the feminist approach of initiating the divorce. In this instance, this narrative provides a good illustration of how being empowered can, in itself, offer even more betterment of life.

Belonging

Belonging and identity are apparent in this study, whether explicitly or implicitly within the women's narratives. There is evidence that for some, migration meant escaping from the constraints of the Caribbean society at a critical time in their personal development, which enabled them to engage in the process of self-fashioning or the shaping of one's identity. As indicated within the study, being away from parents and other family members, migration allowed some young women to develop their identity and world views that sometimes contradicted the norms and values they had learned while growing up. Furthermore, many of these women left the Caribbean more than sixty decades ago, when they migrated to either the UK or the US. It is of personal and academic interest to explore these women perspectives as they adjust to growing older within another country to find out their views as it relates to belonging.

Rea remembered her younger self as she reminisces on her migration over forty years ago, which sets her apart from her family. Rea refers to her extended family, who have migrated to different parts of the world. It is evident from her expression that she has remained close to her family. She also talked about returning to the Caribbean to live. However, she returned to the UK solo because she was unable to settle in the Caribbean:

Living in the UK, quite happy, really erm. We have our problems and different things happening, but you know I went back home to live, to live, and I still couldn't settle there. Again, and so I came back so. I came back. I feel I just want to be here. I don't feel I want to live there anymore. Especially when you are getting older, you lose most of your families and relative you see, living here for such a while you know more people than what you know back home. So, you just have to call it home. It has been more than forty years. [Pause]. I keep in touch with my families; some are in the US, and some in the Caribbean.

[Rea, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Over the years, many African Caribbean women have evolved identities and notions of home that extend beyond the boundaries of distinct spaces. The identification with another place does not, however, mean the rejection of the original homeland. Annie also talked about returning home in a revered manner, evident that her connection to her Caribbean roots and culture was dominant and committed:

I am more than overdue to go and see my home country again...I need to go back and see my yard again, laugh. I don't think it is changed, for when we were growing up, we could leave our house open everybody could leave their home open do what they want to do it was still there it was safe to leave your house door open... and go away and do whatever you were doing... it's still there....things change out there you can't do that now....and the Caribbean is a beautiful place I did not realise how beautiful it was until I came here.

[Annie, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Whereas in the case of Dee, *belonging* came in the form of the local community recognising the goodness and commitment which she had regarding working with the young people to prevent crime:

The community they loved me so much, and they were very proud, I didn't tell anybody but [laughs] it was unbelievable, and I went to the Lord Mayor event and took a photo with him and his wife. I nearly had a heart attack. When I looked in the local newspaper [laughs], I thought it was some little thing. I didn't realise that it was going to be that big. Even though I am retired, I'm still helping out, and people help me out.

[Dee, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Dee's identity as a woman who appreciates the Caribbean tradition, and one which has been instrumental in helping young people to understand and valuing being members of their community.

However, as indicated in Winnie's account, obtaining fulfilment and recognition was not part of her migration memories. For Winnie, her migration experience was negative, as it impacted her identity in terms of gender, race, and social class oppression. Winnie was unable to achieve her ambition to become a Midwife and instead was offered the demeaning position of scrubbing toilets. Yet, Winnie illustrated that she had an inner strength and a fighting spirit to cope with the challenges she encountered:

My job was to come here and train as a midwife, which didn't work out because circumstances didn't allow it. I remember working in the hospital one day, the women made me scrub the toilets, and I got down on my knees, and I cried, all day, to see what I've come to, just to scrub the toilets, but I did it, and I survived it.

[Winnie, Life Narrative Interview [UK].

Tammi is optimistic that her migration to the UK, over five decades ago, as a young woman aged seventeen years old, ultimately laid the foundation for a better economic lifestyle for the next generation. The betterment for Tammi is acknowledged from a feminist epistemology and empowering perspective, from her sister's assistance, which was instrumental in changing the life span opportunities across two generations. The outcome has been the opportunity for Tammi's children and grandchildren to attend University:

My sister was here first, and she sent for all of us. My niece has gone to Oxford University to do her masters. My grandson is at Nottingham University, training to become a writer, and my granddaughter, who's at Durham University, wants to be a doctor.

[Tammi, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

The majority of African Caribbean women who participated in this research saw returning home as a significant element of their migration. However, for many, the goals changed over time. In some cases, negative experiences of life in the UK or the US have reinforced these women's determination to return home. Equally, failure to feel completely part of their transatlantic society due to experiencing gender, racism and social class oppression, and a desire for the lifestyle they left behind in the Caribbean combine to enhance the image of the migration's ultimate return goal. Belonging is the ideology of returning to the Caribbean, but in reality, personal attachment to the nuclear family remains an important determining factor as to the place of settlement. Similarly, as revealed earlier within the analysis, for many women, during the early years of post-war migration, the church acted as a primary site of resistance. Black-led churches were not just something these women turned to because historically, the practices of church-going and collective worship represents an essential characteristic of Caribbean life. From a traditional historical perspective, these women have been central to the church activities and, out of necessity, continued with their leadership roles within Black-led churches, both in the UK and US.

Equally, the optimism of belonging and contributing to societal change is apparent in Jade's account. Jade makes an implicit connection to her identity as the Caribbean in terms of her roots and heritage. Jade is philosophical in terms of looking outwards towards society, in terms of reinforcing the importance to work collectively towards empowering the youth within her community:

We must try to always reflect on where we are coming from and where we are going. We must not forget our roots. If we can help others who are less fortunate than us, then we should help third-world countries recognise and better themselves in research financially.

[Jade, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

These issues of belonging and identity have a broader historical and political context by considering others' future. In this situation, belonging is viewed from a societal perspective, which is altruistic and illustrates that belonging can be an emotional experience.

Lou migrated to the US as a young woman and was successful in achieving a professional career. However, Lou found her job demands to maintain an exceptional work record impacted her family life. Lou was hoping when she retired that she would have more time with her son. Unfortunately, he died an untimely death, which had a significant emotional effect. Lou is pragmatic in the knowledge that she has buried most of her family members, as well as her only child, whom she had hoped, would have been the one to sort out her funeral arrangements. However, Lou is a religious woman who has strong links within her local Black Led Church. As a Church mother, she has developed her identity as a community worker and has a valued role. Lou will not be returning to the Caribbean and is hopeful that her local church family will take care of her at the end of her life and put her to rest in the US:

I believe in god. My church family is my family now. I am a church mother in the church, I would say for myself. I am much respected. [Pause]...I am pleased about that because to be respected in your church is good. Today I thank god for where he has brought me from and where I am heading... I don't see myself going back to the Caribbean...and when I see myself goingI will be in my church until he takes me home...I will do my best for the lord... he never leaves me or forsakes me...[Pause].

[Lou, Life Narrative Interview [US]

Belonging is a relative concept and is a quality that others could also challenge. In this context, having a close relationship with spirituality and worship has increased a sense of identity and a sense of belonging. For Lou, it provides company, stimulation, and a reason to get up every day.

Whereas Etta presents a reasonable perspective to her settlement and belonging in the UK. Etta is a very realistic person and is clear about her end of life wishes. In the study, Etta illustrates reflections of belonging and identity as it relates to final arrangements. She is aware that her biddings will create a reaction amongst her family, particularly as it an unusual request, which is not reflective with the cultural norms and traditions of Caribbean funeral arrangements:

This was my ambition, again, it's morbid, but I can't help it. I said to the children, with funeral expenses as it stands, the money you all pull together to give me a funeral- why not give it to me so that I can go

on a holiday? They said, 'why?' I said I don't see why all these giant coffins; all this entertainment has. When I die, I would like my body to go to University so that whatever I died off it can be seen and it will help future generation... They screamed and turned their faces up. Well, as I have said, too much money is wasted on funerals. It's hard to work, why not spend it when you are alive? So, this is all I have to say.

[Etta, Life Narrative Interview [UK]

Talking about death, for some people, it is still a taboo subject. However, it remains one of the most profound concerns that can create unnecessary stress and disharmony within families. In the context of settlement and belonging, this topic was relevant and illustrated that it was essential to respect the women's wishes even at the end of life. As is evident in the research, all the women professed good manners and respect as intrinsically Caribbean traits. These practices included showing respect to parents, family members and community elders, as Caribbean traditions.

Chapter Summary

Throughout this section, the responses are to Research Question 1, which focused on migration related to *motivation, arrival and settlement*. This chapter focused on the push and pulled drivers' motivating factors, which created a catalyst of change for many young African Caribbean women.

Hill Collins (1990) asserts the prominent over-representation of Black women as paid workers and their victimisation of being easily exploited during the pivotal wave of UK post-war migration. Yet, Black women's reality as workers is uniquely more complicated because they are far from being a homogeneous group. The study found that the time of migration, skills, training age, experiences and education are all critical factors to consider in tandem within a Black feminist and intersectionality framework. The narratives highlighted how migration's hardship fractured some women in the UK group achieving their full professional identity. Most of the US women were able to validate their sense of identity within their professional career achievements.

The analysis found that immigration policy is rooted in family reunification within the US, making it easier for African Caribbean women to migrate independently. Following the post-World War II era, many of the women who migrated to the US qualified for labour certification because of domestic labour and nurses' demand. All of the women interviewed who had migrated to the US had families already established within that society, making their migration and settlement easier. As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, the US Immigration Act of 1965 (Hart-Cellar Act), based on the principles of family reunification and workplace skills, opened its doors to African Caribbean women, who qualified in nursing, to address labour shortages that existed post-World War II.

The analysis revealed that the African Caribbean women who migrated to the US were moderately financially successful and had achieved a better life for themselves and their families. Many women shared examples of how they maximised the opportunity to work more than one job to earn a higher income. In this context, the women created a profitable income stream, which ultimately provided them with the material gains and opportunity of upward social mobility. Equally, most African Caribbean women in the study stated that they had gained socio-economically from their migration to the US. They felt that they had benefitted from accessing education to gain qualifications, which helped them maximise their skills and subsequently enhanced their earning capacity. All of the women interviewed, although retired, they acknowledged that they had achieved a better life for themselves and the future of their families. It was evident to observe their accomplishment visually in their home lifestyle, which confirmed personal material gains.

Indeed, within the African Caribbean women's narratives drawn from those who migrated to the UK, only a few alluded to their social status as middle class. As indicated within the analysis, all of the women were retired and had achieved moderate employment opportunities, which afforded them a comfortable lifestyle. However, many of these women expressed within their narratives that their lived experiences of structural social inequalities and marginalisation impacted their abilities as migrant women living in the UK post-World War II era to access their full potential. Most of the women were the primary income earners, often in low paid jobs, which entailed working long, unsociable hours. In this context, many women did not have space or opportunity to develop their working skills and found those early years of migration extremely challenging. Subsequently, the analysis revealed that many UK African Caribbean

women had limited opportunity to achieve upward social mobility (Model, 1995). However, they expressed aspiration for their future generation to gain a better quality of life. Furthermore, most African Caribbean women in the study explicitly stated that they measured their successes in the opportunity that their children and grandchildren had due to their migration. Many felt the next generation of African Caribbeans had a more significant opportunity to attain upward mobility through education and employment status in the US (Sowell, 1981).

The following chapter of the thesis focuses on Research Question 2, which explores the women's memories of the Caribbean as influenced by an object they associate with their migration experience. This section of the thesis is in keeping with the fact these women are heterogeneous with their unique subjectivities and personal identities. In their private space, many of these women were traditionalist and treasured their memories of the Caribbean. In this vein, this section seeks to explore how these women maintained their cultural legacies and focus on the strategies employed, to teach their children about their historical heritage about Caribbean culture and traditions.

Chapter 6: Presentation of Findings Visual Data

"Stuff does not merely reflect who we are, but in many respects, it creates us in the first place"

(Miller, 2010:40)

This quote highlights the significance of including objects within the research. Miller (2010) observation confirms that the collections of artefacts are similar to the Cabinet of Curiosities, Mauries (2002:249), which is full of "stuff", of which there is much to discover and mull over.

This section addresses Research Question 2 and is concerned with exploring memories that the twenty-two women, attached to a symbolic object, identified with their Caribbean cultural identity. There is an exploration of how the women utilised cultural signifiers to transmit Caribbean cultural values and identity to their children in their mothering roles. The Researcher has included a photograph of the women's object and inserted the accompanying textual data to reflect an adaptation of the photo-elicitation process (Harper, 2002:13). The central theme in this Chapter is *loss and separation*. However, this section begins with a brief account of memories as it relates to cultural identity as follow below.

Memories and Cultural Identity

The Researcher identified memory and re-memory as a common thread that permeated within each of the women individual narrative and is also evident within their account related to the meanings they give to their visual object. Within the Caribbean culture, there is an understanding that Caribbean women are responsible for being the gatekeeper of culture and identity through their role as mothers and community workers. Consequently, these women play a central role in developing ideas and understanding of cultural identity. This cultural identity that the women define for themselves and transmit to their children combines' cultural identification with their Caribbean origins and their continued links to the space they occupy within their new environment. The women employ processes of memory and re-memory to generate a sense of cultural belonging and identity. The Researcher draws upon Plummer (2001) framework, which illustrates how memories work on several interconnected levels. He

distinguishes between personal memory, narrative memory, collective memory and cultural memory. It is possible to see how memories of the past as shared by the women focused on specific historical events related to their migration experiences from a socio cultural-historical and political perspective.

Focusing on the visual cultural objects and cultural signifiers illustrates how the women used them to shape cultural identity and produce what Plummer (2001) terms cultural memory. In the thesis's context, these women explained that their historical legacies of migration are an essential feature in their mothering responsibilities. The women achieve this by utilising cultural identity to transmit Caribbean cultural values, identity and a sense of belonging to their children. As noted within the narratives, the women identified respect and good manners, regular attendance to church and Caribbean food as crucial signifiers of Caribbean culture and identity.

In keeping with the theoretical frameworks mentioned in Chapter 3, a collective cultural identity that reinforces cultural belonging is socially constructed by the women through a combination of collective cultural memories and signifiers. It is through these cultural signifiers that the women were able to transmit aspects of traditional Caribbean culture, such as in values, the church and food, as evident in the presentation of the Visual data using the following heading: object; memories, meaning and initial analysis:

Participant Generated Visual Data

In this specific study, the visual data was given the same value as the verbal data. Subsequently, the decision to include a miniature version of the participant-generated visual image, alongside textual data, was considered a means of capturing the culturally-based data's unique richness. The Researcher drew on Mitchell (2011), a study on community-based projects, which used visual image and interview text as a central role in presenting the findings (Mitchell, 2011). In qualitative research, there is a history of thoughtful exploration through innovative methods that utilise visual data that offer different ways of gaining insight into lived experiences (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Visual Based Narrative Inquiry: Photo-Elicitation Analysis

During the visual analysis, the Researcher noticed that the women were less restrained than in the life narrative interviews. Once they introduced their symbolic object into the research, they became much more expressive in their emotions, such as crying over a painful memory. In this vein, Kunimoto (2004) studies relating to Japanese-Canadians soldier's experience interned during and after World War II, although not designed as a photo-elicitation study, illustrate how photos can evoke different kinds of reactions and sometimes painful memories. Consequently, the Researcher found that photo-elicitation interviews elicited different knowledge types from the participants than just talking would accomplish. The participants' analysis provided an excellent example of the data's depth and richness from visual-based inquiry approaches [See Figure 6].

Collier (2001) suggests *four necessary steps* which, when adopted, contributed to providing the means of verifying the process of analysis and interpretation, which is attached to the bespoke visual object. These steps consist of *analysing* the object or artefact by *describing* the physicality of what the object or artefact represents. It also requires *listening* to the individual participant, *revealing* the item's meaning, detailing why the personal visual object or artefacts is symbolic to their migration experiences. This process involves the participant's interpretation and, finally, integrating the visual and verbal data more holistically and powerfully. In this approach, it was possible to draw upon oral data generated by the participants using conventional transcripts of their audio recording detailing why the personal visual object or artefacts is symbolic to their migration experiences. This research approach's inclusion is that objects and artefacts offer the women the scope to portray individual emotions effortlessly since there are often unexpected and enigmatic aspects to an object or artefact. The research study's real value is how they can reveal aspects of emotional experience often associated with a specific period in the women's lifespan related to migration.

As Stivers (2008) suggests, the experience and interpretations are essential aspects of carrying out the visual analysis process to capture the women's meanings towards an object or artefact that they have a symbolic attachment based on its connection to the migration. Rose (2016) states that the inclusion of visual objects within research has a way of placing the participants at the research process's centrality because it requires them to draw upon their expert

knowledge. Regarding this specific research study, the inclusion of a visual research approach enhanced and strengthened the connection with life narratives. Furthermore, combining these two qualitative approaches enriches the depth of the narratives obtained from each participant, from the intersection of social, cultural, and historical perspectives (C.W. Mills, 1959). It was also evident that the objects held deep sentimental memories, which was not surprising. Many of the women kept their symbolic object in a private place, protected from public display.

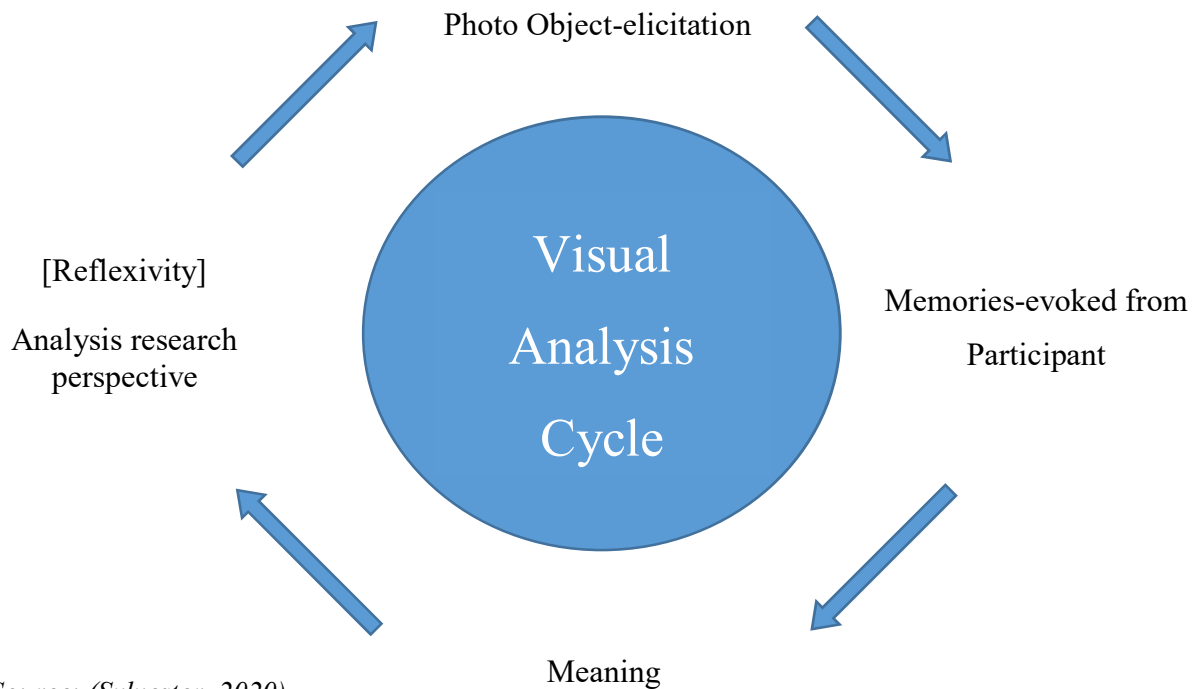
Visual Analysis Cycle

The Researcher created a **Visual Analysis Cycle** [See Figure 6] to provide a structure to process the data's visual analysis aspect. The content of the women's narrative from the visual-based inquiry contained a greater emphasis on expressing emotions attached to memories, which was not as explicitly apparent within the life narrative interviews (Bagnoli, 2009:548).

The diagram provides the scope to reflect on the participant-generated data related to emotional memories and meanings evoked from the object captured within the visual-based inquiry interviews. In this context, the focus is on turning the visual image into the text to prepare it for analysis. It supports the narrative embedded within the visual image to tell its own story. By adapting the photo-elicitation approach, as described by Harper (2002:13), it proved to be an exemplary aspect of the research because it concurred with using a visual image produced by participants to share personal meanings and interpretations of the symbolic object for analysis within the research process.

The photograph taken of the symbolic object carried a great deal of information which provided the opportunity to gain insights into the social phenomena of these women's attachment to a memory associated with being the Caribbean. This information is different from the data obtained from the life narrative interview, as this is unique evidence which oral narrative cannot provide (Bolton et al., 2001:503; Manny, 2016). Comparatively, the Researcher found while the life narrative interviews provided information on everyday issues related to the women's experiences of migration.

Figure 6: Visual Analysis Cycle



Source: (Sylvester, 2020)

The Visual Analysis Cycle diagram sets out to explore the diverse range of visual data generated for the participants' analysis. The Visual Analysis Cycle provides a framework designed to treat each participant visual data uniquely instead of using a homogenous approach of grouping the analysis. Crang and Cook (2007) give a brief but valuable critique of different approaches to analysing visual data by focusing on how its owner interprets the images. In the research, the Researcher undertook this approach, who provided the participant with the space to interpret the meaning the visual object held and why it was symbolic. Engaging with the women in a manner that respected them as the expert in choosing an object they chose to present was appropriate. It validated them in recognition that they had unique knowledge that was of significance. Equally, the women had the autonomy to formulate their narrative structure, which supported their memories of the object and developed the direction, style, length and content. This aspect of the research was an empowering feature of the research design because it was productive. It helped to transform the power imbalance between the Researcher and the participants. Notably, the research relationship is not neutral. Instead, it contains power difference, therefore transferring the balance of power to the women. The use of visual-based

inquiry was a positive and unique feature of the research process because it reinforced the desire to keep their voices at the centre.

The **Visual Analysis Cycle** diagram comprises **four sites**: the *object*, the *memories*, *meanings*, and *reflexivity* account, provided by each participant. The diagram represents the Researcher's position in processing the different sites related to the visual data obtained from the women [See Figure 6].

Object

Objects are a significant part of our life, even helping to shape who we are. Objects are symbolic because of the powerful message which they convey for each of the participants. Indeed, the object, some were artefacts, while others are either books or ornaments.

Memory

Memory work through *deliberate remembering* was a helpful way of engaging with the women in producing their narratives about the object they presented within the research. The inclusion of the women's memories related to the specific object they used for the visual-based inquiry was unique because it required each of the women to remember deep-rooted memories [See Chapter 4]. From the research perspective, by providing the women with the space to share their memories, not only was it empowering but also quite cathartic for those who had expressed deep, profound sadness. However, in keeping with ethical consideration, it was possible to engage with the individual woman to show empathy for her situation.

Meaning

The meanings could be conscious or unconscious. Notably, whatever form the memories took, it was significant because of the association and emphasis the women had given to the meaning which they attached to their symbolic object. The meaning-making process is a critical part of gaining insight into each woman's feelings and emotions. As discussed in [Chapter 4], keeping

with the methodological rigour required being reflexive of unique role and responsibilities within the research process.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is at the heart of feminist research and was used within this section of the thesis because it provided the scope to reflect upon and understand personal knowledge about Caribbean traditions from a socio-political, historical and cultural perspective. This process helped gain insight into the women's interpretation of the memories and meaning attached to their objects. In this context, the women's relationship with their symbolic object was unique and central to them regarding cultural and social identity.

Process of Visual Analysis:

The analysis comprised reviewing the personal object that formed the participant-generated visual data's primary focus, using the four sites previously mentioned. The process also entailed drawing upon personal epistemological stance from a feminist and cultural perspective to ensure that insider knowledge about the socio-cultural aspect of the visual and verbalised data obtained from each woman was not misinterpreted. Culture is a complex concept to study; however, it is also about how women's life was through ideas and feelings associated with their specific object or artefacts in the context of the research study.

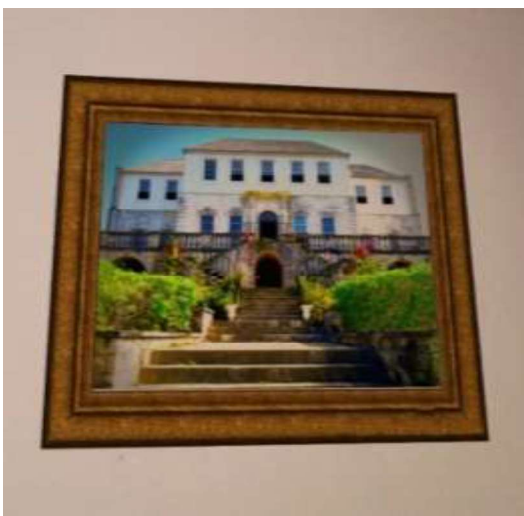
Post-World War II migration took place many years ago. Subsequently, over time these objects have taken more in-depth perspectives and meanings, as apparent from the significant textual data that has emerged from the women. In this context, the two prominent themes of **loss and separation** were the most common and consistent thread, which was apparent within each of the twenty-two narratives. The sub-themes were *social, cultural, political, and historical*, which were considered within a bespoke manner related to the women narration and interpretation of the meanings they attached to their object.

The following section presents a photograph of the twenty-two women's visual object. In this aspect of the research, the visual-based data analysis was on three levels. Firstly, the individual participant entailed an initial textual explanation of the women stating what memories they

associate to the visual object in their voice. Secondly, each object was analysed based on the meaning of loss and separation. Thirdly, the Researcher identified the objects' relationship as it related to social, cultural, historical and political theories and how the participants used the objects in their daily lives.

UK Participants

Interview One: Rea



Object Description: Picture of Rose Hall – National Treasure [Cultural Historical perspective]

This picture frame is a print of an original artefact of the Rose Hall Building, a national cultural heritage commonly known as a 'haunted house' owned by a famous witch, according to folklore, disposed of all of the husbands.

Given the age of the picture frame, it was in excellent condition and was an indicator of the caring manner in which Rea looked after her personal belongings. The object that Rea chose was a gift from her family and being a reminder of home in the Caribbean.

Memories

Rea spoke with composure as she reflected upon the dormant memories she recalls of the Rose Hall picture. Rea stated the following:

This is a nice picture of Rose Hall, which reminds me of the Caribbean. When I look at it, just the flowers and the nice building, you know, it just reminds me of different things from the Caribbean. "It makes me think how nice of a place it is to live and to be part of it. As I am no longer living there, I am still part of the country, you know. This is a historical building, and it's just in a nice setting, and it

shows just how nice of a place the Caribbean is to live, you know, and the sunshine makes it even more beautiful and everything else that goes with it, you know.

[Rea, Visual Based Inquiry [UK]

Meaning

Rea acquired this gift following her final visit to the Caribbean when she decided to leave her husband and return to the UK as a single woman:

I suppose it's the place where they have different discussions about all of the things that might be happening in that area, but I don't know for sure because I don't live there for a long time.

[Rea, Visual Inquiry-Based Interview [UK].

Initial Analysis

Rea's voice conveys feelings of warmth as she reflects upon the meaning she associates with her knowledge of the famous historical building, which has cultural relevance. From a metaphorical perspective, the picture's analysis was symbolic because of the historical experience known about the origins of the haunted house of Rose Hall. Historical stories claimed that a well-known witch lived alone in the house many years ago, with numerous speculative folklore stories, passed down generations, and how she was responsible for the "disappearance of disloyal husbands". In Rea's case, the choice of Visual object has a symbolic connection to her circumstances, as this object personifies both **loss and separation**. *The object captures **historical and cultural** association with the Caribbean culture.* From a feminist perspective, it is also an empowering interpretation of how a historical narrative about another woman's situation created comfort in her time of need and dealing with low self-esteem.

Interview Two: Etta



Object Description: Handmade Crochet White Lace Runner [socio-cultural/economic perspective]

The handmade Crochet was beautifully made and unique in design. The crochet piece is very well looked after, in good condition, considering its age. The design is timeless and still captivating. Eva received the Crochet Runner as a parting gift from

a close female childhood friend.

Memories

Etta shared memories of her friendship with a childhood friend, who made her a Crochet Runner as a parting gift. Etta spoke of the memories attached to the gift received from her friend when planning for her migration journey:

This piece of Crochet, it was my school mate, who had made this for me, but it was the thought behind it. My friend put a lot into it, and I wish that she was alive today to see that I'm still here with it and using it." "Back then, people were so genuine that they gave you things from the bottom of their heart. If they could not afford to provide you with anything, they would give you their tears, and that was to be more than some gifts because it was genuine, and that's why I am glad I've got these things today to show you what things were like in the olden days.

[Etta, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK]

Etta's reflected upon her childhood friend in a calm authoritarian manner, and illustrated a strong sense of sisterhood and *cultural belonging* as she spoke of the reasons why the Crochet Runner was symbolic.

Meaning

As Etta reflected upon the gift, she is moved by her memories, as she reflected upon her friend who has since died; however, Etta remains appreciated of the time and commitment which she spent to create the beautifully crafted item:

You still have something to show, because with this I'm very careful with it, as it's the only thing that I have, apart from a couple of pictures, of my mother and a glass salad bowl which remind me of her. I remember, she said to me take "take it, and when you live on your own and cook you can put your little salad in it", but as I said, it has multiple purposes. People were so genuine, that they gave you things from the bottom of their heart. If they could not afford to give you anything, they would give you their tears, and that was to be more than some gifts because it was genuine, and that's why I am glad I've got these things today to show you what things were like in the olden days.

[Etta, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK]

Initial Analysis

Etta reflected on the Crochet Runner, a parting gift from her friend that took five days to make the Runner, which meant that she could not work during those five days. From a personal perspective, it is possible to see how Etta became emotional as she recalled why the gift was symbolic. The Crochet is precious because of the sentimental value and memories attached. Etta received the handmade Crochet Runner from a close friend, who had no money to purchase a gift but instead made her the item instead of a parting gift to bring to the UK. Etta's narrative illustrates how the symbolic object resonates with themes of loss and separation. The memories are personal; however, they highlight the impact of migration on a broader scale and the permanency of leaving the home of origin.

Using an intersectional framework provides insight from a socio-cultural perspective of the significance of Crocheting, which was introduced in the Caribbean by colonial influences and became indoctrinated into mainstream education systems. Crocheting lesson was taught to girls from a poor socio-economic background so that they had vocational training in sewing, and domestic science, which they could use to earn an income. This craft offers an empowerment strategy for women from lower-income social class to make an income (Stoller, 2003). Etta was

financially in a better socio-economic position, which allowed her to obtain the entry requirement to obtain the necessary qualification to pursue a Nursing career and migrate to the UK. Whilst Etta has experienced *loss and separation* over time. Etta still has strong memories of a childhood friendship that has lasted over seventy years and acknowledges that having access to education provided her with the opportunity to leave the Caribbean.

Interview Three: Gee



Object Description: Jewelled Heart Shape Brooch
[socio-economic perspective]

This brooch is a priceless gift that has sentimental value. The design is of yellow gold with inserts of real gems stones, leaf with turquoise jewels, surrounded by heart-shaped pearls, of which there are ten in each set, which makes it quite valuable. Gee received the Brooch set as a parting gift from close female friends

Memories

This significant item is a beautiful Brooch, which is of Yellow Gold and priceless gemstones, situated in a pearl cast individual heart-shaped settings:

I don't think you could buy these now, this brooch because this is from the '50s. This is a leaf brooch with turquoise jewels surrounded by heart-shaped pearls. There are 10 of these, and within each one, there is a stone. This one here is a bracelet, and it has a ruby stone at its centre. They are very sentimental to me, as they've come a long way from the Caribbean. I used to wear them, but now I just keep them safe, for memories that are very precious to me. Good memories because it shows me how people can care for you and love you. These things do not fade..., good memories.

[Gee, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK].

Meaning

The expensive gift was given to Gee by a close friend of Asian heritage during the early 1950s. It is part of a set that consists of a bracelet and a pair of earrings:

They were given to me by my two friends, way back when...the late '50s. Both of them were gifts; two ladies gave them to me; one was an Asian lady. After all of the years, we have still kept in touch, and I think that's what makes them so sentimental to me because it reminds me of friends in the Caribbean, which is very important to me.

[Gee, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK].

Gee explained how much the object given to her by her close friend as she left the Caribbean to migrate to the UK meant to her. Gee attaches significant symbolic memories of friendship to the item. Gee recalled enjoying wearing the brooch when she first arrived in the UK; however, she refrained from wearing it when her life changed. Instead, Gee keeps the brooch with the other jewellery set pieces in a safe and private place. For Gee, the brooch is of significant emotional value and holds good memories of being a young woman who had close friends when she lived in the Caribbean. Gee's narrative is substantial because it captures the central theme of loss and separation poignantly.

Initial Analysis:

The brooch's gift is significant because of the fond memories of the female friend who gave her the priceless gift. It is also explicitly evident that Gee came from a socio-economic background within the Caribbean, which provided her with the opportunity to form such endearing friendships. Regarding race, the gift illustrated a strong bond between these women from two diverse economic backgrounds. Equally, as it related to social class, the gift was symbolic because it was a reminder to Gee of her past life in the Caribbean when she was a self-employed seamstress. Gee became overly emotional and very sad as she talked about her deep-rooted memories, associated with the friendship she treasured and has lost over the years of separation. In this context, it was evident that emotions are just as significant as sentimental thought. Bochner and Ellis (2003) write about the personal and even intimate qualities that suit this analysis level. As feminist research illustrates, understanding emotional issues is significant because it provides insight and meaning of *loss and separation* into the feelings (Hesse-Biber et al., 2006). Gee kept her jewellery in a private place and rarely viewed it in public. The brooch is also a reminder of personal loss in friendship and intimate relationship.

Interview Four: Annie



Object Description: Brown Cover Bible [Cultural Perspective]

Annie received this Bible when she was 12 years old. This Bible is delicate, the cover is water-stained, and the pages are yellow. The Bible spinal column was torn and appeared to be held together by a thread. Annie received the gift from her mother.

Memories

Annie recollected that she did not wish to travel to the UK unless she had something personal and indispensable to bring with her:

Well.., this Bible was given to me I think when I was 12 years old, and it is personal to me because when I was coming over, I felt that I need to bring something with me that would remind me of my childhood. I did not want to go unless I had something personal to me, and it is important to me that I have this Bible, and I was able to bring the Bible over and have with me. It is like a memory, it reminds me of when I was growing up, and it is a part of my life. If you notice it is not in such a bad condition, I look after it because it is important to me to keep it sound and keep it safe. Later on, I will give it to one of my girls, either my daughter or my granddaughter. I would know that it has gone to someone in the family, and has been carried on down in the family. It must stay in the family because it is very precious to me. Although it seems like it ages ago, age doesn't matter; whatever it is if it's important to you in your life then it's something you hold onto it's not a thing where you say "OK, it is old what am I still doing with this? However, to me, this is important. It is a part of my life.

[Annie, Visual Based Inquiry [UK].

Meaning

It is evident to interpret the reasons why Annie became quite emotional when she remembered how young she was when she received the Bible as a gift from her mother:

To me, this was a very important gift to have at that age, to say “This is mine”, it’s the holy book, but at that age, that is something that would not have occurred to me that it is important to me to have a bible of my own. I’ve had a happy childhood, and this book is something to remind me of that and where I’m coming from, and that is why my mom bought it for me at that age. It’s more important than jewellery.

[Annie, Visual Based Inquiry [UK]

Initial Analysis

Annie’s caption captures being a female child, age 12 years old, growing up in the rural countryside of the Caribbean, with the abundance and emancipation, of enjoying the freedom of life living primarily in a household of women. Annie’s father was a soldier in the British Army and was already living in the UK.

Annie’s memories of the Bible are attached to her mother and the lessons taught as a child growing up in the Caribbean.

The theme of **loss and separation** reflects the intense feelings devoted to her mother. The sadness is due to economic circumstances, was unable to see her again. However, Annie’s intention to pass the Bible onto her daughter is symbolic because she maintains a tradition with her mother.

Interview Five: Jade



Object Description: Gift of a Silver Pen [Cultural, historical, and social perspective]

This silver pen is simple in design and good condition. Jade placed it on the national standard, one the Caribbean island, to give prominence to the Silver pen and emphasise its features. Jade received the gift at the age of 21 years old, recognising her achievement as an employee within the Accounts Department, an internationally well-known food company in the Caribbean.

Memories

Jade was the awardee of a Silver pen at the age of 21 from a prominent Company in the Caribbean. Jade received the pen for outstanding achievement:

I received this pen given from the committee as an acknowledgement of my good work with the Company. The Company knows how to appreciate their staff and is a good place to work.

[Jade, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK].

For Jade, the gift is symbolic because it represents more than just a 'pen'. It was a reminder of her past self when she returned to the Caribbean to live and work within a prominent Food Company with an international public presence. Jade is very proud of her cultural heritage and keeps the pen and a Standard on display inside her antique Cabinet situated in her front room.

Meaning

Jade's narrative captures aspects of positivism and determination of being a recipient of a precious pen, which she received from a prominent company within the Caribbean:

The pen has a special personal engraved of my name and was given to me by the Company at the age of 21 years old as an appreciation of my effort and work ethics. It is a precious gift.

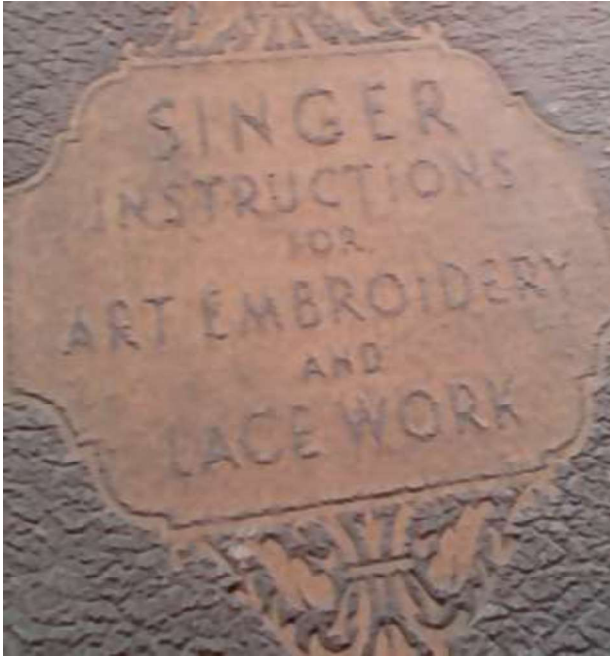
[Jade, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK].

Initial Analysis

The Silver Pen is symbolic to Jade because it is an affirmation of her positive attitude to work ethics. Jade has drawn upon her personal experiences of overcoming different forms of oppression to fulfil her ambitions to achieve her primary goal of using her educational acuity to obtain employment within the Accountancy's employment field. Since living in the UK, Jade has used this experience to empower herself and use her knowledge and foundational skills to help others reach their full potential.

Jade has a particular interest in working with young mental health service users and currently does volunteering work within the local Black community. Hill Collins (1990) talks about the prominent roles women take in working within and amongst their local communities to bring about change and social justice. It is evident in how Jade takes on challenges of injustice by working with vulnerable people within her local community. Notably, this Silver Pen is symbolic, from a personal, historical and nationalist perspective, which is evident from the pen's positioning, which she placed upon one of the Caribbean Island national standard. The theme of *loss and separation* is visible within the poignancy of Jade's memories as she recalled the successes she achieved in the Caribbean, compared to the troubled family life she experienced as a young mother in the UK.

Interview Six: *Winnie*



Object Description: Singer Instructions for Art Embroidery and Lace Work. [Cultural perspective]

The Lace and Embroidery Art instruction Book published by Singer & Co. The sewing machine manufacturers in the 1940s. This book is antique, in good condition, and priceless. The book given to Winnie in 1953 was a gift from her mother, who wanted her to learn the art of lace embroidery on the sewing machine.

Memories

Winnie kept the book in a private place, protected from being viewed continuously. The book seemed extremely old and contained beautiful photographs of lace artistry work and guidance on how to create the unique, beautiful lace object:

This book was given to me in 1953; my mother bought this for me as she wanted me to do embroidery on the sewing machine. But I didn't get very far because my teacher did not pay much attention towards me, she didn't spend any time teaching me at all, her focus was on the other kids as they were the ones with the money.

[Winnie, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK].

Meaning

Winnie remembers the encouragement which she had from her mother, who instilled positive values of empowerment by giving her the means to learn a skill that could provide her with a source of income:

I kept my book and tried to use it, but we don't need it in these modern days, but the book itself is the only thing I have left from the Caribbean. I was given in the book in 1953, and this is the only thing I have that my mother gave me, and this is precious to me even though I don't use it, but as my parents have passed away this is the only thing that I have that I can say that her hands have touched. I will pass the book on to my great-grandkids, I will save this for them, and I will continue to treasure it, as it is all I have left. I am glad you came as I would not have taken it out otherwise, now I will wrap it up to keep it safe, thank you.

[Winnie, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK].

Initial Analysis

Winnie's social identity was closely associated with her memories of her previous lived experiences within the Caribbean. The gift of a Lace Embroidery Needle Craft book, which provides instructions as to the art of embroidery and lacework, is a unique investment because the skills learnt is a means of earning income and being independent. From a feminist's perspective, Winnie's mother was a positive role model who empowered and inspired Winnie to be independent and self-sufficient in her new country. The undertaking of this specific analysis illustrates that Winnie remained had feelings of *loss and separation* attached to her memory of home in the Caribbean (Plummer, 2010). The memories of the past are significant as they remind the source of strength and act as a conduit to reaffirming individual social identity. Winnie's decision to pass on her Craft book as a legacy to her great-grandchildren is significant because of the underlying symbolic meaning in this specific act. The Craft book is influential because it contains a historical memory, which has influenced the present and will be valuable for the future. Feminists' writers such as Stoller (2003) have reclaimed Lace embroidery's valued skills and given it credibility as a beneficial skill to have because it is an empowering means of achieving personal accolade and income.

Interview Seven: Delia



Object Description: ‘Precious Bible’ - Gift given by an American Woman in 1956. [Historical perspective]

The Bible is in excellent condition, well kept, intact and has a Brown leather cover bounding outside. Delia received the Bible from a white American woman in 1956, a visiting minister, who Delia met when she worked as a youth worker in her local community church.

Memories

Dee kept the delicate Bible in perfect condition, on display on a low rise table. Aesthetically the light beige leather cover was crinkled and showed evidence of its fragile age:

The Bible was a gift from an American woman visiting the Caribbean in 1956. It's an American lady who is a white lady who came to the Caribbean and who had seen what work I had been doing in the churches with the young people and when she went back, she sent me this Bible in 1956.

[Delia, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK]

Meaning

Delia talks about her memories as to why the Brown Bible is so important to her:

This Bible is very precious to my children and me; they used to read it as well. I treasured something, and it has helped me do well and be a good person to everybody. I am grateful to her for sending me this Bible...I keep it on my bed and read it every morning.

[Delia, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK].

Initial Analysis

Delia's explained that she received the small Brown Bible in 1956 as a gift from a white American female community minister who was visiting the Caribbean. At the time, Delia was a young woman, where her identity and subjectivity was just on the peripheral information and taking shape. Delia's public role as a youth worker within the local community church was significant because not many females held such a prominent position. From the intersections of race, gender and social class, Delia recognised the difference between herself and the White American woman, based on privilege and power, and living an affluent lifestyle.

Her present identity as a mother, and grandmother, Delia, explains why she still draws upon the Brown Bible for guidance and refers to it daily to assist her in teaching her children about religious and cultural values. Delia became emotional as she reflected on her past life regarding *loss and separation* related to her family and way of life, which she cared about in the Caribbean. In this context, it is possible to observe how the family of origin, religion, cultural values, hard work and education, family commitment, activism and migration have also shaped both identities and subjectivities.

Interview Eight: Eva



Object: Description: Brown ‘Suitcase Grip’ - Gift from Parents [Cultural perspective]

The ‘Grip’, which was the common name used to describe the Brown suitcase, was dark brown in colour, shiny, and maintained in good condition. The ‘Grip’ is quite large with two clasps and a sturdy handle made out of leather in the centre. Notable the

Grips were different sizes for women and men.

Eva still had the small piece of brown string attached around the handle, which she used to identify her specific Grip over seventy years ago.

Eva has kept the Grip in pristine condition, which is a reminder of her cultural heritage in the Caribbean. These ‘Grips’ are now associated with archives and souvenirs synonymous with the Caribbean migration era during post-World War II.

Memories

Eva recalled that the Brown Grip' suitcase' was purchased in the Caribbean Island's main town at the cost of 2 shillings. The Brown Grip has a symbolic meaning for Eva because it reminded her of the values which her parents taught her when she was a young child:

My Grip bought in a town in Kingston, and it cost 25 shillings, and in those days, 25 shillings was £1.12 and a half pence. It reminds me when I come to England, it was bought in a town in Kingston, and it cost 25 shillings, and in those days 25 shillings was £1.12 and a half pence (laughs)... £1.12 and a half pence, 20 shillings worth a pound and five shillings worth another 50 pence was 10 shillings and so 5 shillings. You see, mental arithmetic I was very good at that in school, and even when we used to run the shop we didn't have any calculators we had this (points to head), and so God, thank you for me. God, I am blessed.

[Eva, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK].

Meaning

Eva remembered the financial sacrifices which her parents made to save enough money to purchase the large suitcase so that she could bring her most treasured items with her as she migrated to the UK:

The Grip that I came with was one of my few things I was told not to bring; I was told not to bring too many cotton clothes because it was cold. When you came here, you could buy clothes. We went to the UK with no more than £5. The £5 had to be in half a crown. Do you know half a crown? '2 and 6'. You know what amazes me and how many people in my generation forget a lot about home.

[Eva, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [UK]

Initial Analysis

Eva's memories of the reasons why her Brown Suitcase Grip was symbolic is significant because it was a gift received from her mother when she was migrating to the UK.

This instance entailed gaining empowerment to leave home and travel independently to a new country to embark on a new life. Even though the 'Grip' was small, it was compactly built and expanded to hold the precious personal items, which Eva held dear. The 'Grip conveys feelings of **loss and separation** of belonging and memories of back home. Eva recalled that the small sum of money carried from the Caribbean did not convert to much in the UK, which meant that she would have been disadvantaged had she not strategically chose to bring essential items with her. Eva's Brown Suitcase grip is symbolic because it reminds her of the Caribbean and a treasured souvenir from a cultural and historical perspective. Indeed the 'Grip' has become synonymous with the migration era of the post-World War II era.

Interview Nine: Tammi



Object Description: Green Cover Story Book: Story of Jesus [Cultural historical]

Tammi's symbolic object was a little green cover storybook, a collection of Religious stories about the life of Jesus. The book was a gift that she received over sixty years ago from an aunt when she was a young girl.

Memories

Tammi's reflection of her memories is quite poignant. Tammi recalls that the book was a gift that she received from her aunt:

The Storybook is about Jesus, a lovely little story about Jesus. I would read this book at nights before I go to bed; it's a very precious book. The book was published many years ago, and I've had this ever since I was a child, and I'm now 72 years old.

[Tammi, Visual Interview [UK]]

Meaning

This delicate antique book is unique and contains religious stories. There is a distinctive embossed in gold lettering on the front cover, with an imprint of a visual depiction of one of the parables. Tammi explains why the book is symbolic:

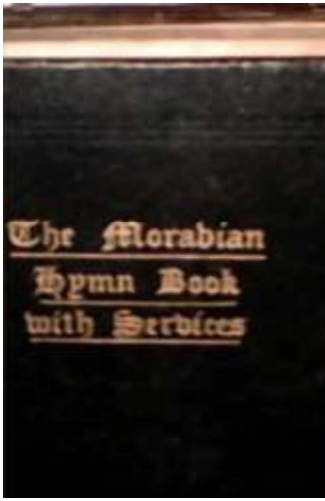
This book was given to me by my aunty, who had brought me up, I must have been about six years old, so this book was 66 years old (laughs). It had been a very long time ago.

[Tammi, Visual Interview [UK]].

Initial Analysis

Tammi's attachment to the gift of the 'Storybook of Jesus' is symbolic and embedded with meanings and emotions. It is a gift from her aunt, who gave it to her many years ago when she was six years old. Tammi discussed the benefits of having the book, which is symbolic because she consults daily. Tammi reflects upon the book, positively shaping her identity and subjectivities related to her various role as a mother, grandmother and community mother. There is evidence of *loss and separation*, which impacted the older generation of women. Tammi could have consulted with, has passed on, so, instead, the Storybook has replaced the face-to-face conversations. Tammi's strong religious upbringing is inherent to her childhood memories and resonates with how she has embraced her life living as a migrant woman living in the UK.

Interview Ten: Hennie



Object Description: This oil-covered skin Hymnbook [Cultural perspective]

The unique artefact is an oil-covered Hymnbook, delicate and kept in good condition. It has been well looked after and kept safely in a private place.

Memories

Hennie was given the small book as a gift from her mother, who slipped it into her suitcase when leaving the Caribbean. Hennie's mother's memories are evident as she remembered that her mother was her role model and teacher of traditional Caribbean culture and values. The book is exceptionally delicate, quite apparent from the date that it is over seventy years old:

So, it is a hymn book, and there are times where I take it up and begin to sing some of the hymns that we used to sing when we were small going to church.

[Hennie, Visual Based Inquiry [UK].

Meaning

Hennie keeps the Hymnbook in a private space. It is a collection of hymns, verses and poems. Hennie has strong emotional ties to the little hymn book because it reminds her of the kind spirit of her mother:

Every time I pick it up... I remember my mother because it was through her why I brought the book here with me. After all, she took it and put it in my case when I was coming to the UK.

[Hennie, Visual Based Inquiry [UK]

Initial Analysis

Hennie became emotional as she recalled that the book was the last gift she received from her mother, who had the insight to give it to her as a parting gift as she departed from the Caribbean. The book provides knowledge about religion and cultural significance. It is symbolic because it resonates with feelings of *loss and separation* of her childhood memories of the Caribbean cultural traditions and values, which was part of her upbringing in the Caribbean. During the time frame when Hennie left the Caribbean to migrate to the UK, she would not have known at that time that she would never return to the Caribbean to visit her mother alive. Consequently, her mother's loss has strengthened the bonds, and the attachment, which she has attached to the Hymn Book because it has become a significant way of transmitting perceived Caribbean cultural values and identity to her children. Hennie uses the book to help in her duties role as a Deacon within her local community church.

Interview Eleven: Celia



Object Description: Symbolic Object: Plaque of National Treasures [Cultural perspective]

This picture frame is a national artefact that contains images of symbolic prime ministers of one of the Caribbean Island, a collection of cultural symbols representing this specific food

associated with the traditions of the particular Caribbean island.

Memories

Celia reflected upon the Traditional Plaque of the Caribbean with fondness. The Plaque contains information which she expresses about the composition of the Plaque, which resonates with her memories and knowledge which she learnt as a child, and is appreciative of its importance in term of essential information about the Caribbean:

The picture contains a Doctor Bird, one of the national birds of the Caribbean, and we've got the Ackee which is a huge tree. To get to the Ackee, you have to climb the tree and pick the Ackee, and it comes out in pods; you have to open the pod and get the fruit out of it. It's lovely. The Lignum Vitae, one of our national flowers and here is the Mangoes from our national tree.

[Celia, Visual Based Interview [UK]

Meaning

Celia talks about belonging and her roots in a manner that illustrates that despite being a migrant for at least fifty decades, she still holds a secure connection to her roots in the Caribbean:

All of this reminded me of home when I was out there, but, looking at it now, as I sit down here and look at it hanging up there, I sit down and look at it and say, oh! That is the Caribbean, you know? And the Doctor Bird, the most beautiful bird, you see the colours...really beautiful. Still, as I said, it's something

to look back on and to know your roots and where you're coming from. It's nice to know your roots, although some people kind of forget about their origins because they've left it so long, but I will never forget about my roots, you know...and there it is.

[Celia, Visual Based Inquiry [UK].

Initial Analysis

In this instance, Celia identified the Caribbean Plaque as a symbolic object that was significant because it resonated with the cultural association and memories of Caribbean traditions' full richness. Celia's choice came from a nationalist viewpoint, as it contained meaningful symbols associated with the Island of her origins. Celia's choice of symbolic item is an object which is significant from a nationalist viewpoint, as it reinforces her belonging and roots to the Caribbean. Celia remembered the different types of national food she had enjoyed as a child growing up in the Caribbean and her determination to maintain a permanent cultural food presence within her family cuisine. In many respects, the chosen object is a reminder of **loss and separation** related to family, culture and traditions, which is the heart of the Caribbean. The Caribbean Plaque is an accessible object because of its national significance.

US Participants

Interview Twelve: Minnie



Description: Brown Bible [Cultural perspective]

The Brown Bible is frayed and delicate, with yellow stained pages-was given to Minnie by her parents when she left the Caribbean to migrate to the US.

Memories

Minnie remembered that her parents wanted her to have something that was a memory of her life back home in the Caribbean. Minnie recalls that at the time, she did not realise just how much the book would mean to her:

The small brown hymn book is very precious to me. It was given to me by my parents nearly sixty years ago. I am much attached to the book because it holds memories of my parents. When I was leaving to go to the United States, we had very little money, and my parents wanted to give me something that was a memory of my life back home in the Caribbean. For me, it is like a peaceful time to just enjoy quiet moments with my memories.

[Minnie, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [US]]

Meaning

Minnie describes the Bible as her personal 'me time' when she needs to enjoy a quiet moment and reconnect with her memories of life with her family in the Caribbean:

I must say, at that time, I did not realise just how much this book would mean to me. I make sure that I read it daily, and sometimes I sing one of the hymns, although it makes me sad. I am very grateful that I have something which reminds me so dearly of my parents. Look, it contains prayers at the back on some occasion. I read one of the prayers just to see if I can remember how things were when I was still living back home, what I was doing and so on.

[Minnie, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [US]

Initial Analysis

The symbolic object has significant meaning because Minnie received a gift from her parents at the point of departing from the Caribbean to travel to the US. The object is significant because Minnie had plans to return to the Caribbean. However, complications experienced with her illness became a necessity for her to remain in the US.

Minnie's feeling of sadness and **loss** is derived from her untimely **separation** from leaving her parents in the Caribbean. Evidence of her loss is embedded in her tone of voice as she reflected upon her migration experiences. Minnie was unable to see any positives from her migration experience because of the numerous chronic illness she suffered and subsequently prevented her from pursuing a career of her choice as a Secretary.

Interview Thirteen: SuSu



Object Description: Antique Cup with decorative design [Socio Historical perspective]

SuSu received the antique cup as a gift when she was migrating to the US. The teacups are a delicate white background, with a hand-painted design in soft colours of red and green.

Memories

The gift was a set of three cups, which she brought with her over 40 years ago, and every single one of them is still intact. The antique teacups reminded her of the past generation of females in her family, who cared for the cups:

A couple of years before I came here, when I graduated from a teachers college in the Caribbean, she gave you know a couple of cups. They were about 3 or 4 little cups, my aunt gave me as a gift, and I held onto them and when I was coming here to the united states. I am sure that they will be passed on as long as people can appreciate the value of them, we still keep them in memory of the loved ones who have passed on. We keep them in our memory, and they motivate us as young people. As we grow older, we encourage other people and aspire to go higher and have a good relationship with family and friends.

[SuSu, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [US].

Meaning:

My aunt gave me as a gift, and I held onto them, and when I was coming here to the United States, I picked all three of them and brought them over 40 years, and every single one of them is still intact. I look at them and love the enjoyment of having those cups. My aunt lived in the United States for many years and came back to retire in the Caribbean. That is all we have of family members who have passed on that we love dearly, so these are you know, just memorabilia that we will never give up, and we will pass them on to the other generation. As I say, I treasure what my aunt has given me gave me all those years ago. I will always have them has a memory and will keep them safe and pass to pass them onto the next generation, what I can remember from family members that it doesn't matter whether we use them. We just keep them as a memory of these people who have been endeared to us.

[SuSu, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [US]

Initial Analysis

It is evident to see the importance which SuSu has attached to these beautiful antique cups, which hold historical value. The teacups held memories of loss and separation of the women within her family, who passed on.

The memories shared illustrated the importance of culture and traditions related to identity and subjectivities regarding the impact of migration. These cups are symbolic because they embody the heart of respecting family values and history, as explicitly discussed by SuSu, within her Life Narrative Interview. From an intersectionality perspective, it illustrates how SuSu valued the past females' achievements within her family lineage to overcome oppression based on race, gender, and social class to achieve her professional status as a Professor. SuSu valued her identity as a Professor and has her knowledge of subjectivities to instil Caribbean culture and traditions through her work with young people within the community.

Interview Fourteen: Laney



Object Description: Blue Common Prayer [Cultural perspective]

The book was a gift that Laney received from the Minister who presided over her marriage over fifty years ago. It is blue, although quite delicate, is well preserved and treasured by Laney.

Memories

Laney reflected on the memories associated with the book given to her by the Pastor, who officiated her marriage over forty years ago. This book is a memory of her husband, who died many years ago:

It is a book that I use quite a lot, as it contains morning prayers, midday prayers, evening prayers, bible readings, and everything is in there. It has a prayer for everything. I held on to this book for all these years, but I did take it with me when I came over here, and that would have been 44 years ago, so it's an old book.

[Laney, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [US]]

Meaning

The reflection in the tone of voice captures the significant value which is attached to the object. Laney's confirms that the book is a memory of all the significant events which has occurred in her life such as, marriage, birth and christenings:

I would say my confirmation day, my wedding day. I remember that day so well. I remember the Pastor so well, you know, because I was talking about him, then a girl in the church said: "you know him?" And I had said, "Yes, he married me," and she said, "He christened me. He baptised her, can you believe it? ... [Laughs]... it's such a small world.

[Laney, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [US]

Initial Analysis

Laney's description links with her Life Narrative Interview and is related to her identity and values of Caribbean culture and traditions. Laney is representative of a generation where the church was central to her life. The book is symbolic because of the transmission of the cultural significance of religion. There is a prominent link to ***loss and separation*** and provides comfort. Laney has a close attachment to the book because of the memory associated with her marriage that occurred over forty years ago. Laney draws on the book's spiritual guidance readings and acknowledges that the book helped shape her identity as a mother.

Interview Fifteen: Mimi



Object: Description: Antique Grey Coloured Bible
[Cultural perspective]

This Bible is an antique artefact that is quite worn and delicate and falling apart. The book is held together by threads bounded by the spinal column.

Memories

Mimi was given the Bible from her nephew, who had passed it down from his mother. It was a symbolic gift because it reminded her that she had misplaced many items when she migrated to the US. Mimi's Bible is exceptionally precious because it held many cherished memories. Mimi has fond memories of the gift, which she uses every day in her role as a mother to educate her children about values:

Well, this Bible was given to me by my nephew. I think his mother gave it to him, but when I left the Caribbean, he thought that I should have something to remember him by, so he gave me the Bible, and I have lost a lot of things, but I will not part with this Bible. I tell my children when I pass on; you will put that Bible in my coffin.

[Mimi, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [US]]

Meaning

Mimi expressed that the Bible was given to her by a nephew, who was only ten years old, when she was embarking on her migration journey, but knew it was a monumental event. The gift of the Bible was a gift which he had received from his mother but felt the compulsion to give his aunt something of significant value:

Well, my nephew got it in 1965, and he gave it to me in 1967. It has meaning to me, so I have kept it, and though it may be old and tattered now, I still use it. I think he lives in Texas now, and I think he would be surprised to know that I still have the Bible. This Bible is very precious to me and has many meanings because he was ten years old when he gave this to me. It's costly as you can see that it has done its time. It has meaning to me, so I have kept it, and though it may be old and tattered now, I still use it.

[Mimi, Visual Based Inquiry Interview [US]]

Initial Analysis

The emotion expressed in her tone of voice is sad and filled with a collection of memories. The meaning within this reflection is evident when Mimi refers to her wishes as it pertains to her burial arrangements. For some, it would seem that talking about burial plans is gruesome, in poor taste. However, as Mimi illustrated, funeral preparation can be positive to ensure that the deceased's request is respected. There is evidence of *loss and separation* related to the relationship she had with her nephew, who gave her the Bible. It is also evident that Mimi has strong cultural values that have helped her prepare for her death. In this instance, the *loss* is symbolic because Mimi is espousing to teach her children about death.

Interview Sixteen: Lala



Object: Description: Plaque – National Treasure Flying Fish [Cultural, Social and Historical perspective]

The ornament is a treasured colourful souvenir of the traditional flying fish, the country of origin's national heritage.

Memories

Lala memories of the symbolic object are significant because it forms links to her past living in the Caribbean. The loss was apparent in the absence of such food products being available in the US. Lala is determined to teach her children about cultural heritage and the value of signifiers, such as cultural food products:

The flying fish is beautiful, it flies on the sea, but not only that it is very delicious” It can be cooked in so many different forms it could be fried it could be steamed, baked however you cook .it is very delicious...

[Lala, Visual Based Interview [US]

Meaning

This object is symbolic to Lala, who uses the cultural object to reinforce Caribbean traditions and values towards food significance. Lala illustrated there were strong emotions of happiness

and joy of a period in time when she was living in the Caribbean, which is associated with catching and enjoying a simple fish meal:

I really admire eating this dish, however, when I left the Caribbean. It was so difficult for me. I was so accustomed to it that I had difficulties finding it ...but then I could see it in one of the US stores. I was so grateful for it and each year for the last so many years...this fish is such delicious and one of my favourite dish that I get it erm, transported or fly in from the Caribbean to the US, and when I return home, that is one of the first things that I want to eat. The flying fish reminds me of my heritage from the Caribbean.

[Lala, Visual Based Interview [US]

Initial Analysis

Lala's attachment to the object reflects the strong links she recalls to a 'fish' dish strongly linked to her cultural heritage. In this instance, Lala's experiences highlight her feelings of being an 'outsider' living in the US, where access to the type of food she is familiar with is not available to purchase. In this context, the **loss and separation** are significant and linked to the absence of cultural food, which is part of her tradition and reaffirms cultural belonging. For Lala, the object is important because it reminds her of her roots and retaining her Caribbean culture. Through this 'outsider' position, she draws specific attention to her cultural identity about values and food traditionally associated with the Caribbean community. The importance of Lala to maintain her Caribbean cultural identity stems from feelings of isolation and exclusion within US society.

Interview Seventeen: Dee



Object: Description: A Birthday Card
[Personal social perspective]

This card is a birthday card with a simple floral design on delicate embossed paper. It is colourful and artfully composed, which is of the age of the recipient.

Memories

Dee explains why the Birthday card is significant: The Birthday Card is not expensive or contains any fancy embossed features. However, for Dee, the memory is poignant because it is the last one which she received before the untimely death of her mother:

Yes, it is a card, and whenever I look upon this card, I remember my mother, and it helps me think and remember what my mother would do or say. Those memories really guide me on how to live my life, and although she is gone, I have those precious memories of my mother, more importantly, I have the hope that one day I will be with my mother again.

[Dee, Visual Based Interview [US]]

Meaning

For Dee, the need to make sense of her mother's death was inhibited by the lack of opportunity to attend the funeral:

The card was the last one I have from my mother. I never saw her face again because she passed. I couldn't go, so that card means a lot to me because I couldn't go..." It is a card, and whenever I look upon this card, I remember my mother, and it helps me to think and remember what my mother would do or say.

[Dee, Visual Based Interview [US]

Initial Analysis

This situation provides insight into personal deep-rooted memories and emotions of **loss and separation**, which Dee has attached to the Birthday Card. Dee's voice is charged with emotions as she recalled that the Birthday card is symbolic because it was the last gift that she received from her mother before she passed away. Dee was advised by the Lawyer processing her work visa application not to take the risk to return to the Caribbean to attend her mother's funeral because he could not guarantee that she would receive entry back into the US. Dee's situation is a common issue that impacted Caribbean women who migrated to the US during the 1960s into jobs that were not part of the recruitment drive, which offered a visa certificate (Foner, 2009). In this respect, this is an example of the discriminatory policies imposed on migrants. Dee was unable to attend her mother's funeral and holds the memories associated with guilt.

Interview Eighteen: Nellie



Object: Description: 18th Century Tea Cups
[Historical Cultural perspective]

These 18th Century Tea Cups are dainty and delicate looking Teacups, which are pristine and made from bone china. Both cups have hand-painted floral design crafted on the outside. The teacups are unique and priceless because they are part of a set that has survived the passing of time across centuries. These teacups were on display in a prominent position on a polished hardwood desk, which provided a majestic background.

Memories

When asked to share the memories which are associated with the chosen symbolic item, Nellie responded as follows:

These two cups I went to the Caribbean when my mother died in 1980, and I took these from her Cabinet as a keepsake. These were cups received from her mother.

[Nellie, Visual Based Interview [US]]

Meaning

According to Nellie, these antique cups have symbolic value because they first belonged to her grandmother, who passed it onto Nellie's:

These cups were passed down through generations of women from the 1800s onwards. I can remember both my grandmother and my mother looking after them. I now have these as a set at home. I don't even use them. They are only there on display as souvenirs and for my memories.

[Nellie, Visual Based Interview [US]]

Initial Analysis

Here, there is explicit evidence of *loss and separation* related to the memories of the women who have been the guardian of the family cups. Each time Nellie looks at the cups, she reminds her family, her roots, belonging, and the women within her family, who kept up the Caribbean traditions of keeping ornaments and artefacts within a designated Cabinet. Nellie's identity as an educated woman, who originated from a middle-class background in the Caribbean, is explicitly discussed within her Life Narrative interview. She addresses her experiences of oppression from an intersectionality perspective.

While she became quite sad and emotional as she recalled the generation of women whose lives have been touched by the antique cups, of which she is now the guardian. It is apparent that the sadness comes from the reminder that a loved one's death is associated with having these cups. These cups have been treasured and revered as precious ornaments by each generation of women in this family, who have been responsible for keeping them intact and passing them onto the next generation. The Teacups are significant because they are irreplaceable as they contain historical memories of each of the women responsible for being keepers of these antique cups. Regarding the intersections of race, gender and social class, privilege and power are evident within Nellie's family in the Caribbean, as having a glass Cabinet, which was also a sign of wealth and importance. The cups are significant because it illustrates how priceless cultural objects are protected within families and passed on from one generation to the next.

Interview Nineteen: Terri



Object Description: Teaching Certificate [Personal, social, and historical]

This item is a Teaching Certificate awarded by a prestigious University to Terri for achieving outstanding academic accolade during 1948. Terri is hugely proud of the award because of its status and recognition that she was the first woman to receive such a prestigious award.

Memories

It was quite evident in how Terri reflected upon her memories of being the prestigious Teaching Certificate recipient. It was a significant achievement, which was meaningful to her. The Certificate is symbolic because, in the educational establishment, it was the first one of its kind to be given to a woman. The Certificate is well looked after and kept in a wood frame on display:

I was the first woman to be awarded this Certificate from the Education Department in 1948. I attended a Caribbean training college, and then I applied to go to University.

[Terri, Visual Based Interview [US]]

Meaning

It means a lot because from there, I could go and teach. That is where I taught my boys to read...and it means a lot that, as that was my foundation.

[Terri, Visual Based Interview [US]]

Initial Analysis

Terri's identification of her Teaching Award Certificate, which she received in 1948, is symbolic because it is a personal accomplishment. In this context, it is evident that having this unique award was a remarkable achievement. However, Terri experienced *loss and separation* of self-esteem because she could not pursue her ambition to find employment as a teacher in the UK's education system, which required that she retake basic qualifications before applying for a teacher training programme. From the intersections of race, gender and social class, it was apparent that the structural discrimination which existed in the UK meant that the teaching certificate was not recognised. Terri experienced loss in regards to her professional identity as a qualified teacher.

Interview Twenty: Pennie



Object Description: Glass Ornament [Historical, social-cultural perspective]

The religious artefact, which is multi-coloured in design, has a symbolic spiritual meaning, based on the words scribed onto the glass shaped ornament.

Memories:

The object is symbolic because it is a reminder of the Caribbean. Pennie shares her memories of why the Glass ornament is symbolic to her:

I have chosen this item as a unique momentum that I brought from the Caribbean to the US in my hand luggage because it was so delicate. The object is a Glass ornament, which has the words 'I love Jesus' inscribed on the outside in the form of a cross. The words are very special and remind me of when I was a young woman in the Caribbean going to church on Sundays. In those days, we would sometimes go to church twice on Sundays. Oh, those were good days.

[Pennie, Visual Based Interview [US]]

Meaning

Pennie has a close attachment to the object because it is a constant reminder of her mother and of the Caribbean traditional religious values, which she leant during her childhood:

Well, I have this Glass Ornament place in my Cabinet in a particular spot as a reminder of home. I see it every day; it is a reminder of my religious values and belief. It may sound old fashion, but still important to me. Sometimes, when I feel a little sad, I look at this glass ornament, which reminds me of my strong religious belief. Occasionally, when I look at the glass ornament, it reminds me of my mother and her strong influence, which is still very important to support me to this day.

[Pennie, Visual Based Interview [US]

Initial Analysis

Pennie's illustrates that her attachment to the object is a reminder of her home of origin in the Caribbean. There is evidence of **loss and separation** as she explains that the glass ornament reminded her of her mother, who has passed on, and she was unable to attend her funeral. In this instance, it is feasible to observe the significance that Pennie gives to the chosen object. It is a reminder that both the rarity of a situation and its acceptability affect the loss experience. The symbolic purpose resonates with social and cultural memories associated with her life related to her mother's memory.

Interview Twenty-One: Lou



Object Description: Wooden Plaque of Jamaica [Cultural, social and historical perspective]

Carved in the shape of the Caribbean country from which the participant originates.

Memories

Lou reflects on her memories of the Plaque, which reminds her of the Caribbean. For Lou, it is a reminder of Caribbean family life, barbecues in the back yard, people eating and spending time together:

Well, when I was leaving to travel to the US, my family gave me momentum to remind me of home. This item was a wooden plaque of the Caribbean. The Plaque reminds me of when I use to go to the river beach in Dunn's River. It was not so crowded in those days, and it was a lovely place to go with friends and family and spend a whole day just having a good time and enjoying the sunshine. We would catch fish, get fruits, all kinds of fruit, which we would eat well before we reached home. The Plaque also reminds me of the big yard where we use to sit and talk about life.

[Lou, Visual Based Inter [US]

Meaning

For Lou, the symbolic object's meaning highlights a fondness for the unique cultural Plaque associated with her heritage inherent within the Caribbean. However, she is aware of how such an object could be taken for granted and be overlooked:

The freedom and just being with family and friends. These are good memories, you know when life was so peaceful. The item is dear to me because it reminds me of the Caribbean and how you know, simple things could be fun. Those days were good days. It's a nice plaque.

[Lou, Visual Based Inter [US]

Initial Analysis

For Lou, her memories are about her family and friends, enjoying spending time with each other, and embracing life in a simplistic and uncomplicated manner. Lou's ownership of her memories as to the Plaque is a reminder of a significant time in her life, where people valued each other and respected the diversity and richness of the Caribbean. There is a sense of comradeship and unity in sharing space and ease in one's status. Lou's description of eating outdoors in the family backyard is significant to the Caribbean culture because it is a natural part of how families share time and space. The Plaque is also a reminder of the **loss and separation** experienced at the untimely death of her only child and acknowledging that her memories of migration to the US were not what she had envisaged for the future.

Interview Twenty Two: Frankie



Object Description: Plaque of a Caribbean Island
[Cultural and historical perspective]

This object is a national artefact associated with the Caribbean culture, which is a reminder of ‘back home’ and embodies a sense of belonging. The artefact was a gift from her mother.

Memories

Frankie talked about the memories evoked from the symbolic object because it is a reminder of her mother, who was a positive role model in her life, and firmly believed in the Caribbean traditional way of life:

The Plaque is a memorial of the Caribbean, and my mother, who was the family's backbone. She would make sure that nobody went hungry. I remember coming from school, and she would have us running miles with food to give somebody, she would say, 'that poor lady doesn't eat, so when she passed away at age 40, it was very traumatic for me it was a very traumatic time. It took years for me to get over her death because I could not understand why she had to die.

[Frankie, Visual Based Interview [US]]

Meaning

Frankie explains the purpose of the Caribbean Plaque, related to her relationship with her mother, who sadly died at a young age. Frankie confirmed that she had a difficult time coping with her mother's death until she was able to gain some semblance when she learnt about the Kubler-Ross (1969) model of death and dying:

I was so close to her I was the last of eight children, the youngest girl, and I was very close to my mother, and I took it so badly that people used to misinterpret my attitude because I was still going through that grieving process. It wasn't until I was doing my Masters, I did a paper on Death and Dying by Kubler Ross and all that built up emotion I was able to express it. I remember my professor took the paper, and she said that this paper was not written from the book. It was from an inner expression that I could express because you wouldn't get me to go to a funeral at that time. I couldn't understand the meaning of death. It took that period for me to really comprehend my loss. Even, today the memory of my mother still lingers with me, when I hear someone singing a song, it reminds me of her. She was a very religious woman. And my background, the values that she instilled in me from a very early age, is what carried me and it is those values that will take me to my grave.

[Frankie, Visual Based Interview [US]

Initial Analysis

Frankie's account of her mother's untimely death is even more profound because she could not accept that her mother had died at such a young age at 40 years old. Evidence embedded within the Life Narrative Interviews of the impact her mother's untimely death has had on her attitude towards life from a personal and psychological perspective. From a feminist perspective, it is evident that Frankie held her mother in a significant position whom she revered and respected and described her as being the 'backbone within the family'.

The symbolic item also illustrates the importance of belonging and connectedness which Frankie experienced during her childhood years growing up in the Caribbean. The object reaffirms her cultural, social identity, influenced by the role modelling she learned from her mother. In this respect, Frankie experiences of *loss and separation* illustrate how her emotions and her memories have moulded her identity.

Chapter Summary

The second chapter focused on the final Research Question, based on data collected from using **the Visual Based Inquiry approach**, a creative method designed to explore personal memories associated with a significant object closely related to migration. In this context, the thesis's focus resonated to gain insight into how each of the women viewed the importance of reinforcing traditional Caribbean values. According to Glenn (1994), it is custom and practice within the Caribbean society for mothers to be assigned the role of being the gatekeepers of teaching their children about culture. Glen (1994) argues that, through their mothering activities, they transmit specific cultural values and practices. The Visual Analysis Cycle provided a framework to present the findings obtained from the twenty-two women [See Figure 6].

Table 3: Narrative and Visual Chart

Key Themes arising from analysis of Life Narrative and Visual Based Inquiry Interviews

Participant	Motivation	Arrival	Settlement	Symbolic object
Rea UK 1	Gaining independence	Support gain from the community-saving Partner scheme helped to obtain a deposit payment for a house.	Overcoming adversity. Belonging	Rose Hall Picture frame historical Building Dealing with Loss and separation
Etta UK 2	To take up the opportunity to work as a qualified Nurse for the NHS	Achieved SRN Nurse status.	Church leader and a role model.	Handmade Crochet Runner Dealing with Loss and separation
Gee UK3	To join her husband, who had migrated to the UK	Improving financial status to enhance the quality of life self and for children Adjusting to lone-parenthood	Dealing with isolation; Marital disharmony	Brooch Dealing with Loss and separation
Annie UK 4	Seized the opportunity offered by her father to migrate to the UK	Seeking independence Finding employment Deficit in confidence Overcoming adversity	Coping with discrimination in regards to seeking employment Personal Relationship Children.	Bible Dealing with Loss and separation
Jade UK 5	Negative Childhood experiences.	Achieving goals in educational studies	Managing family conflict	Silver Pen Dealing with

	Pregnant at 16 Emotional well-being	Gaining recognition and awards from within employment	Overcoming challenges as a young single mother	Loss and separation
Winnie UK 6	Newly married seeking to join a husband who was a former soldier who served for the UK during the Second World War.	Dealing with race, gender and social class inequalities. Dealing with living in the sub-standard housing accommodation	Overcoming multiple forms of structural oppression. Achieving positive outcomes in life.	Singer Lace Embroidery Handbook Dealing with Loss and separation
Delia UK 7	Migrated to live with a maternal aunt. Pursuant of a better life and opportunities	Achieving positive acknowledgement within the community Children are doing well and living a middle-class social lifestyle.	Dealing with challenges Dealing with multiple forms of discrimination Structural oppression Life events	Bible Loss and separation
Eva UK 8 (deceased 2017)	Young and ambitious seeking new opportunities for the future.	Established a decisive role for self links with local schools as a visiting tutor-teaching Caribbean Culture	Dealing with multiple forms of discrimination Feeling vulnerable Self-confidence Partner's chronic illness	Hard Cover Brown Suitcase 'Grip' Loss and separation
Tammi UK 9	Arrived in the UK as a teenager to live with her older siblings seeking excitement and new opportunities	Building links community network Active role in the local church	Able to provide children with the opportunity to attend university to improve their life chances.	Book containing Religious stories Dealing with Loss and separation
Hennie UK10	Came from a middle-class social family. Already undertaken training professional	Managing multiple challenges within the Nursing sector	Sustaining senior promotion as a Ward Sister	Hymns and Bible book Loss and separation

	training to become a Police Officer	Dealing with a lack of childcare provision		
Celia UK 11	Obtained the opportunity to complete education in the UK. Strong established a family network	Successful career in the Nursing sector as a Community Nurse.	Maintaining strong links with extended family in the Caribbean. Acceptance of loss of family members	Caribbean Plaque-National heritage Loss and separation
Minnie US 12	Migrating to the US to obtain better health care. Adjusting to living with a chronic medical condition which impacted life opportunities.	Diagnosed with a chronic medical condition which nictitated challenges of personal medical history. Developing coping strategies to manage the loss of family in the Caribbean	Family support Isolation Lacking in confidence Coping with Parents and sibling's illness. Managing bereavement and loss	Bible Loss and separation
SuSu US 13	Migrated to build an academic career as a Head teacher of an established educational institution in the Caribbean.	Drawing upon intellectual abilities to achieve Professorial award. Maintaining strong links within the Caribbean network. Strong Family network support.	Adjusting to the challenges of structural oppression. Being an advocate and role model within the local Black community	Antique Tea Cups Loss and separation
Laney US 14	Migrated solo to the US, where she secured employment and laid down the foundation for her family.	Forming strong friendship bonds within the local community network.	Confidence in her ability to succeed in her role as a mother and a provider	Bible Loss and separation

		Children have attained well-established middle-class status.		
Mimi US 15	Motivated to improve life opportunities for herself and family Strong family support from her mother made it possible to leave children in her care of her mother.	Creating economic opportunities for self and children Priority of herself Gaining a Nursing qualification	Managing a failed marriage. Becoming head of a house hold. Children achieving education opportunities to attend University	Bible Loss and separation
Lala US 16	Arrived as a young person to the US, where she lived, married and had her family. Pursuant to personal ambition to forge a career in the academic field.	Overcoming obstacles of discrimination to achieve full potential as a Teacher of Research in the field of Nursing	Maintaining her role as a leader by starting her Consultancy and Training company.	Caribbean Plaque of region National Flying fish Loss and separation
Dee US 17	Migrated to the US to improve life opportunities. Originated from the Caribbean from a middle-class background as a qualified teacher.	Creating economic opportunities for self and children Priority of herself Gaining a Nursing qualification.	Motivated to improve Self-confidence Family support choices	Birthday Card Loss and separation
Nellie US 18	Pursued an opportunity to migrate to the US. Originated from a middle-class family in the Caribbean. Trained as an educator.	Overcoming obstacles Becoming a Community mother through a role as an educator	The determination to succeed in achieving full potential, Role model	Antique Teacups Loss and separation

			<p>Coping with discrimination, Gender oppression</p> <p>Adversities</p>	
<p>Terri US 19</p>	<p>Qualified and employed as a teacher in the Caribbean.</p>	<p>Dealing with discrimination</p> <p>Family support</p> <p>Self-confidence.</p> <p>Being a role model</p> <p>Overcoming obstacles</p>	<p>Pursuing personal ambitions</p> <p>Illness</p>	<p>Teaching Certificate (awarded 1948)</p> <p>Loss and separation</p>
<p>Pennie US 20 (deceased 2018)</p>	<p>Motivated to maximise on opportunities to improve life chances for herself and family</p>	<p>Secured academic achievements- Master's Degree, which improved employment opportunities.</p> <p>Obtained a career as a Nurse, Social Worker and a Counsellor</p>	<p>Dealing with challenges encountered in professional job status.</p> <p>Making herself a priority</p> <p>Finding time to develop 'self.'</p>	<p>Glass Ornament</p> <p>Loss and separation</p>
<p>Lou US 21</p>	<p>Migrated to the US to pursue a professional career.</p> <p>The determination to achieve a professional career in the US.</p>	<p>Became the first Black woman to be appointed in a prominent position within employing an agency.</p> <p>Coping with multiple losses of close family members such as her mother, father, close relatives, and son.</p>	<p>Building a relationship within the Church community forming a new family network</p>	<p>Caribbean ornament Plaque</p> <p>Loss and separation</p>

<p>Frankie US 22</p>	<p>Migrated from the Caribbean to the UK, became a nurse.</p> <p>Met husband who was serving in the British army. Joint decision to migrate to the US to pursue prospects of a professional career to migrate to the US.</p>	<p>Able to live independently due to financial security and personal wealth.</p> <p>Close links with local Black-led Community Church</p>	<p>Migration led to better opportunities for achieving a professional career. Acquired a middle-class lifestyle.</p> <p>However, experienced a failed marriage.</p> <p>Suffered prolonged poor health, Personal health.</p> <p>No immediate family supports. Loneliness.</p>	<p>Caribbean Wall Plaque</p> <p>Loss and separation</p>
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Chapter 7: Discussion

Twenty-two African Caribbean women shared their narratives of their lived experiences of migration during the post-World War II era. Each of the women gave a personal and individual account which was evident in this thesis's findings. In addition to this, the women's voices held the centre position instead of at the peripheral, thereby providing sincere acknowledgement of their personal views and opinions.

The two previous chapters presented findings from the research, of which each chapter shows how the Research Questions developed from the theoretical framework. In this context, Chapter 6 provides findings from Research Question One, which entailed conducting Life Narratives Interviews, collecting data from the twenty-two women. As a consequence of this discussion, three main themes emerged: *Motivation, Arrival, and Settlement*; subsequently, these were identified and analysed in Chapter 6. The Researcher developed a Migration Triangle to undertake this specific element of the women's narratives [See Figure 5].

Regarding Research Question Two, the Researcher employed a Visual Based Inquiry approach to capture photographs of visual data from a symbolic object, which had a cultural significance to the women's memories of migration. Notably, two main themes of loss and separation permeated the data analysis (Rose, 2016). There is also an account of how memory and re-memory, as described by Plummer (2001), are transformed into collective and cultural memories to give voices to particular narratives specific to oppressed groups, such as these African Caribbean women. Following the data collection, this Research Question's findings formed the analytical evidence illustrated in Chapter 7.

Having explored the existing literature [See Chapters 1 and 2], it was evident that most of the social research studies about Caribbean migration have tended to specifically be gender imbalanced, where the male's perspectives have dominated the narratives when compared to the women. An example relates to two major historical events: external pull factors for many Caribbean males seeking employment. The first was the construction of the Panama Canal, a massive project in the US that attracted many Caribbean males who migrated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to obtain employment, contributing to the canal's

building (Foner, 2009). Secondly, the male-dominated pattern is also characterised in the significant migration event to the UK following post-World War II, namely the Windrush era, in 1948 (Phillips and Phillips, 1998). Concerning the women at that time, assumptions were made that they were appendages as wives or partners' roles. There was minimal attention given that these were women who had chosen to migrate independently and therefore had a separate narrative than the male counterparts (Foner, 2009). Subsequently, the literature gaps have revealed that many of these women's voices have remained invisible within the public diaspora about Caribbean transnational migration during post-World War II (Faist, 2011).

As illustrated within Chapters 2 and 3, African Caribbean women have consistently had a presence of transnational migration, which is multifaceted based on their respective diverse histories. According to historians Gabaccia and Zanon (2012), they noted that these women's participation in transnational migration had increased significantly in numbers, predominantly during the 1960s and onwards, and contributed to the influx of female labour migrating to the US. Notably, during 1967 in the US, there were labour shortages for domestics and nurses, which attracted African Caribbean women searching for new opportunities. Indeed, Foner (2005) confirms this observation in her study, where African Caribbean women had migrated to the US in more significant numbers than men. Yet, the near-invisibility of women as migrants has been a concern of this research. Their voices in the literature on Caribbean migration have not been the dominant narrative across fifty decades (Bryan et al., 1985; Williams, 2010).

The Researcher equally found that developing a gendered theory of migration related to these women has been challenging because of the tendency to focus on the African Caribbean male's perspectives. An advantage of undertaking this specific study that includes both women who have migrated to the US and the UK has significantly helped provide a more orthodox view that gives a unique account of an area linked to social policy, which is under-researched. This chapter's primary purpose was to draw analysis to what extent we can generalise across the circumstances related to the women's narratives while illustrating what lessons can inform the future generations of migrant women.

The following section reveals the findings obtained from the twenty-two women, as it relates to Research Question One. It gives insightful, unique information about their memories of migration. Each section has been presented thematically under the headings identified during

the analysis stage and includes an authentic representation of data collected from the women to reinforce specific points. Notably, in keeping with the women's voices to be heard, the Researcher has taken a minimal stance and has presented the narratives as authentic representations of the women's lived experiences.

Motivation to Migrate

Twenty-two women included within their responses to Research Question One that their reasons to migrate were motivated by the lack of economic opportunities within the Caribbean. The women's responses confirmed the initial knowledge gleaned from undertaking the literature review, which confirmed that the push factor of limited employment opportunities were major influences regarding motivation to migrate.

The twenty-two women stated that based on informal network knowledge, they knew the US as a place of migration interest, which offered opportunities for available opportunities for farm work and domestic work within proximity to the Caribbean. The eleven women who decided to migrate to the UK either held or had access to a British passport based on the Commonwealth relationship between the Caribbean and the UK. Eleven of the women referred to the UK as the *Mother Country* and expressed less anxiety to migrate, even though it was situated thousands of miles away compared to the US. At least eight of the women felt that migrating to the UK was a favourable decision because of the open invitation from the State for workers to fill significant gaps that existed within the depleted work sectors due to the shortages of people within the indigenous population.

The wave of migration commenced after post-World War II, which is associated with the new migratory wave, symbolically began in 1948, when the Empire Windrush arrived in the UK with nearly 500 Caribbeans on board, which included a few women passengers. (Gilroy, 1993; Phillips and Phillips, 1998). While none of the women within the research travelled on the Empire Windrush, they knew its existence. From the eleven women who migrated to the UK, they all travelled alone, of which ten came by plane, and one travelled by sea, for three weeks on a cargo boat. Whereas of the eleven women who migrated to the US, seven travelled solo, three migrated jointly with their spouse, and one travelled with her sibling.

All the women in this research had more than one motivational reason for migrating. In some instances, the motivations were complimentary, such as personal interest and economic for others. These multi-dimensional pull factors thereby reinforced the need for the acknowledgement of each of the women's voices.

At least three women were motivated because they had nursing qualifications but could not find employment within the Caribbean. These women stated that they were in their twenties when they migrated to the UK, during the late 1940s to early 1950s. These women indicated that migration provided a new and exciting opportunity to improve their lives and families. One of the women shared how her mother was empowering and supportive in her decision to leave the family home to migrate to the UK. She acknowledged that it was a challenging decision to make, as she would be travelling a long distance independently; however, she was motivated and inspired by a friend who had undertaken a similar journey and secured a job as a Nurse in a hospital with vacancies. This woman's narrative illustrated the helping hand she had from her friend and her mother, making it easier for her to leave the Caribbean. Another woman stated that although she had the necessary qualifications to apply for a nursing position, she was uncertain about migrating because of the unknown factors of living in another country. She explained that her hesitance to migrate was genuinely concerned, whether she would get the opportunity to revisit her family and whether she would see her mother again. These women made decisions to migrate based on the relationship and responsibilities which they had towards their family. Out of the eleven women who migrated to the UK, at least eight were unmarried and decided to migrate independently. At least four of the women were under the age of twenty-one years old and had families who were already living in the UK. In this context, motivation relied on being with their siblings, who would take care of them in their parents' absence.

All of the eleven women who chose the US as their migration destination stated that its promise being a *Land of Opportunity* had subsequently influenced their decision (Foner, 2005). Equally, the US was geographically a local destination which enhanced its popularity, as it offered economic opportunities (Faist, 2011). In this context, at least nine of the women were motivated to migrate because of family contacts in the US and the security they had somewhere to live. Eight of these women expressed their reason for migration was to pursue employment in the field of nursing. Hence, it confirmed a desirable employment field and a more straightforward method to obtain a work visa (Foner, 2005). Of the nine, three women were mothers whose

decision to migrate meant leaving their children in their partners or mothers' care. Notably, ten of the US cohort women were of mature age when they migrated to the US, and eight were mothers and wives with responsibilities, a factor that influenced their decisions to migrate. The women discussed these gendered responsibilities as they reflected upon the impact of migration from a personal perspective. One of the US group women stated that she migrated to join her parents, who left her behind with her grandparents. The remaining twenty-one were independent in their decisions to migrate. While their respective family members influenced a few, in the main, most of the women were encouraged to migrate independently because of the potential economic opportunities available.

The women narratives tie to the neoclassical economic representations and the Push and Pull demographic model described by Lee (1966), suggesting that poverty and a lack of economic opportunity are essential to push factors contributing to the migratory movement. Lee (1966) also contends that the movement occurs when the weight of factors pulling people are more potent than those deterring entry. Among the key factors that pull people to another country are job opportunities and higher wages than in the homeland. Lee is very clear that migration is selective and that young people are more likely to migrate than older ones because they are viable candidates for the receiving country labour markets. Likewise, those with certain types of human capital, educational credentials and employment skills are far more likely to migrate than those with human capital deficits (Lee, 1966:51).

From a transnational perspective, migration was yet another factor serving to deplete resources from the periphery to the benefits of the centre of the capitalist systems, primarily as it involved well-educated people, such as some of these women participating in migration. From the perspective of migration theory, even though the original term, *brain drain* is now replaced by *brain gain*, this issue is still a matter of concern for many governments of developing countries, including the Caribbean, because of the loss of professional and skilled workforce (Faist, 2008; Glick, 1992b). The emerging of the transnational perspective, in turn, has highlighted that the motivation to migrate was a decision that created uncertainty; however, many of the women engaged stoically in the process because it offered diverse opportunities and expansion of social ties and spaces (Portes, 1996). As Glick et al. (2013) assert, transnational migration provided these women with the opportunity to empower themselves and their immediate family and

explicitly contribute to sending remittance to family back home in the Caribbean.

Identity and Migration

Identity proved to be an issue for four of these twenty-two women, as they were in their teenage years and still in the formation of their individualities. At the time, they recalled experiencing a spectrum of emotions that ranged from sheer excitement, disappointment, loneliness, surprise, shock, fear, relief, and disengagement. During the study, at least thirteen of the women expressed ambivalence associated with the reality of occupying an unfamiliar space far removed from accustomed faces and routines within the Caribbean. The women recalled how they became strategic through their negative experiences as they came to terms with their choices to migrate and began to form new relationships and take risks, all of which were critical to ongoing subjectivity formation.

Another woman spoke of being unhappy in her childhood, and this was a push factor, which motivated her to leave the Caribbean to start a new life with her father and stepmother, who were already living in the UK. However, when she became pregnant, she experienced a turning point with her first child while a teenager and still in the Caribbean and was uncertain whether to migrate. Fortunately, with her maternal grandmother's encouragement, she continued on her journey; however, she still did not know what the reception would be like when she arrived in the UK. One woman reminisced on being a new bride, with minimum prospects in the Caribbean, decided to respond to the push factor to take advantage of her citizenship rights and migrate to the UK to start a new life. She recalled her travelling experiences on a cargo boat for six weeks and remembered the stench and smell nearly sixty years later. The pull factor was to be with her husband, who was a soldier in the British Army and was waiting for her to join him in the UK. Equally, while there were complicating actions associated with her decision to migrate, she saw migration as a turning point in offering the opportunity to find employment and build a new life for the future.

Summary

All of the women in this research had more than one motivation for migrating. In many instances, the motivations associated with socio-economic drives and the desire to improve quality of life. For some of the women, it related to taking up their rights to settle in the UK. The following section focuses on the diverse experiences that the women shared within their specific Life Narrative Interviews.

Arrival Experiences

Arrival in the UK and the US during the late 1940s onwards, for many women, expectations were pessimism or sanguinity. The economy was still recovering from the Second World War (Peach, 1991; Foner, 2009). Several women found that they were unprepared for the logistical change in the climate, as in the Caribbean, the temperature and environment were both tropical, and this was all they knew at the time. Arrival in the UK was a new experience as the weather was cold and some did not have the appropriate clothing. One of the women recalled that she arrived in a short sleeve dress and a lightweight cardigan. She could not gauge the dramatic change in temperature as it was a brand-new experience. She recalled that her first impression was of the visual landscape was dark and bitterly cold, to the point that she did wonder if she would ever feel the warmth of the Caribbean again. Adjustment into the UK was challenging, as the country was not what the women expected. Each recalled that they found the Caribbean to be a far calmer environment because it was uncluttered, non-industrialised, relied heavily on agriculture, farming, and skilled craftwork as a primary form of economy. Comparatively, the UK was a thoroughly industrialised country globally, as the war had intensified industrialisation's social effects. At least seven of the women from the UK cohort spoke passionately of their confusion, as they reflected on the public recruitment that had been part of the UK government's promotion in their desire to pull labour resources from within the Caribbean communities. Most of the women remembered the 'call' which came from the 'Mother Country' which encouraged them to migrate. Upon arrival into UK society, they encountered multiple forms of discrimination within various public sectors.

Six of the women within the UK group recalled extreme acts of oppressive practices towards them when they sought employment within the nursing field, as this was the area of the

preferred choice of occupation. In this context, at least three women were actively encouraged to apply for domestic work because they did not fulfil nursing's entry requirements. One of the women recalled how she broke down emotionally as she reflected on being told to clean toilets and could not refuse; otherwise, she would become unemployed. Another woman arrived with management and administration training when she applied for a vacancy within her capabilities. However, she was deemed unsuitable and should apply for a job in a local factory. She recalled her confusion as to what was a factory, as it was not a term she was familiar with, as, in her homeland, there was no such thing as a factory.

Similarly, regarding employment, at least two of the women experienced first-hand oppression based on working in a semi-skilled factory, which entailed long hours and unsatisfactory conditions. However, both of them found out that their white female counterparts received significantly higher wages, even though the two women were working extra hours. The intersectionality impact based on race, gender, and social class was a constant reference point for many women, who remembered discriminatory treatment from their employers and the workers.

All of the women stated that they were accepting that they needed to travel to the UK or the US, find employment, and prepare for the hard work. Each of the women acknowledged that their lives were shaped and moulded by the inescapable need to find a job that would meet their basic economic needs. However, at least ten women expressed how they saw life as challenging and extremely difficult after a few months in the UK and found their migration experiences untenable and hard. These women found that they had no form of kinship support, and adjusting to their new life in the UK, was not what they had expected. The first clue was the widespread ignorance about the Caribbean identity. At least eighteen of the women described how they felt frustrated with being perceived as the problem. The Researcher found Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe's (1985) seminal work captured post-colonial feminist research on women who migrated to the UK during a similar timeframe, supporting this study's findings. They argued that most of these women suffered and fought many battles against racism, sexism, and classism. Many women experienced exploitation within the employment, housing, and childcare sector, as their basic equal rights needs were not quelled (Bryan, Dadzie, Scafe, 1985). Notably, Peach (1996) asserts that these young African Caribbean women who arrived during the post-World War II era migrated to fill critical gaps within the labour workforce within the semi-skilled factories,

nursing, and domestic sectors. However, these women were required only as a unit of labour to replace the depleted workforce that existed in the UK due to post-World War II (Peach, 1996).

Despite the challenges mentioned above, these women maintained respect and maturity and focused on their self-betterment belief.

Motherhood and Work

Quite a few of the women, within the US group, were already mothers and engaged in 'shift migration' whereby they migrated alone, but once established in their new country, they could send for their children (Plaza, 2000:83). One married woman recalled that she had migrated solo to the US and left her husband in charge of their five children in the Caribbean. She was fortunate to find gender-specific employment as a nurse and was successful on her way to acquire her work permit Visa. However, she discovered that her children were unhappy, and life took on another turning point, which required her to return to the Caribbean. Following alternative caring arrangements, she placed her children in the care of her mother. Fortunately, this woman successfully obtained her work Visa permit and eventually brought her family to the US.

Notably, 'child shifting' is another well-established feature of the African Caribbean culture regarding gender. Maternal migration is an essential characteristic of Caribbean life, where mothers migrate in search of employment opportunities that will provide them with financial independence and better life chances for themselves and their children. The findings confirmed that this pattern of child shifting was a strategic aspect of migration for many women. Russell-Browne (1997) argues that 'child shifting' does not relinquish mothering responsibilities; however, it confirms that this is an aspect of Caribbean culture. This aspect of the feminisation of migration narrative forms as a temporary measure until they can afford for their children to join them. Seven women stated that balancing work and motherhood was a challenge because of the lack of proper childcare support. In extreme cases, several of the women reported concerns regarding the well-being of their children.

The following provides examples as follows; a few stated that their children were neglected by childminders in some instances, whereas some women took the chance to leave their children at home without adult supervision. One of the women recalled passing her husband on the way to and from work. However, the pressure to work was far more demanding and subsequently created different women's demands personally.

The research found gender to be an integral part of the migration process and that migration theory must incorporate it as critically influential within this research field. For example, the Researcher identified that economic factors do not have a gender-neutral impact. Similarly, the demand for labour in receiving countries can also be gender-specific, as illustrated in the migration of female domestic workers to the US (Foner, 2009). In this context, two women remembered negative experiences associated with applying for a Visa and found the only form of employment was working as a domestic. In both examples, the women had tapped into their networks with other women, which they utilised to find the job; consequently, their legal status was delicate. One of the women recalled how her employer refused to pay her and threatened to report her to immigration law enforcement. This woman recalled the horror of the incident, and the feelings of disempowerment, primarily as she had worked arduously and expected payment. Another of the women shared that she originated from a middle-class family in the Caribbean and had employed 'helpers', and subsequently found that having to work for a white woman as a 'helper' to obtain her Visa was quite demoralising.

Another four women talked about various challenges that they experienced when seeking to obtain a work permit Visa. In two situations, it necessitated the women choosing not to return to the Caribbean based on a family emergency, fear of being prevented from returning to the US. Sadly, for one of the women, it meant that she was unable to attend her mother's funeral; consequently, the sadness of the situation has remained unresolved. In the main, most of these women were determined to achieve migration status to provide financial support to their families back home in the Caribbean.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 still have a presence in the narratives on migration to the US. Both of these legislations introduced employer sanctions as a mechanism to ask for proof of the rights to work. All of the women confirmed that they were aware of these legislations' significance, hence the reasons why they did not take any risk that could jeopardise their rights to work. Deportation is known

to disrupt stable family life in the US, as well as having an impact on families in the home country, by rupturing the flow of remittances sent to support caring responsibilities. The Researcher argues that both of these legislations have shaped gender ideologies and have, in turn, generated gendered patterns of mobility.

Housing

Five of the eleven women expressed lived experiences of racism when looking for housing accommodation, specifically within the UK context. Some were surprised to find many African Caribbean families lived in cramped and overcrowded accommodation, outside toilets, and no indoor bathrooms. At least two women encountered the overt infamous discriminatory notice often posted on boarding houses that read '*no blacks, no Irish, no dogs*' (Hampshire, 2005). The women recalled the notice's significant impact, which was not only offensive but was clearly saying that they were not welcome into the UK society. Life was full of complications, contradictions, and turning points, which often made them reflect upon their decision to migrate into a country, which was explicitly unwelcoming of their presence. While the introduction of immigration controls in 1962 granted entry to anyone with a British passport, thereby fulfilling the residency requirement, many of the African Caribbean women found that they were more likely to be offered the least desirable council housing, which had ramifications and reinforced discrimination (Peach, 1999)

Regarding the US women, they did not identify accommodation as an issue, as most of them entered the US through the family reunification route. Therefore, they had somewhere to live until they were financially in a position to find suitable accommodation. However, all eleven women were aware of the Project Housing, which existed within more deprived areas within ghettoised cities (Peach and Bryon, 1993).

Social Organising Network

Notably, all twenty-two women stated that they had forged friendships with other migrant women within their local Caribbean communities, particularly within Black-led churches. Many women found the links with the Caribbean churches, which was valuable because it

offered emotional comfort and reinforced their cultural values and traditions. One such practice was the Parners Schemes, which has its origin as a money lending scheme in the Caribbean. The system was an example of women taking a lead role to set up the Parners schemes to support other women who could not access building societies and Banks due to migration status restrictions. At least five women confirmed that they drew upon this informal network to raise funds to enhance their low wages. At least eleven of the women stated that they received help through the community Black-led churches. It was the only form of social and welfare organisation, support during the early years when social policy services were not available. For most of the twenty-two women, not only had they forged links with their local churches, but many undertook volunteering duties as a means of giving back to their local communities.

From a historical and cultural perspective, the volunteering work which was common amongst all of the twenty-two women is reflective of the pioneering work of Claudia Jones, who was a Black feminist who worked stoically during the late 1950s within the local Caribbean community to bring about social change (Bryan, Dadzie, and Scafe, 1985).

The analysis provides a new conceptualisation of the interacting nature of work, mothering, political and community activism, and spheres of social life, which are usually analysed separately. The research findings illustrate how community mothering developed during the era when these women arrived in the UK and the US, following post-World War II migration. In three of the narratives, the women were actively involved in setting up and running Day Care educational centres for Black children. It was also a means through which the women could transmit Caribbean cultural values to the next generation.

Summary

The preceding section was concerned with arrival and the diverse complex narratives associated with the dynamics of migration experiences, which the twenty-two women encountered in the US and the UK. The following section focuses on the final theme of settlement and belonging related to women's experiences.

Settlement

In this section, the analysis of individual narratives provides a trajectory depicting the women's life span. It focuses on their views of settlement related to the betterment and belonging within a transnational migration framework (Faist et al., 2013). Within the women's narratives, there is evidence that they each saw the settlement in their country of destination as being something personal and relevant to their needs. Many of these women shared memories of their past when they left the Caribbean, seeking to improve their lives and families left behind in the Caribbean. At least fifteen women confirmed that they never had the opportunity to return home to the Caribbean because of unpredictable inhibitive factors. They expressed a profound sense of loss for these women, as many of their close and extended family members have died without having the opportunity to return to their funerals. At least five women expressed their sadness at not having the chance to pay their final respect to loved ones, which included mothers and close family members.

As the twenty-two women's narratives revealed, belonging was an essential part of their lives and was achievable through diverse forms of attachment. These can vary from a particular person to the whole community. The research context is helpful to differentiate between three major analytical factors that constructed belonging and settlement. The first facet concerns social locations; the second relates to personal identification, and the third judges their own and other's belonging.

Social Locations / Social Mobility

All of the women belonged to a particular gender, race and social class, which they identified as critical aspects of their social identities. Hence, the importance of considering their narratives within the intersectionality of race, gender, and social class relates to the different axes of power that impacted them in their new environment.

An observation that permeated throughout the women's narratives was the concern of social mobility status and migration. Ten of the women spoke of migration, giving them a better socio-economic lifestyle, which meant that they moved from working class to acquiring middle-class status. Of the ten women, eight were part of the US group, which confirmed that the

social-economic opportunities available within the US offered better scope for these women to acquire personal wealth, which made them confident to share within their narratives. The thesis found that African Caribbean women have diverse histories and backgrounds, which meant their unique lived experiences of migration were different and not homogeneity identification. Instead, contemplating their experiences illustrated that women's lives were explicitly heterogeneous, reflecting their life narratives about their account of post-World War II migration.

Personal Identifications

As indicated within the twenty-two women's narratives, settlement and belonging are not just about social locations or the social constructions of individual and collective identities. It is also about attachment and is concerned with the ways that these women assessed and valued themselves. Eighteen of the twenty-two women found that their involvement as volunteers within their local church communities offered a sense of recognition and achievement. Two of the women were recipients of National awards for excellent work undertaken within their respective communities.

For thirteen of these women, they stated in their narratives how important it was for them to settle and feel attached to their new country. In contrast, the remaining nine women were less settled and expressed their negative experiences of being unable to access any form of social policy support. During the early years of their arrival into the UK, these experiences had occurred, combined with the overt forms of discrimination that they encountered had left long-lasting effects upon them.

Belonging / Retuning home

To understand some of the contestations involved in different constructions of settlement and belonging. The Researcher found that fifteen of the women stated in their narratives that their belonging centred on the friendships they had formed during the early years of arrival into their new country. The women forged friendships shaped out of a shared experience of being African Caribbean women with a shared empathetic insight into the impact of living as a migrant

woman in another country. Two women recalled the challenges they encountered when seeking to get married and could not afford the cost to book a small venue. Instead, they found mutual support amongst the local Caribbean community, where women offered their rented room to be used as a space for the wedding reception. These women's narratives illustrate that they formed strong camaraderie based on loyalty and solidarity of shared values as signifiers of belonging, language, culture, and religion.

Arguably, the women's narratives have revealed that they are not a homogeneous group. For many women, the concept of a permanent return home to the Caribbean appeared less relevant today. Of the twenty-two women, two stated that they had returned to the Caribbean, intending to settle. However, based on their marriages' failure, they decided to return to the UK to be with their families. One of the women in the UK group stated that she had maintained a strong link with the Caribbean by visiting every two years. However, due to her failing health, she was unable to visit as frequently. Some of these women live in a transatlantic world, with access to social and economic capital, which spans the physical distance and borders involved. As used in the 1970s and 1980s, the term 'return' implied a neat conclusion to the labour migration cycle. As the findings obtained from the twenty-two women's narrative illustrates, in an increasingly transnational and flexible context, the term 'return home' is less valid as an analytical category for Caribbean migrants today. Instead, an individual account of settlement and belonging remains an aspect of personal circumstances.

Summary

This section of the thesis provides a multifaceted account drawn from the twenty-two women's response to Research Question One. The discussion brings together a comprehensive interpretation of the twenty-two women individual experiences of post-World War II migration. The information obtained provides insight into migration-related feminisation to the independence and autonomous approaches to pursuing migration. Gender is seen as a core organising principle that underlies migration and related processes, such as adaptation to the new country, continued contact with the original country, and possible return. The Researcher also found that through the analysis regarding the role of migration theories, the findings obtained from the research illustrated that each of the twenty-two women shared narratives that

were diverse and reflective of their personal lived experiences. The Researcher identified that while there were elements of the women's narratives that reflected aspects of the migration theories' specific characteristics, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Overall, as revealed from the women's voices, their authentic lived experiences do not reflect the analytical or theoretical categories associated with migrants and migration. The "invisibility" of women in migration theory remains one concern, as evident in individual life narratives. The Researcher argues that a gendered theory of migration must be intersectional in its approach, taking into account gender differences such as class, race, and even religion and migration status. The Researcher concurs with Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) that in the context of contemporary migration research, it is essential to recognise that there is an intersectional process that prevails that inherently impacts the treatment of migrants within the receiving country. The Researcher is aware of the prospect of over-emphasis of these women's migration experiences and the possible impact on the African Caribbean men in overshadowing their experiences. This approach would inadvertently undermine the gendered view of migration that helps explain both males and females' experiences. Equally, based on the research findings, gender is socially constructed. These women's identities, behaviours, and power relationships are nuances formed from living as a migrant either in the US or the UK societies. Subsequently, the Researcher's view of gender as a social construction raises curiosity about the women's relationship within her family and whether it changes with migration.

The following section is concerned with Research Question Two and the collection of data from objects presented by the twenty-two women, which provides data that complements the life narratives depicting lived experiences of each of the women. In this section of the research, each woman had an object associated with their Caribbean heritage and held symbolic meanings.

Visual Based Narrative Inquiry

This thesis element is concerned with Research Question Two, which focuses on the study's Visual approach. It builds upon and compliments the twenty-two women's life narratives.

These women contribute as co-creators of the qualitative data obtained from this element of the research which is based on the following five stages:

1. The generation of visual data concerning women's memory of migration.
2. The production of an object or artefact which the women selected.
3. The women's interpretation and meaning of their object, and a narrative statement as to why it is symbolically associated with the Caribbean and migration.
4. Reflections and analysis.
5. With the participant's agreement, the Photo-elicitation process entailed taking a photograph of the symbolic object for presentation within the thesis. [See Chapter 4] for a detailed discussion.

This research element occurred in situ at the end of the Life narrative interview stage of the data collection. The process entailed each of the women selecting an object of personal choice, which resonated with their *memories* of the Caribbean and migration, for discussion within the interview process. Many of the women illustrated how significant their memories were in re-memorising their homeland from a cultural perspective. The analysis entailed using the bespoke Visual Analysis Cycle, as designed by the Researcher [See figure 6]. The Visual Analysis Cycle consists of four specific sites, object, memories, meaning, and reflection, as stated below within the thesis's analysis. As previously discussed in Chapter 4, using an adaptation of the method of photo-elicitation, as argued by Harper (2003:13), provided the opportunity to conduct this aspect of the study based on a simple idea of inserting a photograph of a symbolic object in a research interview. Rose (2007:238) argues that the inclusion of photos within research is unique because they can evoke three things, information, affect, and reflection, in ways that words may not reveal.

The findings obtained illustrated that creative methods successfully provided meaning to experiences that may be difficult to name within the research, thereby making it a positive feature. The Researcher respected that the research topic is sensitive and could potentially evoke deep-rooted memories for individual women. As Mason and Davies (2009) states, creative methods allow for discovering tangible and intangible aspects of memory and future

expectations, as explored in the analysis. Including visual methods into the research, the design has provided the scope for the women's voices to be co-collaborators and express their views in an emotional and expressive emotional manner.

The following section provides an account of how the Researcher drew upon the Visual Analysis Cycle to analyse the data collected. The analysis process is described below using the four discrete sites and provides an individual perspective obtained from the women as co-producers of this data element [See Figure 6].

Site 1 - Objects

In this context, the individual women presented cultural objects and signifiers as symbolic because it was their choice and significant to their migration memories. These objects were a part of the women's memories and played a central role in reinforcing their cultural identity about the Caribbean. The selection of objects ranged from three categories: (i) **Personal**, Jewellery Brooch, Birthday Card; (ii) **Historical Artefacts**, such as Bibles, and religious books, to a Brown Grip (Suitcase), Cultural Plaques and ornaments. (iii) **Socio-political**, such as antique teacup sets, Crochet Runner, Lace Embroidery Book, Silver Pen, and a Teaching Certificate.

The objects conveyed knowledge about the Caribbean, which the women drew upon in their mothering roles, to teach their children about cultural heritage and traditions. The Researcher viewed this element of the research to be valuable. After all, it acknowledged that cultural identity is significant because it gives the individual a sense of attachment, belonging, and rootedness, which links to the past and present. These women had their unique histories, families, culture, and distinctive customs based on their island of origin, as revealed when they talked about their chosen objects. The Researcher observed that the women focused on their object's sentimentality and did not refer to the socio-economic value. Notably, some of the objects were of extreme financial importance and original historical artefacts.

Site 2 - Meaning

Each of the women often combined personal, cultural, or social meaning as they conveyed their interpretation of the object's importance. These objects were powerful and had an immediate effect on the individual women as they explained the object's cultural meanings. The objects' ambiguity enabled each of the women to make their interpretations and meanings based on how they socially constructed their identity.

One woman, who formerly ran her small business as a seamstress in the Caribbean, recalled the significance she held towards a yellow gold brooch embedded with beautiful genuine stones. The gift was from a close friend who wanted her to remember her social class status in the Caribbean. Paradoxically, this woman expressed within her life narratives that she did not achieve her full social class status due to migration's hardship. Interestingly, even when she experienced financial difficulties, she was never tempted to use the priceless brooch.

An example of a *socio-political* object is a silver pen presented by one of the women who obtained it when she returned to work in the Caribbean for being the highest achieving employee. During taking a photograph, she placed the pen onto a 'Standard' representing her country of origin. The woman recalled that she returned to the Caribbean when she was 21 years old to work as an Account. The pen meant the recognition of her achievement and cultural heritage; this was important. After returning to the UK as a trained and qualified Senior Mental Health Nurse, she had never received any accolade or acknowledgement from her employees. For this reason, her object held such gravity and significance about her and her cultural heritage.

Site 3 - Memories

In the context of the research, personal recollections do not provide unadulterated access to the past. The women should be the originator of the memories they choose to share related to their bespoke object. Plummer (2001) argues that cultural objects and cultural signifiers shape cultural identity and produce Plummer terms of cultural memory. The women achieved this by utilising cultural signifiers in their mothering to transmit perceived Caribbean cultural values,

uniqueness and identity to their children. Memories which the women attached to their objects were diverse and also collective.

One of the women presented a practical object which held a *historical meaning*, as the Brown Grip has become synonymous with the Caribbean migration of the Windrush era. For the woman who was a Community teacher within local schools, the Brown Grip helped her teach children about the Caribbean culture, focusing on Caribbean cultural nuances.

Socio-cultural political

Similarly, the two women who presented the antique teacup sets were both educationalists and drew upon their knowledge to teach children about the Caribbean's historical aspects. The women shared their memories about women's history in their families, who had passed down the items across generations. In both contexts, the women shared emotional feelings of loss as they reflected on the items and the memory attached to past female relatives. The latter would have experienced different lives compared to theirs.

Socio-political-feminist

The women who talked about their Lace Embroidery book, and Crochet Runner, focused on the values and struggles they experienced as migrant women. Lace Embroidery Book was a gift received from a mother who wished to empower her daughter in a skill that could give her economic power. This woman equally remembered the discriminatory injustices she experienced during the early days when trying to find suitable accommodation for her family. To her, the book is a reminder to be strong and culturally aware of her Caribbean heritage. Whereas the woman who presented the delicate piece of Crochet Runner shared memories of values, friendship, and social justice, she now promotes her volunteering capacity as a community worker.

Historical Artefacts

Four of the women presented items such as cultural artefacts, which were souvenirs of the specific original home island within the Caribbean. Each of the keepsakes depicted a portrayal

of the primary cultural association about the different Caribbean islands' uniqueness. This account included popular food produce, flowers, plants, the scenery of the island, and prominent people such as prime ministers

One of the women presented an artefact of Rose Hall, a cultural-historical building in the Caribbean, which has a locally known reputation for being associated with failed relationships. In this context, the woman shared memories of how much the artefact meant to her personally because it helped her cope with the loss and separation of her failed marriage and her decision not to return to the Caribbean.

Site 4 - Reflective

Within this context of the thesis, all women showed reflection as they expressed the meanings and memories attached to their object. In most of the text that accompanied their verbal explanation about the purpose, the women reflected upon the object's benefactors. They became animated as they remembered the specific timeframe when they received the gift. The Researcher found that some women expressed significant memories of joy about their past lives and personal achievements. Whereas, for some of the women, their memories were too melancholy, as they remembered past experiences. Overall, each of the women shared that they found their object extremely meaningful because it helped reinforce their Caribbean culture and traditions amongst their families. Paradoxically, through the objects' presentation, it reinforced the collective power held by these women, as being the gatekeepers of Caribbean culture, values, and traditions for the future generation.

The majority of the women presented various religious books and bibles, which held unique bespoke memories. Within each of their reflections, there was a strong emphasis placed on cultural values and the importance of transmitting and teaching traditions in their families' upbringing and within the local Caribbean communities. While it is argued that the struggles between the Caribbean values and the social and cultural-political realities are not easily represented in an object. The memory of experiencing hegemony of marginalisation and enduring oppression became apparent in this context of the research. Two of the women received bibles, which reminded them of the Civil Rights movements' political backdrop, which occurred in 1964 in the US. As evident within the Life narratives, both of these women took

on an activist, political role within their respective country of migration.

Themes: Loss and Separation

Regarding the completion of Research Question Two, the Researcher discovered that two main themes were significant ***loss and separation*** concerning women's objects. The two themes emerged from the analysis of the twenty-two women's verbal narrative. The Researcher found that these themes were expressed either implicitly or explicitly and captured an authentic perspective of how the women felt about their past, present, future lives, and family. For each of the women, the objects drew out the complexities and uncertainties associated with ***loss and separation*** related to their memories to migrate and resurrected deep-rooted memories connected to that specific period of their life span. It was also explicitly apparent that the process evoked realism and brought back thoughts of those early migration days.

The process also helped identify the dualities of feelings involved in the optimism and pessimism of change related to the women's own experiences of living in the two transatlantic countries. In this reflection, the women shared emotional feelings linked to the memories associated with *loss*, which were resurfacing, and often quite different from those evoked during the life narrative interviews. Notably, once the visual object was introduced into the conversation, the women spoke more passionately and poignantly about personal losses, such as the death of loved ones.

In another instance, the woman presented a religious book which was a gift received from her mother. Sadly, her mother has passed away; however, this woman has included the lessons within this book in her everyday life as a mother and community minister in teaching Caribbean values.

Another woman recalled how a Birthday Card became symbolic because it was the last one she received from her mother before she passed away. Unfortunately, due to US Visa restrictions, she was given legal advice not to attend her mother's funeral, as she would forfeit the residency requirement. In this context, even though the Caribbean was less than three hours away by flight, however, based on restrictions imposed by immigration policies that existed, created

difficulties from returning home. This event occurred over forty years ago and remained a fresh reminder of personal loss.

Chapter Summary

Using the Migration Triangle to undertake the Life Narrative interviews' analysis provided a framework to manage the three key themes of the women's verbatim comments captured within the Life Narrative interview, of their memories of the past regarding factors that *motivated* them to leave the Caribbean. Notably, all women stated that they were young adults, of which five were older teenagers, at the brink of womanhood. Many of the women shared their memories of *arrival* in the US or the UK. In this context, the content revealed political and social events that significantly impacted individual women. Lastly, their personal views as to *settlement and belonging* are unique. It illustrates that these women were strategic in their plans, thereby ensuring they had accrued financial independence. As discussed in Chapter 3, the overarching theoretical framework provided a constructive framework to position the narrative analysis findings.

The *visual-based inquiry* element resonated on the premise of having an object, which reinforces memories of a '*little piece of the Caribbean*' which the women will always have with them, as a memory of home. The visual analysis of the symbolic objects presented by the participants illustrates the compelling aspect of using this approach within the research process because it provided the scope for the Researcher and the participant to use two complementary collaborative research methods, namely narrative and visual to capture rich, concentrated data (Riessman, 2013; Rose, 2016). Using this flexible approach suited the diverse and sensitive nature required to analyse the visual data. Some analysis processes are often rigid compared to other analytical frameworks because they lay down precise criteria for analysis and a systematic procedure that would be inhibitive and restrictive to use (Rose, 2008). Using this approach was empowering from a research process perspective because it placed the participant's viewpoint at the centre of the research, resonating with the Researcher's feminist theoretical framework (Harding, 1986).

Indeed, for the women, who felt like an 'outsider' in their migrant status, having an object, which held significance because of its cultural association with the Caribbean, was valuable. All of

the women acknowledged the importance to re-construct a cultural Caribbean identity, affirming ties based on their personal feelings of exclusion and marginalisation within both UK and US societies. Hence, celebrating their Caribbean cultural identity provided them with a sense of belonging and conveying traditional values to the future generation.

The Researcher found using two distinctive approaches to capture the data was an innovative aspect of the research study. Equally, the women's narratives illustrated the significance of the Critical Race Theory in drawing together the underpinning experiences of discrimination. Many women revealed that they had deliberately chosen to remain quiet about their migration experiences because of their hostility in their country of destination. The Postcolonial theory's implicitness illustrated these women's impact, growing up under the UK's influence. Issues associated with values related to the Caribbean's connection were common in the narratives' content. The *Feminisation of Migration* permeated throughout each of the twenty-two women's narratives as a common factor they shared. Eighteen of the women migrated independently to pursue economic opportunities, based on the pull factor offered in the country of migrating destination. In each of the twenty-two women's narratives, the overarching theories which resonated with their experiences were Black Feminism and Intersectionality Theory. The Researcher's intersections of race, gender, social class, and migration revealed how race distinctions mediated the relationship between Black and white women within the work environment. Similarly, the social class's impact created discrimination between professional white women, who used Black women, as domestic workers. The overarching theoretical concern is how gender identities interact with other social identifying shaping the experiences of migration.

The justification for drawing upon the intersectionality perspective was the preferred choice because it is uniquely the most important theoretical contribution to address Black women's issue thus far (Crenshaw, 1989). Arguably, the concept of triple jeopardy, namely, the interaction of racism, sexism and classism oppression, as it relates to post World War II migration, constitutes the most realistic perspective for analysing the position of African Caribbean women in the US and UK. The intersectionality perspective afforded a strength-based approach to ensure that the African Caribbean women voices remained at the research process centre. This approach recognised and appreciated the women's knowledge and provided insight into their lived experiences of migration. Applying the intersectionality

perspective provided the scope to explore how the social division of inequality, based on race, gender, and social class, impacted the African Caribbean women's migration experiences within US and UK societies (Lorde, 1984; Crenshaw, 1989). Using this conceptual framework helped to crystallise the subsequent analysis of the findings, which illustrated how the interlocking effects of racism, sexism and classism, brought together an informed nuances of the women's migration experiences.

The thesis has highlighted that the phenomenon of migration is diverse and involves complex consideration to the individual women circumstances. Thereby this included acknowledging that the women originated from different Islands within the Caribbean and would bring elements of their own culture in their lived experiences of migration to the UK and the US. Similarly, as noted within the individual women's narratives, their channel or route of migration was varied and illustrated different challenges experienced from legal rights perspectives in the UK and the US. Indeed some of the women alluded to explicit encounters of personal discrimination, which could have created difficulties. Equally, whilst from an intersectionality perspective, each woman shared similarities such as race and gender. There was variation in terms of age, legal status and rights, human capital, such as qualifications and skills, which was critical to accessing much-needed employment. Other potential interest markers that could have been considered to be specifically relevant within the intersectionality lens of race, gender, and social class, were sexuality, immigration status, citizenship laws, and the channel of arrival into the UK and US. However, none of the African Caribbean women shared or made explicit references or alluded to their sexuality within their narratives. Hence, this is a specific marker that was not pursued within the analysis chapter. Overall, consideration of differences between the African Caribbean women is vital in attempts to draw an accurate picture of these women's lived experiences of migration in the UK and the US. Arguably, it is also crucial at a theoretical level in formulating an analysis of the relative importance of other markers such as age, class, and sexuality and channel of arrival. Nevertheless, from an intersectionality theory perspective, it is acknowledged that some of the markers are limited to capture the reality of the women's experiences hence the importance within the analysis, not to conflate categories that could be misrepresentative of their lived experiences. To do so would be to fall into the trap of homogeneity instead of acknowledging the heterogeneity of the African Caribbean women migration experiences.

My own experience as an African Caribbean female researcher interviewing other African Caribbean women, in essence, my insider and outsider research status, meant that I was attentive to how race, gender, class and age status impacted the research process. This form of reflexive thinking fits with being a Black feminist researcher, concerned with understanding the importance to build and maintain trust and respect in the research process. Therefore, it was imperative not to formulate or speculate on themes that did not evolve naturally from within the women's narrative.

The discussion chapter emerged from the data analysis obtained from each of the twenty-two women, that they are heterogeneous and not homogeneous as often portrayed within social policy discourse (Williams, 2010). The participants shared similarities concerning race, gender, class, and the time frame in which migration occurred. Beyond that, their post-World War II experiences within the US and UK remain uniquely complicated and unilateral to the individual women. The following chapter draws together and concludes the findings from Research Questions One and Two.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion and Reflection

In the preceding chapters of the thesis, the findings reflect twenty-two women's narratives which captures their lived experiences of post-World War II migration. The research process entailed interviewing eleven African Caribbean women in the US and the UK, respectively. The thesis provided the scope for the women to share their lived experiences of migration. Each of the women's voices held a central position as co-producers within the research process.

The research was ground-breaking as documented information about these women's migration is minimal. Information about their contribution as workers in the US and UK's social economy has remained sparsely documented but has scope for further cohesion development. Generally, information about Caribbean migration has been male-dominated. The evidence indicates that the African Caribbean women were migrating independently in significant numbers and was creating a trend, now commonly coined the feminisation of migration (Castles and Miller, 2009).

The literature review findings confirmed that the history of the UK experience of mass migration dates back to the arrival of the Empire Windrush from the Caribbean in 1948 and completed in 1974 when the oil shock following the Yom Kippur War produced a massive economic recession in the UK (Peach, 1990). Correspondingly, the US experiences of migration illustrated that based on geographical proximity, the trend of migration from the Caribbean had been relatively well established since the late nineteenth century following the building of the Panama Canal, which attracted mainly men. According to Foner (2009), many women migrated to work either as domestics or on farms during this time frame. Hence the emerging arguments, from a historical perspective, African Caribbean women have engaged in external migration to other countries to find employment. In many instances, these women migrated independently to find work, thereby confirmed that the *Feminisation of Migration* is similarly not a new phenomenon but has a historical resonance with the characteristics of how African Caribbean women migrated during the post-World War II era.

The analysis found that, while transnationalisation of migration in qualitative terms is a novel occurrence, it is not a new trend. As evident with the women's narratives, it illustrates that they have consistently retained their social links and ties within their home of origin and maintained

an economic responsibility of sending remittance to their families. These trends remain undocumented because of the absence of giving these African Caribbean women space to voice their post-migration experiences.

From a socio-cultural perspective, most African Caribbean women shared in their narratives that they had experienced multiple forms of discrimination based on race, gender, and class based on the ontological foundation associated with the intersectionality perspective. Some women's narratives provided clear evidence of how abuse of power and privilege created unfair treatment in accessing social policy resources such as much needed childcare support. Furthermore, the women stated in their narratives of stereotype assumptions that they were supported either by their families or a partner if they were married. Often ignoring the fact that they were the sole breadwinner with caring responsibilities in their families.

From a historical perspective, there was little consideration given to investigating how to meet the basic social needs of these migrant women in the context of social policy. Most of the women in this research were from the generation representing the Post-colonial Caribbean and socialised in accepting responsibilities for themselves and their families. In particular, those who migrated to the US adopted this model and organised their migration independently. Equally, many of these African Caribbean women were mainly a replacement population as occupationally, and these women filled jobs that were low paid, had antisocial hours, and had difficulty attracting workers from the indigenous people. Thereby reinforcing another form of discrimination in the omission of provision to meet the diverse needs of these migrant women.

This thesis utilises two complementary research approaches, comprising *thematic narrative analysis of life narrative interviews* and *visual-based inquiry*, to obtain the rich qualitative data. Using a *thematic analysis* provided the scope to interrogate the narratives of the women's migration experiences and focus on the content of their narratives. Equally, visual-based inquiry allowed the women to be co-producers of the data by bringing an object associated with their memories of migration into the research environment. This specific approach was empowering as the women held the position as the experts by being central in producing the rich untapped data (Riessman, 2008; Rose, 2016).

The study found that *motivation* to migrate was a multifaceted and personal undertaking that held both private and public consequences for each of the women. In some instances, motivation

was complimentary, such as particular interest, seeking independence from family life confines in the rural countryside of the Caribbean. In other cases, they were incongruent. One of the women, who remembered her independence as a self-employed seamstress with a small workforce, but due to becoming a married woman, entailed relinquishing her status to migrate to the UK to join her husband. Unfortunately, the marriage failed and left her unsupported as a single parent with four children. Whereas some of the women were motivated to migrate to the US because of established family ties, geographically, it was situated nearer to the Caribbean and psychologically felt less permanent than travelling to the UK. Most African Caribbean women migrated to the UK during the mid-1940s, whereas those who migrated to the US did so, from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s [See Figure 4].

The second important finding was related to *arrival* in the transatlantic country of destination. Several women found that while they held professional qualifications and positions, such as being a teacher in the Caribbean, they required to undertake further studies to gain employment within a professional capacity upon arrival either in the US or the UK. Often, work was not like for like and resulted in being employed within a lower job status and position. Several women shared their experiences of the struggles they encountered with the absence of suitable childcare provisions. In this context, they remembered the social representation image in social media, promoting being a *good mother*, which often did not reflect their motherhood experiences or social realities (Morant, 1998:253). The women were diverse in their childcare responsibilities. Some of the women were already mothers and engaged in 'shift migration', whereby others migrated alone, but once established in the new country, sent for their children (Plaza, 2000:83). Another common issue was finding suitable and affordable housing, as most women in the UK group were often offered sub-standard renting accommodation (Plaza, 2000). The US had a similar issue with sub-standard housing, in the form of projects situated in poor demographic areas, often overcrowded and presented multifarious challenges.

A third significant finding was *settlement*, which was a crucial component in how each of the women reflected upon their past, present, and future. Key factors included family connections, personal losses, attachment and separation. The ability to overcome the challenges encountered and form links within their local Caribbean community were strategies developed by the women. One of the women shared that she had lost significant family members, including her only child, through an untimely death. Subsequently, she was alone and considered her

settlement of remaining in the US as the most appropriate decision. A few of the women decided to stay in the US based on ages and their medical status. Three of the women stated that the opportunity to work beyond the retirement age was a positive means to achieve life ambitions.

Six of the UK women expressed their intentions to return to the Caribbean, as some found they could not feel settled in the UK. However, due to having invested over fifty years of their lives living in the UK, dealing with family structure changes, health issues, and some failed marriages, it became more pragmatic to remain in the UK. While a transnational approach to migration may suggest that these women are at home anywhere in the world, a diasporic slant will argue the opposite point of view.

In the context of the research, *belonging* is another important concept in the sense of a symbolic place of identification with a forceful presence in each of the women's lives. In this situation, the Researcher noted that feeling safe, entitled to various rights and resources are endemic to belonging. Many women expressed different forms of discrimination based on not being perceived as belonging or entitled to receive basic requirements. Furthermore, even though the women talked about belonging, they did not have a consensus about having shared similar migration experiences. Some women specified that they felt that they belonged to a specific group or community, while others would construct themselves outside and vice versa. Therefore, the intersectionality perspective is crucial for any accurate analysis of belonging because it addresses issues associated with privilege and power based on race, gender, and social class. Mainly, as this thesis argument has been, African Caribbean women are not a homogenous group but instead comprise a heterogeneous and multifaceted group of women with their subjectivities and identities.

The inclusion of the Visual Based Inquiry provided these women scope to become co-producers of the data arising from an object, which resonated with their migration memories. In this research element, the women spoke candidly of both positive and negative memories associated with their symbolic objects. All twenty-two women expressed that the visual object reinforced their cultural identity and links with the Caribbean. The experiences of being an outsider in the UK or the US made their continued links with their family back home even more critical. All of the women acknowledged that their diverse backgrounds and distinctive traditions were an essential aspect of their social identity as Caribbean women. The objects served as reminders

of these cultural traditions and reinforced why it was vital for them to remember their home of origin. For most women, this desire to re-construct a Caribbean cultural identity, affirming cultural ties to the Caribbean, stemmed from feelings of exclusion and marginalisation.

Each of the women shared an object which resonated with their migration experiences and discussed how they drew upon these visual objects in varying forms to teach their children about Caribbean culture. The women recognise food as an essential part of cultural identity and expressed concerns when they arrived in both the US and the UK and experienced difficulties obtaining Caribbean food products. However, through the use of the Caribbean Plaques, the women could teach their children about the traditional food of their home of origin until they could purchase the products. Simultaneously, some of the women talked about the church being a significant part of their life. In this context, they stated how they found having their bible as a memory of an essential Caribbean tradition, especially during the early years, when they were not welcome into mainstream churches. Most women shared the bible or a religious book as their primary object central to their lives, teaching bible lessons to their children within their mothering role.

The theme of *loss* and *separation* permeated throughout the Visual analysis element of the thesis as it related to the women's memories. A significant number of the women shared that the objects held memories of family and close friends associated with the object (Rose, 2016). This aspect of the research was significant, as it enabled the women to focus on their memories of the early years of migration from their perspective (Plummer, 2001). Most women felt their memories of the Caribbean were held intact, based on the secure connections to the object. However, most of them expressed deep-rooted sadness as they reflected upon aspects of challenges associated with leaving the Caribbean to migrate to another country.

For each of the women, the significance of the Visual object was evident in many aspects of their lives. This included child-rearing practices where the object held memories of Caribbean heritage and was instrumental in teaching their children about cultural traditions, belonging and identity. Gilroy (1993) identifies art and objects at the forefront of teaching cultural identity. This argument chimes with activities by the women who use cultural artefacts to reinforce a celebration of Caribbean identities within the home environment. Gilroy (1993) arguments are useful in this analysis of the women's migration experiences and their concerted effort to teach their children about the diverse cultures of Black people around the world. Also, most of these

first-generation mothers found that while bringing up their children thirty to forty years ago, they did not have access to educational resources about the Caribbean, other than what artefacts which they brought with them. In this context, having the visual objects was a valuable way of ensuring that their children learned their historical legacies as Caribbeans. Notably, today's mothers have, through globalisation and trans-cultural links and the means to self-educate their children about their Black identities (Gilroy, 1993).

The Researcher drew specifically on Post-colonial theory as stated by Said (2003) and Hill Collins (2016) as a guiding perspective that informed the process of arguments and the interpretation of the women sharing their narratives [See Chapter 3]. In this context, Post-colonial reinforced a way of thinking to facilitate the African Caribbean women, to declutter the inhibiting factors which have prevented them from having the confidence and the motivation to talk about their migration experiences. Post-colonial theory suited the research to recognise the impact of class, race, and culture in shaping women's experiences. Using this theoretical underpinning highlighted the narrative analysis as a helpful research method that allows women to tell their life narratives from their subjectivities and socially constructed perspective.

Using Life narratives does not lie in their representation of facts but in their construction of meaning that shape our understanding of reality. Czarniawska (2004:7) affirms that the same event can have different meanings through narrative. During the research process of data collection, predictably, some of the women would have selected particular circumstances while omitting others, shedding light on some experiences while blurring other elements. The primary aim is to socially construct a logical, engaging, and persuasive plot that makes sense in its specific socio-cultural milieu. The Researcher observed that with this rather complicated process, the women strived to make sense of their social reality, which, in part, speaks to specific social and political dimensions.

On a personal and professional level, it is evident to observe the impact that narratives of these women's experiences and how they resonate with other African Caribbean women. As Riessman (2013:176) confirms this analysis, sustaining that telling narrative is a reciprocal event between a teller and an audience. The Researcher has found that using these innovative approaches to undertake the study provided in-depth responses to the Research Questions. Subsequently, the women's narratives illuminate the success and failure of migration

dramatically. The US women conveyed an energised influence of the need to succeed and their motivation to seize opportunities. Whereas the women in the UK cohort appeared more reserved about the alternative lifestyle which they experienced. At a deeper level, each of the women's narratives symbolises the eternal sadness and hope of migration. Their reflections of the promise of a better life contained aspects of forfeits, loss and separation.

From a socio-cultural historical perspective, most African Caribbean women shared in their narratives that they had experienced multiple forms of discrimination based on gender. Simultaneously, race, gender, and class discourses have their ontological bases by drawing on an intersectionality perspective. The women's narratives provided clear evidence of power and privilege, which created unfair treatment related to first-hand experiences post-World War II migration in accessing social policy support. Furthermore, the women stated in their narratives of stereotype assumptions that they were supported either by their families or a partner if they were married. There was little consideration given to investigating how to meet basic social needs as migrant women. Most of the women in this research were from the generation representing the Post-colonial Caribbean and socialised in accepting responsibilities for themselves and their families. In particular, those who migrated to the US adopted this model and organised their migration independently. Equally, these African Caribbean women were mainly a replacement population as occupationally, many filled jobs that were low paid, had antisocial hours, and had difficulty attracting workers from the indigenous people.

Overall, the research findings confirmed that from 1948 onwards, the push and pull dynamics were active factors. Labour was cheap, and unemployment rates consistently high in both Caribbean and receiving countries, the US and UK. The migration pattern correlated with the demand for workforce labour within both countries. The Commonwealth migrants, which included these women, were often employed in unskilled or semi-skilled manual jobs and social mobility and economic success were elusive. Furthermore, as evident within the research findings, a small proportion of the African Caribbean women in the UK have economically achieved a position at the lower end of the social class structure. However, they are still underrepresented in the Professional class. The findings' overall analysis indicated that the US group's women found migration to the US offered more significant opportunities to raise the social class strata than those who migrated to the UK.

As the findings in this study demonstrate, from a socio-cultural perspective, the women's narratives have been a powerful means to enhance limited research knowledge about the history of their Caribbean migration experience. Undertaking the research provided a unique opportunity to engage with the women as co-collaborators was empowering because their voices remained at the centre of the research process. The research was necessary because much of the documented studies on Caribbean migration history have explicitly focused upon the male's experiences, with only a brief mention of their wives or partners (Peach, 1999).

In conclusion, the thesis's aims confirmed a significant gap within historical and social research that focused on African Caribbean women's post-World War II migration experiences. Furthermore, the late arrival of theoretical frameworks that offered explanations from a Black perspective often meant that the women were 'added' into the literature instead of being the primary focus. The analysis confirms that the post- World War II era was a period of national reconstruction and extensive immigration, which required the UK to redefine citizenship and belonging notions related to these African Caribbean women.

The absence of formal social policy provision during the post-World War II era meant that these migrant women who arrived in the UK and US experienced significant social inequalities, which often made them feel invisible, vulnerable and exposed to unprecedented situations associated with risk and potential danger. Many African Caribbean women relied heavily on the under resources and significantly overburdened local Caribbean communities such as Black Led Churches to support housing, welfare and childcare needs. This lack of integration and understanding of social, historical and cultural awareness has had a systematic impact on the missed opportunities in gathering data regarding meeting future migrant women's needs from a social policy perspective.

This research suggests an assumption based on the stereotype that these migrant African Caribbean women were of a lower working class, therefore, they should be grateful for the migration opportunity, which often led to the misunderstanding of the diverse qualities they held as women. In this respect, the women were often not seen as leaders within their home environment, with the full responsibility of reinforcing cultural values and traditions about the Caribbean. Furthermore, it was not often acknowledged or appreciated that these women were proud, independent, hardworking, and had personal ambitions. Eleven of the women in the UK group stated that they were treated as outsiders, even though they had the rights as British

citizens to settle in the UK under the British Nationality Act 1948. The US Immigration Act of 1965 (Hart-Cellar Act) constructed policy based on family reunification principles; it was noted that even these legislative documents have their discriminatory features, as evident in the analysis of the narratives of at least five of the women in the US group.

Subsequently, considering the feminist of migration from a theoretical perspective. It is evident that migration to the two transatlantic countries, namely the UK and the US, offered diversity in terms of experiences and opportunities for some African Caribbean women through social mobility, economic independence, and autonomy to achieve a better lifestyle themselves and their families.

The research findings confirm that race, gender, and social class related to migration are essential intersectionality factors to be considered within the context of how migrant women access social resources. However, it is equally valid to note that some of these women have developed diverse strategies of being silent based on personal lived experiences because of the negative attitudes they have experienced. On the other hand, some of the women were able to find humour as they spoke candidly of their memories of early migration experiences. Using an intersectionality analytical perspective suited the women's lived experiences' multifacetedness, which reinforced the Researcher's aim to present these women as unique individuals.

Finally, this thesis has generated new knowledge from the African Caribbean women's voices about their lived experiences of migration in the UK and the US. The women's narratives highlighted how they encountered social inequalities and were disadvantaged within employment and entitlements in their rights. Even though all of the African Caribbean women who entered the UK and the US were legal citizens, they often experienced difficult, challenging experiences. For this reason, there is a need for a specific focus on placing future migrant women's needs at the centre of social policy planning to ensure the appropriate provision and support from a gender perspective. This thesis concludes that many women migrate to find employment and, therefore, will need practical help. Thereby, from the perspective of international migration theory, there is a need to consider the subtle and apparent factors that coalesce to create different experiences all along the migration spectrum, to establish the value of a gender-sensitive approach to provide appropriate services for migrant

women.

Reflections on Research

From the onset of the thesis, I reflected on my epistemological privilege as a first-generation African Caribbean woman, born to a native African Caribbean mother, who had migrated to the UK during the 1950s, then relocated to the US in the mid-1970s. The opportunity to visit the US regularly to see my mother allowed me to appreciate different cultures and a deepened knowledge and understanding of Caribbean traditions. When I became a mother, I continued taking my young family to the US to form an attachment with their grandmother and thereby reinforce Caribbean culture and values.

In December 2018, having the chance to visit twelve of the Caribbean Islands (Eastern locations) was one of the most profound experiences of my life. Each of the islands had its unique characteristics and traditions, such as food, an integral part of each island's cultural identity. The visit to each of the islands provided an insider's view as to the current socio-economic climate. In the main, it was useful to note that most of the islands relied very heavily on the tourist trade and less on natural sources such as sugarcane and the Bauxite industry, which existed during the post-World War II era.

As discussed with both PhD supervisors, the visit to the twelve Caribbean islands provided the opportunity to connect more deeply and respectfully with each of the women's narratives. It was a privileged and enriching experience that helped connect and appreciate the individual women's memories during the research in an authentic and meaningful manner.

Limitations of this Study

The research has explicitly achieved the aims and objectives of capturing undocumented data about African Caribbean women's migration experiences to the US and the UK during post-World War II. However, the study's focus meant that all the UK participants lived in the geographical centre region. At the same time, the geographic location of the US participants concentrated mainly in the southern states. There is scope for future research to be undertaken

within the Northern states of the US and Canada.

A Final Note

Undertaking this thesis has been an enlightening experience because of the critical issues revealed in the African Caribbean women narratives depicting their lived experiences of post-World War II migration. What is pertinent from the findings is the omission of substantial research, which gives attention to how African Caribbean women dominated the migration trends to the US and the UK during the late 1940s up to the mid-1970s [*Figure 4-Timeline*].

Empirically, the research has achieved the study's primary aim to contribute to the literature about African Caribbean women who migrated to the US and the UK during the post-World War II era. The findings offered unique insights into the complexities of African Caribbean women's migration situations, whether they lived in the US or the UK. They were motivated by the opportunity to migrate independently in pursuit of economic gains and achieve a better life for themselves and their families. The discoveries concur with the debates associated with the feminisation of migration which focused explicitly upon the myriad of factors identified within the women's narratives. Subsequently, new knowledge that emerged from the analysis has evolved and confirms that most of these African Caribbean women migrated during the post-World War II era, independently and solo, which moved them analytically and theoretically, out of the category of being solely dependent on a spouse. The findings also highlighted the difference amongst the women, which confirms that their lived experiences of migration are heterogeneous and not homogeneous, as occasionally referred to within some literature.

From a theoretical level, drawing upon an Intersectionality theory, as described by Crenshaw (1989), which is one of the most important academic contribution made by women's studies in conjunction with related fields thus far, was instrumental in the feminist approach to the research process. Using this specific theoretical approach was unique and innovative and not commonly utilised within social policy research associated with Caribbean migration. Epistemologically, Intersectionality theory was drawn upon within the study to complement Black feminist and Critical Race theory, which provided an innovative theoretical framework to gain insight into how the African Caribbean women make sense of their unique migration

experiences. Regarding the analytical framework, drawing upon the Intersectionality theory within the research analysis was pioneering because it provided the opportunity to explore previously undocumented data associated with African Caribbean women's migration to the US and the UK during the post-World War II (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1998).

The research study's methodological approach ensured that the research process was empowering, to the women, while being beneficial to myself as a Black female researcher. The complementary approach was the strength of the research study and positioned within a Black Feminist framework. It reinforced this feminist research's aim to end the marginalisation of African Caribbean women's lived experience of migration. Thus, providing the opportunity for these women's experiences that have previously rendered invisible be unequivocal visible in the research process.

Positioning the research within a qualitative phenomenological paradigm provided the scope to use a Narrative and Visual approach to collect the desired data. The decision to use a collaborative approach entailed designing two original frameworks to analyse the findings. Using these two research methods was innovative and unique because they are designed to allow those who are often silenced to speak by providing space and time to capture memory and meanings that may not come to light in a time-driven structured research method like an interview or a questionnaire. In this context, both approaches suited the purpose to explore the African Caribbean women's memories of their lived experiences of migration to the UK and the US. These two innovative approaches ideally suited the research design for collecting, analysing, interpreting and presenting research data, which brought forward the verbal, textual, and pictorial aspects of the African Caribbean women's experiences of migration into the centre of the research study by using a collaborative creative layered approach to carry out the qualitative research entailed designing two original frameworks to analyse the findings.

Furthermore, both critical and creative methods provided new insights into undertaking social research, capturing the complexity of social, cultural and historical experiences, problems, and meanings embedded in memories more often than not. These two critical and creative research methods suited the Researcher's aims and objectives to ensure that the chosen approaches placed the African Caribbean women's voice at the centre of the research. By building visual methods into the research design, the participants can contribute to the research process in ways

where their voices may not often be heard or may often not know how to give voice in words to *speak* without using language (Thomson, 2008).

The Migration Triangle [Chapter 5] was a unique aspect of the research and facilitated exploring the richness of the African Caribbean narratives. Whereas the concept and design of the Visual Cycle [see Chapter 6] provided a framework to analyse the visual data.

The thesis provides a unique contribution of undocumented data about African Caribbean women migration history, often omitted in migration research. This thesis's achievement is evident in the research process's outcome, which provides a unique contribution of undocumented data about African Caribbean women who migrated to the US and the UK during the post-World War II era. As a Black African Caribbean woman born to a mother who migrated to the UK and the US during the post-World War II era, it provides living proof that the undertaking of this research is significant and rewarding.

Future Studies

From the perspective of Feminisation of Migration, there is scope to undertake further studies exploring the complex issues related to future social policy provisions for migrant women. There is also an opportunity to promote the new development of international migration theory, which provides a theoretical framework that guides research and helps explain migrant males and females unique experiences at all migration process stages.

Equally, training and development through education regarding learning more about different cultures and values is paramount to gain further insight from micro, meso, and macro analysis of migrant women, which is needed to bring about change in how gender impacts migration. The feminisation of migration confirms that women are no longer solely dependent on a spouse. Women are electing to migrate independently based on economic motivations. In the context of research, it is essential to recognise that migration is a process interconnected. A gendered theory of migration must be intersectional in its approach so that gender differences from the perspective of race, class and migration, is considered. Arguably, there should be a more sophisticated approach in the relationship between gender and citizenship related to the intersectional differences among second-generation female migrants. Finally, economist,

sociologist, anthropologists and political scientists working together to draw together analytical within their specialist field can emerge with a richer comprehensive theoretical understanding of this element of contemporary migration. While this study gained insight into what drivers motivated the African Caribbean women to migrate, their experiences within the receiving countries were variable, based on their engagement within the respective labour workforce, the impact of immigration status, and social policies. The findings illustrated that even though these women represented a heterogeneous group, many shared vulnerability and discrimination experiences based on the power and privileges of the dominant voices within their respected migrated societies. The Researcher acknowledges the thesis's undertaking with the African Caribbean women provided a platform to share their narratives within the intersections of race, gender, and class about their post-World War II migration experiences. Thereby, this thesis has contributed unique knowledge from a theoretical level that has emerged from their previously unheard voices.

The knowledge gained from undertaking this specific research study has been significant because of its originality in highlighting historical concerns about African Caribbean women's lived experiences of migration during post-World War II, which was challenged by the different forms of discrimination encountered. Whilst there have been some changes in social policy regarding childcare and welfare provision. It is noted that there are areas for ongoing development, as clearly evident in the documented data, which illustrates the discriminatory manner in which these African Caribbean women has migrant mothers were treated.

Thus, regarding cultural and racial diversity as it pertains to supporting the integration of migrant women into international societies. The research is significant because it provides data that transcends the future generation of migrant women's social policy needs and the necessity for constant review and change.

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Appendix One: Participant Information Sheet (Page One)

Experiences of African Caribbean Women

This information about the study should help you to make a decision about whether or not you would like to participate in this research.

This research is to find out information about how women who came to Britain (or US) in the early days (1940s to 1970s) settled in a new country. We are interested in questions such as what motivated you to come, how you found the new country, how you went about ensuring that you and your family survived, with whom and how you formed new relationships, brought up families in a new environment, what your ambitions were, how far they were realised and what problems and help you encountered.

Who is Carrying out the Study?

This research is being done by Val Sylvester who is a part-time PhD student at University of Birmingham.

What will I have to do?

You will be asked to be available for about an hour to have a conversation about the types of questions listed above. I am particularly interested in prompting your memories by asking you to talk about an item that you has special meaning for you – just to trigger thoughts about the significant things you consider being important. So it would be useful if you could have available an item such as a photograph, clothing, trinket, etc. It would be good to include a picture of your important item in my final report and if you are agreeable and give your consent for a photo to be taken then I would like to photograph it, but this will ENTIRELY depend on your approval,

Appendix Two: Participant Information Sheet (Page Two)

We will meet with you in a setting of your choice to ensure that you are comfortable in the environment where the research will take place.

What are the Benefits of Participating in the Study?

The benefit of this research study is it will be used for the production of a PhD thesis.

It will also address some of the gaps within current literature, where there is limited information which captures the very little of the personal experiences of senior African Caribbean Women. Hence, it will make information available in the future.

Will the Study Cost Anything?

There is no financial cost to take part in the study.

What if I do not Want to Take Part?

The decision to take part in the study is your choice.

What Happens to the Information?

The information gathered from this research will be used as part of the final report for my PhD study.

In addition, it is intended to write specific articles about senior African Caribbean women and their personal lived experiences of migration and settlement to the UK/US.

This information will also be used to contribute to presentations and conferences within educational establishments, community diaspora organisation, and agencies which are seeking to gain a better understanding about the social and health needs of African Caribbean Women.

Appendix Three: What About My Confidentiality (Page Three)

What about my confidentiality?

I wish to reassure you, that we have a legal duty to ensure that your privacy and anonymity is respected. We have a duty to safeguard your identity and maintain confidentiality. Your actual name will not be used within the final report, instead pseudonyms will be used. This is to ensure that your identity remains anonymous to anyone reading the final report. The researcher acknowledges that the sample size is small and fit for purpose and will endeavour to make every effort to keep data obtained from the research study confidential. Whilst absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed because of the smallness of the sample size, and it is possible that you may know someone who has participated within the research study, please be reassured that I will not share your information with anyone.

What Happens if I Change my Mind and Decide to Withdraw from the Study?

You have the right to change your mind and withdraw from the research study at a mutually agreed date, in this instance by August 2016, which is before the final analysis and writing up of the research have commenced.

What if I have any Questions or do not Understand Something?

You can ask me any questions you like before you agree to take part in the study. If you would like to you can ask a friend or a support worker to come with you to the meeting to help you understand the questions.

What Happens at the End of the Study?

At the end of the study you will receive a summary of the final report for your reference.

If you want to ask some more questions you can get in touch with,

Val at,

Appendix Four: Contact Details (Page Four)

IASS, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Thank you for your co-operation in taking the time to read this document. We hope you agree to participate in this unique and valuable research study.

Val Sylvester

PhD Student

Appendix Five: Consent Form (Page Five)

CONSENT FORM.

Title of Research Project:
**Intergenerational Experiences of Migration and Settlement:
Senior African Caribbean Women.**

Name of Researcher:- Val Sylvester

How to get in touch:



IASS, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT



Val.sylvester@bcu.ac.uk



0121 331 7034

1. I have been told what this research is about and have been able to ask questions about it.
YES [] NO []
2. I understand I do not have to take part in the research if I do not want to and that I can change my mind about taking part whenever I like.
YES [] NO []

Appendix Six: Consent Form (Page Six)

3. I understand that data gathered in this project may form the basis of a report or other form of publication or presentation.

YES [] NO []

4. I understand that the Researcher will take a photograph of the Visual item/image used within the research.

YES [] NO []

5. I understand that my name will not be used in any report, publication or presentation, and that every effort will be made to protect my confidentiality.

YES [] NO []

6. I would like to take part in the above study.

YES [] NO []

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Name of Witness

Date

Signature