Welcome to the motherland. An exploration into how experience is storied through generations of African Caribbean immigrants.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, to the person who thought me that I belonged in this world, setting me up emotionally for my journey to England, the voice that follows me, the voice that I seek. My grandmother, Ruth Huggins. Rest in Loving Peace.

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Eternal love, light and gratitude to all

Abstract

My research explores the ways in which African Caribbean families communicate with each other and the outside world in the context of living in England. This research interest is heavily influenced by my experience of migration to England. As an African Caribbean person on arrival in England my voice was met with mockery and often resulted in confusion. My professional experience of working within a Child and Adolescent Mental Health service highlighted a limited understanding of African Caribbean migrants and their descendants, and the extent to which they have to negotiate their lived experience.

My research questions are:
How do first generation Caribbean migrants tell their stories of migration and integration? How do they construct, contest, negotiate identities within this?

What if any stories, sayings from the Caribbean do they draw on to help them navigate their new context?

How does the next generation negotiate, construct, context identities within these stories/experiences?

The methodology section is divided into two distinct areas, the theory and the practical application. The focus is on post-modernist ideas of social construction and the critique of power in relation to the research process. In this I acknowledge the constitutive role of storytelling for the human experience. Using a semi-structured schedule, I interviewed two generations in an intergenerational dyad. The requirements were that one generation had to be a first generation migrant and the other had to be a second generation migrant or later. This allowed for sharing of stories in the presence of the next generation where meaning could be made together.

The data has been analysed using the Big and Small Story in Narrative Inquiry. This process is akin to the therapeutic process where we engage both the story of how we came to therapy (presenting issue) but pay attention to the manner and style in

which this story is told, what identities are being claimed, what's being deferred or avoided in the telling. I discovered that the African Caribbean person is a highly politicised human being for whom the racialised and cultural context is a significant part of life. I set out my key findings using the positions of three types of archetypal themes: the trickster, passer/conformer and resister/revolutionary. These were used to capture different ways people responded to power within their daily life.

The most significant part of my findings is Dubois' (1903) concept of double consciousness. This idea describes the way black people carry their negotiations with power. There is a sense that they are constantly having to think about what is acceptable to the power base and how can this be negotiated. Interestingly, the African Caribbean people in my study didn't name racism, oppression, or politics, so the practitioner has to. I invite practitioners to support what is being called 'anti colonial practice' (Heath, 2018). This practice acknowledges that the colonial presence is still active and to really undo this we have to engage in purposeful direct action. This requires a kind of "self-reflexivity plus". This means engaging in the language of the clients, thinking about your actions with other critical thinkers, questioning your questions with yourself and others, and working with a transparency where we can see whether you have been helpful.

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My grandmother and I. Still the voice I look for

Chapter 1: Introduction

The primary aim of this study is to explore the ways in which African Caribbean families communicate with each other and the outside world within the context of living in England. I am particularly curious about the literal use of their voice, specifically, what voice they 'do' family life in. My interest in this subject area came from both personal and professional experience. Professionally, I had concerns about the limited view of race and culture held by those engaging therapeutically with families. In this context, I am thinking specifically about racialised and cultural ways of being and how this interacts in a multi-generational family system.

When African Caribbean individuals and families engage in therapy I wondered how much effort is made to understand their cultural context. The racialised and cultural context is a significant part of the experience of life. If this is not seen and understood, then an understanding of the family is limited. With this as a central idea my study aims to widen the lens through which African Caribbean families are understood by professionals. Holding narrative ideas in mind, I interviewed seven families of two generation African Caribbean immigrants. Using Narrative Analysis, I paid attention to how they story the experience of integration into England and what this meant to the next generation. I was particularly interested in how identities are created, contested and negotiated in this context.

My earliest memory of negotiating these dynamics was after immigration to England as a 14-year-old to live in Lancashire. One of the areas where I met significant criticism and mockery was with my voice, specifically how I expressed myself, my accent, my pronunciation, the content and style of my speech. This happened when I tried to speak to residents who were white UK, and I thought that this might be because they were not familiar with accents. However, when I started secondary school, and this continued to happen with local born residents of different ethnicities (Black, Asian, etc), it was hurtful to me and resulted in me feeling alienated. I thought "but your mum sounds like me, has an accent, do you mock her?" and I couldn't understand the basis for the mockery. Different parts of me were met with criticism in different contexts by different groups of people. I wondered how families

managed this. I reflected on the impact this had on me as a teenager in England managing the different cultural expectations in different contexts, and I wondered how it felt for Caribbean parents to parent children born in England who might have had this reaction to the African Caribbean voice.

The management of my voice was for me key in shaping my social identity but also in creating feelings of inferiority. The way that this occurred reminded me that I did not belong here. I had not felt these feelings before and I longed to return home where I was more easily understood. I wondered how do I navigate the world without speaking? Why is my voice being mocked and how is it that people assume my voice means I must be stupid or somehow lesser? What was visible was my skin, my gender, but as soon as I spoke another part of myself/my story was revealed. I am an immigrant. The accent suggests first generation immigrant. What I did not know was that being an immigrant was part of a discourse that influenced how people perceive you. Why would I know this?

1:1 Setting the Context

Black people have settled in Britain since 1555 (Alexander & Dewjee, 1981). However, there was a rapid increase of black people coming to Britain during World War II (1939-1945) to serve in the war. Caribbean people had been invited to England after World War II to support labour shortages after the way. The recruitment message was "your mother needs you" and people responded to 'mother's' cry for help. According to Arnold (2012) 'mother' represented the British government and 'mother' did not provide the basic needs of her children. The increased numbers arriving fed a belief that this was a new phenomenon. Post war migration was also through requests 'from mother' as England needed help with its regeneration efforts after the war. This occurred in June 1948 with the SS Windrush docking in Tilbury with 492 passengers, mainly from Jamaica, mostly men, looking for a better life. By 1955 there were 13 ships making 40 sailings each year and several chartered air flights arranged to bring men and women who were eager to work (Patterson, 1965). Racial tensions were high and these migrants experienced a number of obstacles which included poor to no housing provision and an inability to get jobs using the skills they had acquired in the Caribbean. They also experienced

a lack of support as they were felt a threat to the indigenous population (Arnold, 2012). This experience of integration into England has been captured beautifully in the novel 'Small Island' by Andrea Levy (2004).

The Conservative government at the time responded to the pressures about immigration by introducing legislation in 1961 in the form of The Commonwealth Immigrants Act which came into effect in 1962 (Arnold, 2012). Some believe that this encouraged the growing black/white racism culture. Being an immigrant was understood as being 'black' (Arnold, 2012), and was linked with violence, crime and poverty. The perceptions of the immigrants by individuals and institutions who were racist undermined the self-esteem of the migrants and aggravated their sense of separation and loss (Arnold, 2012; Thomas, 2008). I left Trinidad a female but arrived in England as a black person. Black was not loved, black was not welcomed, black did not belong here.

I did not arrive with the Windrush Generation, neither did my parents. My father arrived in England in the late 1950s as one of the many Caribbean migrants looking for 'a better life'. The story of England offering a 'better life' had been key in how the story was told in the Caribbean. He worked briefly as an engineer for the RAF. I do not have a story to explain how he came to leave the RAF and I wonder about his experience, like other black servicemen, who were not welcomed and received racist treatment. My mother came in the 1960s following the pathway to become a nurse. She largely worked in the NHS until her retirement. When my parents separated my mother returned to Trinidad for a number of years, taking me and my brother. I grew up with a clear story that England would be where I would go to 'better myself'; the question was not 'if' but 'when'.

My preparation for my journey to England started with a plane ticket from my father, and it moved on to being given a cardigan. A friend of my mother who had lived in England as a nurse for some years, before her return to Trinidad, heard of my impending journey and said to me "you'll need this" and gave me a cardigan. I hadn't seen one of those before and thought it was ugly and I would not be wearing it. To be polite I took it and said thank you.   My mother, a foodie before the term foodie existed, told me she missed certain foods like duck in orange sauce. No one spoke

to me about their experience of being an immigrant, of racism, of perceptions and attitudes of the indigenous people or the complex socio-political history which continues to shape the behaviour between individuals in England.

This is curious to me, they were here, it's hard to believe that they didn't have any such experiences. Why not prepare those that followed with explicit guidance? Did they really just want me to stay warm and eat enjoyable foods? Lorde (2012) highlights the complexity of turning feelings into language and giving name to the 'nameless'. I wonder about naming the nameless but I am also curious about how the experience of being African Caribbean fits into the genre of untold and untellable stories according to the LUUUTT model (Pearce, 1999). It is my belief and experience that functioning has merit as it offers a way to survive daily living. If we can face the story then reflexivity helps us stay connected to our sense of self, whilst reflexivity and relationship help us to understand and process the traumas. This is how it worked in my own life to enable a move from surviving to thriving in an understanding of 'self'. Due to the history of oppression, colonisation and racism that my participants have experienced it is difficult to give a language to this type of pain. Many people focus on functioning, and this way of being is a much more rehearsed part of Caribbean life. My request is that the reader engages with the thesis in a way that allows some of these differences to be heard.

My search for identity involved a mix of reflexivity and relationship. Stuart Hall (1991) wrote about what this search could mean for Caribbean people, as, if it is a search for 'roots', this is virtually impossible for the Caribbean people. African Caribbean people lived in a world culturally, socially and politically dependent and dominated from the outside. Slavery interrupted the history for Caribbean African people who, taken and sold into slavery, experienced a number of betrayals as they journeyed from Africa, to the Caribbean, to England. In each instance African Caribbean people were unwelcomed, experienced trauma and racism resulting in a constant fight for their survival.

How does an intergenerational experience of trauma impact the search for identity amongst young Caribbean people? The 'world' that sought to dominate them (colonialism), brutalised them (slavery) and often deceived them (invitations to

England for work opportunities to get here and be offered cleaning jobs). How do you learn to trust this world in this context? Why would you trust the system? How do you learn to view yourself, your own? or 'other'? How do parents decide on priorities for family life? In order to address this in my literature review I consider how research has explored African Caribbean migrants in terms of mental health, resilience, integration, parenting, education, religion and use of speech.

In discussing identity, Hall (1991) offers the concept of invention. Part of the process for the post-colonial identity is about how we used our agency to create different perceptions of ourselves. I am aware that I am doing a Doctorate and I have spent many years invested in education. What have other African Caribbean people done to create something different? How do we get this space? Finally, how do we talk about this? Literally and symbolically how do we story our experiences in relationship with ourselves and others? In my results section I consider identities and how they were storied to me by my participants.

In this study, I chose to focus on how words/language were understood, perhaps still connecting with the immigrant in me who wants to be understood. The hope for this study is to contribute to literature on race and culture. I want to think about how communication is negotiated between first generation and later generation African Caribbean migrants. Specifically, I want to think about the use of language/speech in families and how this contributes to the negotiation of identity between the generations. Gergen (2010) offers the view that, in the same way children acquire language and are socialised into the ideas and ways of their culture, meanings are passed on to future generations. This suggests that language also exists in a context and has an important social function in the development of group (family) identity. Language is fundamental to the construction of meaning making between the generations as each generation will use the language situated in their context to contribute to the meaning making process. Language is the modus operandi by which meaning is made. For Gergen (2010), sustaining traditions requires a continuous process of regenerating meaning together. If we do not continue this type of dialogue then our long-standing traditions of cultural life are under threat. This feels pertinent in my research when thinking about migrants' journey to integration in England. How and when was the use of stories/sayings and language

utilised as a way of sustaining tradition, thereby sustaining a part of the cultural identity?

Christian (1987) writes with a focus on teaching pedagogy, and in doing this she acknowledges the limitation of teaching and creating theory in a particular European model. This allows her to demonstrate that people of colour have always theorised, but in forms that were different from western traditions and usually in the form of narrative. We use stories, riddles, proverbs and play with language, as these dynamic practices appear to be our preference. Christian (1987) understood these methods as a way of surviving the attacks on our way of being. People of colour have engaged language as a specific way of engaging power relationships. By maintaining a particular style of speaking, people of colour were actively engaged in acts of resistance. In my discussion section I explore this idea in more depth. For a fuller exploration I engage archetypal themes to consider the ways people resisted, conformed and tried to pass through language.

The first trauma of Caribbean identity is that indigenous people ceased to exist. African people sold into slavery had to create new lives in a foreign land and the leaders of this new identity were white Europeans in colonial rule. Hall (1991, p.2) describes identity as "representation and invention not simply discovery of tradition. Identity is about narratives, it's stories which cultures tell themselves about who they are and where they came from". I am drawn to this quote because it identifies important components to identity, specifically, representation, invention and narratives we tell ourselves. How are we represented and how do we represent ourselves? Black people have a long history of being over-represented in the criminal justice, mental health and social care system. How does this shape the confidence of younger black people? What does it do to their expectations of self and others, and how do they feel about a system that still captures and enslaves them? The concept of the discursive becomes fundamental as an analytic tool as the best means of answering my research questions. In my methodology section I expand on the rationale for this discursive analytic tool. My ontological and epistemological positions will be presented as a framework for guiding my thinking and the 'how' of my research will be given in detail.

Finally, but of utmost importance, it is impossible to think about Caribbean migrants without considering a socio-political history. My professional experience in the field of mental health has highlighted to me how little this is understood and what this means for clients. There was an assumption that this was in the past and had no relevance for clients. There was visible irritation with workers who couldn't see the relevance. My belief is that there is a socio-political context to pain and this history created a system of distrust for African Caribbean people. The socio-political history will be explored in the next section. It highlights repeated interruptions and attacks on a people who, in varying ways, worked to resist and fight for their rights to exist as human beings.

Chapter 2: History of the Caribbean

A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots - Marcus Garvey

It is impossible to undertake a history of the Caribbean without acknowledging the oppressive socio-political history central to the creation of the Caribbean as it is now known. This context is critical to understanding my participants. In my own history, though I was born in the 1970s, which represented an infancy in a post independent state for the island, I was raised by my grandmother who was born in 1913, some 70 years after the legal abolition of slavery. It is an important distinction to make as, although the practice of slavery was illegal, the establishment and rights of people were not in place. Colonial rule was still the social and political way. Many of my participants were raised at this key time in history of the political struggle for independence, and others were raised by grandparents who would have been born not long after the legal abolition of slavery. The Caribbean has been fighting for its freedom for hundreds of years.

The Caribbean is still my homeland because it is the land that shaped my formative years. I have been intrigued and moved by the resilience of the people who have survived it and made it their home. To bring the resilience to life it is necessary to highlight the constant struggles they faced. As a Family therapist, I wonder about the legacy of this fight which lasted generations and I am curious about how identities are shaped in this context. Family and Systemic Psychotherapy specifically addresses intergenerational patterns (Byng-Hall, 1995; Bowen, 1978). In my own family each generation speaks about being parented by their grandparent, in my case my mother's generation being parented by their grandparents puts us much closer to the direct experience of slavery and colonial rule.

The Caribbean (also known as the West Indies) is a region of the Americas consisting of the Caribbean Sea, its islands, and the surrounding coasts. The term "West Indies" originates from Christopher Columbus' belief that he had landed in the Indies. Columbus was one of the many explorers from Spain and Portugal caught up in "the discovery mania in the early 15th century" (Beckles and Shepherd, 2004,

p.33). In more recent times many black people in Britain have chosen to be called 'African Caribbean' as a way of recognising they were not descendants of indigenous people so named by Christopher Columbus (1492) but were descendants of Africans taken by Europeans to the Caribbean as slaves (Arnold, 2012).

The name "Caribbean" is cognisant of the Caribs, one of the dominant Amerindian groups in the region at the time of European contact during the late fifteenth century. In my own writing I will refer to the Caribbean or African Caribbean when describing the heritage of my participants. When the Windrush docked in 1948, it brought with it a large number of Jamaicans eager to embrace opportunities. Because of these large numbers people began to connect Caribbean with Jamaica, not understanding that it is actually made up of a number of islands. I am from Trinidad, my participants are from Barbados, Trinidad, Antigua, Jamaica and St Vincent. These islands are of varying sizes, degree of wealth, have separate political rule and would have received independence at different times.

2.1 Socio-Political History of the Caribbean

The first assault on the Caribbean people is the destruction of the original Caribbean people. The Amerindians were the indigenous people of the Caribbean who were made up of two tribes called the Caribs and the Arawaks. The Caribs were known to be more of the warrior tribe and the Arawaks were considered more peaceful (Rogozinski, 1999). The right of possession of the new territories was granted to Spain by the Pope in 1494. In 1494, the first permanent Spanish settlers imagined an economy based on mining for gold, but this was not sufficient to be financially worthwhile. The industry was replaced in the 16th century by agriculture with the cultivation of cotton, tobacco and sugar cane, requiring intensive labour. The Europeans tried to enslave the indigenous groups of people, however they were not considered strong enough for the intensive labour required in this industry. Large numbers succumbed to diseases, both tropical diseases as well as those transmitted by the Europeans and against which they had no immunity. Many resisted the Europeans but they were finally defeated and then transported to Central America. A small number settled in the rain forest of Dominica where they were given a dedicated space to inhabit (Beckles & Shepherd, 2004).

James (1994) highlights attitudes of the times where international travel in search of fortune was considered admirable for a gentleman, cognisant of the honour gained in the battle field. These sentiments were the foundational ideas of colonial religious and political thinkers from the late 1500s. According to James, religion and capitalism were key justifications in the creation and maintenance of colonial rule. Rogozinski (1999) writes that in Barbados sugar was the salvation of the island and the byproducts – refined sugar, molasses and rum - became key exports. This 'sugar revolution' transformed the economy of the Caribbean, and opened the way for a subsidiary but equally profitable commerce in black African slaves. Concomitantly, this made the region into a war zone where until 1815, Britain, France and Spain struggled for control of the islands. Barbados' success story accelerated the occupation of other islands by settlers. By 1660, St Kitts, Antigua, Nevis, Monserrat and Jamaica (seized from Spain in 1655) had been occupied and planted with sugar cane.

Rogozinski (1999) describes how indigenous diseases and labour intensive processes by which sugar was cultivated, harvested and refined, created problems to planters. Medical wisdom at the time warned against English men going to the Caribbean but this was ignored by emigrants keen to make money. Informed by the precedent set in Virginia they imported labour but it quickly transpired that British labourers were not up to the physical demands. They conducted Scottish and Irish campaigns in 1650-1652 where captured rebels were taken for fixed periods. James, (1994) and Beckles and Shepherd, (2004) describe the Scottish and the Welsh as considered the best workers. There were negotiations to have a private arrangement to pay convicts. This could be done with mass deportation of all homeless, criminals and otherwise idle persons to the sugar colonies. Eventually there was a need for a more sustainable labour force and slavery offered this.

2.2 Slavery

Slavery dominated every aspect of life in the Caribbean islands (Rogozinski, 2000). It made sugar plantations possible, shaped social and familial relations, and dominated the laws and politics of the islands, so the abolition of slavery represented

a dramatic change in island life. Kendi (2017) suggests that in pre-colonial times, most captives sold in Western Europe were from Eastern Europe who had been seized by Turkish raiders from around the Black Sea. So many of the seized captives were "Slavs" that the ethnic term became the root word for "slave" in most Western European languages. By the mid-1400s Slavic communities had built forts against slave raiders causing a plummet around the time the supply of Africans was increasing. As a result, Western Europeans began to see the natural Slav(e) not as white but Black.

The British adopted the Spanish and Portuguese colonial system of using imported African slave labour (Rogozinski, 1999; Beckles and Shepherd, 2004). The Spaniards exterminated most of the Caribbean Amerindians by the 16th century (except those in South America) and turned to African slaves. Economic necessity was the key justification for slavery. Slavery underpinned the expanding Caribbean economy and enriched both planters and home government so additional revenues were given for the protection and enlargement of this revenue (Williams, 1964).

Kendi (2017) describes a moral issue involved in the sale and exploitation of slaves. He felt the dissonance this produced was managed with a number of rationales:

- Biblical thought represented the nigger as an inferior creature who was the descendant of the accursed Ham and a specimen of the lesser humanity as described by Plato and Aristotle.
- Africans were measured against standards of European civilisation and judged unfavourably (unintelligent, cannibalistic, primitive).
- A prime justification for a man's existence was his productive usefulness. The idea of 'utility' was behind British deportation of the idlers, etc (James, 1994). Utility was a way of redeeming yourself in society and Africans could fulfil the role for which God had intended which was to support the general well-being of the world.

In the New World, in spite of the slaveholders' efforts to subdue the slaves, the Africans were often strong and numerous enough to revive and recreate the

customs, beliefs and practices of their homelands. The vicious conditions under which slaves were obtained and taken from Africa, the horrors of the journey across the Atlantic Ocean and the cruel treatment meted out to slaves on the plantations have been documented by historians such as Williams (1964), Patterson (1967), Hogg (1979) and Beckles and Shepherd (2004).

Eric Williams discusses the treatment of African slaves by the plantation owners as patterned on the treatment which was meted out to their white servants and labourers: the felon-drivers in the plantations became, without effort, slave-drivers (Williams, 1964, p19). However, the major difference was that the white labourers had been indentured for a limited period of time after which they were given freedom. The slaves were property bought for life and their status was passed on to their children. Williams (1964) concluded that a racist ideology that black people were inferior was the justification for their enslavement.

2.3 Female representation in Slavery

Before considering racism, it feels important to acknowledge female representation in slavery. Beckles (1999) writes about the problematic definition of femininity, as this was itself differentiated by class and race, thus leading to historical divergence on the notion of feminine identity during slavery. Women were socially differentiated within the gender discourses of slave-based societies. In Caribbean society, and in times of slavery, there was a diversity of experiences for females based on a variety of factors. Black women were seen as outside the feminine identity.   Elite white females sought to exclude, on the basis of race, black and brown females from membership of ideological institutions of womanhood and femininity. This included access to socially empowering titles such as 'lady' and 'miss'. Slave women did not expect protection and support from white women and had no line of defence against sexual assault. Slavery and freedom positioned Black and White women in juxtaposition that served the interests of patriarchy and produced among women conflicting perceptions of identity and self-interests.

The black woman was significant as a barrier to freedom because her children took her legal status so were not born free. Mixed race children with white mothers were

born free. Race and gender relations in all colonial jurisdictions were established in slave codes. The assumption was that all black and mixed-race women were slaves and the burden was on them to prove otherwise. Mixed race women who achieved legal freedom established in unification with their male counterparts a distinct socio-political identity. One way of enhancing the civil rights of their offspring was to procreate with white men who had means/property. Another was to enter into intimate social friendships with elite white women who had a need for friendship and companionship due to considerable restrictions placed on their lives in the patriarchal system. These ladies were offered a measure of social respectability and psychological comfort but little prospect for expanded civil rights.

2.4 Racism

Kendi (2017) traced the history of racist ideas using America and the Caribbean as examples of places that thrived on colonialism and slave labour.   He described how the concept of the Human Hierarchy was kept alive by Richard Maher and John Cotton, both Puritan ministers. Puritans had studied Aristotle's philosophy and learned rationales for the human hierarchy which became a part of their belief system and an inevitable part of their teaching. This was influential in shaping ideas about black people and the position of whites in American New England colonies. It gave racism a holy authority.

Kendi (2017) used Edward Long, a plantation owner in Jamaica, as an example of a response to the rising attitude for abolitionism and antiracism. Slavery needed validation for it to continue, so in 1774 he breathed new life into polygenesis by writing a book called the History of Jamaica. He referred to black people as being a different species with the ape being of more resemblance to the Negro race. Polygenesis offered an explanation for skin colour (a focus on darker skin), culture, wealth, and degrees of freedom that people enjoyed and thereby supported the hierarchy for humans. African slavery was seen as natural, normal and holy.
It is important here to think about how African people responded to the experience of being enslaved.

2.5 Rebellions and Uprisings

Most of the slaves were not passive victims, they resisted in their own countries when they were being captured, on board ships, during the transatlantic journey and they revolted on the plantations across the Caribbean region. According to Beckles and Shepherd (2004) many ran away and became known as the Maroons in the countries where there were hiding places, and when these were not available some took to the sea. The best known of the Maroons were those who established themselves in the rain forests of the Dutch colony of Surinam in South America, and those in the mountainous areas of Jamaica. English armies sent out to recapture the latter were defeated repeatedly. After several years of war, peace was negotiated and the Maroons were left to live free from interference. One well known leader of the Maroons in Jamaica was a woman known as Nanny. She is considered the most outstanding woman of the 18th century 'leading her people with courage and inspiring them to maintain that spirit of freedom, that life of independence which was their rightful inheritance' (Ellis, 1986, p.27).

The more slaves demonstrated that they were not passive victims, the more fearful the slave owners became and so they introduced more repressive laws. Michael Manley, a former Prime Minister of Jamaica, expressed the view that the slave-owners had instituted policies with the aim of destroying the cultural and social systems which the slaves had taken with them from their homelands (Arnold, 2012). Beckles (1998) discusses how the oppressive rule of white and black masculinity created several levels in the way gender oppression was experienced and resisted. Black women developed integrated systems of thought and actions that countered efforts to morally and politically legitimise their enslavement. When conflict arose, it was usually the female gang members who complained the loudest because it was known that they were less likely to be flogged by men. The women had the reputation for being instruments of instability and the more unmanageable element of the workforce. They promoted a culture of obstinacy in relation to work; they ran away from owners, terrorised white households with chemical concoctions, refused to procreate at levels expected by their masters, insisted upon participation in the market economy as independent hucksters, slept with white men as a strategy to better material and social condition and did whatever else was necessary in order to

afford themselves a degree of their freedom. Women helped to generate and sustain the general spirit of resistance. This contributed to challenging the infrastructure around everyday life.

2.6 Religion/Spirituality

One of those structures around everyday life is the practice of religion and spirituality. Thomas-Horpe (1980) believed religion more than any other cultural phenomenon reflects the diversity of the Caribbean. This is due to differences in the traditions and colonial policies of Spain, Britain, France and Holland and the common experience of slavery and indenture. Thomas-Horpe (1980) and Arnold (2012) stated that plantation owners deliberately tampered with the cultural expression of the slaves as magic and cultural ceremonies were felt threatening and the group organisation involved was considered a risk to the slave system. This posed some difficulty in replicating ceremonies but did not completely destroy original ideas/practices. Conceptual frameworks remained about life, death and supernatural phenomena. Planters feared secular or religious enlightenment, so clergy and missionaries were frequently persecuted by the planter class. Taylor (1988) suggested that to understand freedom you have to question the social and political significance of the religious formation. Using Franz Fanon's idea of the coloniser-colonised relationship, he explored Christianity in the third world. He challenged the classic and accepted discourse of the 'suffering Christian' who was happy to be rewarded in heaven, with a counter discourse of the colonised people who reacted to subjugation by recreating, expressing and living a culture of resistance and rebellion, e.g. the Maroon communities made up of African slaves who escaped to the mountains and started their own communities.

2.7 Religion, Class and Sex

Religion not only structured daily life but it also structured society. Ortmayr (1997, 1996) described that the Caribbean islands were often depicted as lands of unlimited sexual possibilities for young European white men but sources did not mention how widespread sexually transmitted infections were. British officers were advised by white matrons to maintain concubines as a way of reducing expenses and increasing

their well-being. 'Illegitimate' mixed offspring of White planters and traders not only were frequently granted their personal freedom but also very often were left substantial inheritances upon the death of their fathers. By the mid-18th century this had disturbed White planters as it threatened to challenge the colonial system of stratification.

Ortmayr (1997) writes about church, marriage and legitimacy in the British Caribbean in the 19th and 20th century, describing this time as having a high proportion of non-marital unions as well as the highest rates of 'illegitimacy' in the world. The word illegitimacy sets the tone for how children and people were thought about, setting up the context for entitlements and their experience in life. Explanations for "illegitimacy" have included slavery, West African heritage, sex imbalance and low wage economy (Ortmayr, 1996, pp.11-35 cited in Ortmayr, 1997, p.147).

Among other things, Ortmayr (1997) observed the degree of control exercised by the Christian churches on sexual behaviour. He believed that Christianisation created a class-specific distinction within the communities. This contributed to how mainstream forms of European Christianity came to be rooted in the Caribbean. Oppressed people were keen to increase their class (for some class and dignity were synonymous) status so some were compliant with Christian teaching as a way of doing this. Attending Christian church and getting married were relatively easy markers of being middle class (class and self-worth being synonymous). The clergy of the Christian churches after 1838 applied control upon the White Upper class, the Coloured and Black Middle class, while their control was weaker over the Lower classes. Gates (1980) stated that adherence to African traditions was more popular with the poorer classes. The denominational churches were mainly populated by the middle and upper class. The lower classes attended denominational churches but they also maintained links with traditional folk ideas. So, what happened to religious ideas post slavery?

2.8 Religion post slavery

When slavery was abolished between the 1830s and 1860s, there was a massive reorganisation of society: slave labour was transformed into wage labour and the

whole population was accorded equal legal status. A new system of control was needed to keep the Africans in their place. The church and the school system had to replace the whip of the overseer. The church was assigned by the imperial government a fundamental role in the creation of a new society. Turner (2015) stated the colonial missionary had distinctions between the sacred and secular which shaped Caribbean life. The church existed in the arena of the 'holy' and indigenous culture existed in the arena of the secular, sensual or 'un-holy'.

British colonial policy provided massive support for the expansion of European Christianity; missionary work and the Christian religion were now regarded as key in civilising "savages" (Porter, 1992). Racism was still active within this time and the church was unwilling to recruit black clergy. Erskine (2014) highlighted that once introduced to Christianity, the slaves had to sit in the back of the church or on Black pews. The humiliation and rejection they experienced made them readily identify with Jesus Christ. Church became part of the search for community. Oppressed people were seeing clearly that established churches were not on their side. As is becoming apparent, religion was a significant influencer in shaping the lives of African Caribbean people. Now to consider the process of education in the Caribbean.

2.9 Religion and education

Religion was fundamental to the educational system, and thereby fundamental to the indoctrination process in which there was a privileging of virtues of "honour, obedience, honesty, temperance, industriousness and Christian piety" (Hylon, 2002, p.94). Schools were governed by religious institutions who maintained the master-servant dynamic. Literacy was taught using the Bible. Fergus (2003) described that Black adults who desired to read more than the Bible were disadvantaged because they had to use the public library which was restricted to the members of society who could afford the annual fee. However, African Caribbean people reading the Bible began to learn that they had rights and this became part of the tool they used to fight with.

So far, I have considered traditional Christianity within my history section but what happened to the African faith-based practices?

2.10 Obeah/Myal

Mitchell (2006) writes about Obeah and Myal as critical issues in Caribbean religions. Both religions are part of ancient African tradition. Obeah was done by the African sorcerer and Myal (Koromantyns) is a healing tradition involving the priest Ashanti; "both came to the New World on the slave ship" (Mitchell, 2006, p.93). Racial, social prejudices and cultural clashes between the different groups meant Obeah competed with other religions for validity in the lives of the people. To this end Myal and Obeah became politicised.

Paton (2015) wrote about the cultural politics of Obeah. She broadly defined Obeah as an umbrella term to include multiple phenomena and practices. These practices include ritual attempts to manipulate a world of spiritual power. It is still an illegal practice in most of the Caribbean and this illegality impacted on how it could be practised. Post the 1930s labour rebellion, Obeah was not seen as African continuity but as a backward way of being, understood as a scary symbolism of darkness and demons and not welcomed by Christianity.

Taylor (1988) explained that Africans understood slavery as the result of sorcery so they believed that their religion offered a legitimate foundation to overcoming slavery. Taylor (1988) described African priestesses as confused by the magic of 'the whites' so they created a solution. Priests knowledgeable in sorcery and healing joined forces and the role of sorcerers expanded, becoming more central in slave rebellions. Myal and Obeah practitioners provided protection for rebels in battle and poisons to eliminate their enemies with sorcery and healing ointments.

2.11 Rastafarians

In the Caribbean, politics readily made use of religion that combined hopes, religion and politics, protest and expectation. The Rastafarian movement developed from the work of Marcus Garvey, and the revivalist tradition developed a theology out of

black religious experience. The black Messiah provided the hope for black liberation time. Rastafarians connected with Old Testament stories of deliverance from bondage and saw Africans as the true Israelites suffering under modern Babylonians (White Europeans). The idea/hope of Black Moses manifested as Marcus Garvey with his status gaining significance post his death. Garvey taught liberation through return to Africa as he felt that this was the true home of the African.

The other key figure to the Rastafarian movement was Ras Tafari (Haile Selassie), Ethiopia's last emperor, who was crowned 2nd November 1930 (also known as the Conquering Lion of Judah). At the time of the Great Depression, 1929-1933, there was widespread disenchantment as the response to economic, political and spiritual oppression. The people were looking for hope. In this movement there was the belief that all the Old Testament prophets were black and Haile Selassie was understood to be the reincarnation of Jesus Christ.

During the 1930s and 1940s many Rastas were arrested repeatedly, declared insane and sent to mental institutions. This declaration was made by politicians and Christian church leaders who decided the Rasta philosophy was a dangerous manifestation of madness. 1940-1970 were painful times for Rastas experiencing the fury of church and state. It took great courage to be a Rasta as they would be ostracised for this by family and friends. Caribbean children were taught to fear black men with beards and long hair. Long hair challenged the social and colonial norms.

2.12 Caribbean Family structures

Within a context of slavery, colonial rule, religion and education I am curious about how the African people practiced family life. Ortmayr (1997) wrote that during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries Caribbean people were influenced by different cultures, language, religion, male-female relationships, family structures, child rearing practices, and attitudes to race and colour. This created considerable diversity and a complex hierarchy among the populations. Marriage was rare in this time, and during the 17th and 18th centuries concubinage was widespread not only among the black slaves, but among the white upper class as well (Ortmayr, 1997). However, by

the mid-20th century within the white upper class concubinages had almost completely disappeared and Christian marriages had become the rule. Following the abolition of slavery, the Christian marriage model was completely anchored in the Upper Class whilst this was only partially so in the Black Lower Class. As the Christian churches won increased institutional power over the course of the second half of the 19th century, the less acceptable it became for Whites to live openly in concubinages. Entering into church-sanctioned matrimony became a central symbol of respectable behaviour.

In the 1960s many colonies attained their independence, and the bureaucratic power now included educated Black and Mixed middle class. In the long-term, Middle and Upper-class positions now became increasingly accessible for blacks. Slaves were not allowed to marry in some colonies depending on the laws inherited. British laws forbade this. French and Spanish laws permitted slave marriages. Within the Black Lower-class legal marriage was barely enforced. The alternative was co-habiting or casual relationships based on a monogamous Christian model. The difference in the relationship was in terms of intensity and bond. Different models of unions are preferred in different stages of life and, for many, legal marriage comes after years of 'friendin' (dating) and 'livin' (co-habiting), and in this way marriage in the Caribbean could be viewed as a process. The mainstream Christian marriage model was adopted by the emerging educated Middle class partly because it became a symbol of class differentiation.

Potthast-Jutket (1997) and Reinwald (1997) write that all cultures had to cope with the Christian European family norms and with the values of the colonisers. When changing conditions made traditional kinship bonds less reliable or less workable, people turned to a variety of family forms as they adjusted to new situations. Matrifocal families were extremely common among the black lower classes. This was seldom in middle class families as the church enforced and reinforced the conjugal bond, and because middle and upper middle-class wives were secluded to a high degree. The code did not permit these women to work outside their homes. Lower class women began to control the newly emerging areas of work as seamstress, laundress and domestic servant.

2.13 Post Emancipation

Britain was the first European state to permanently end slavery in the Caribbean. Anti-slavery sentiment in Great Britain is largely believed to be due to it becoming part of the religious revival associated with John Wesley's Methodist movement and the Evangelical reformers in the Anglican church. They became convinced that abolishing slavery would ensure God's blessings (Rogozinski, 2000).

Some islands received emancipation in 1833. This was a legal moment but the actual process of emancipation lasted years and other islands began their legal processes at later times. When emancipation was achieved, the individuals had new attitudes and new needs. For example, in Jamaica, the freed slaves held a distrust of authority and many established their own farming settlements scattered over the mountains, as far away as possible from the sugar plantations where they had been enslaved. Those who remained to work on the plantations succumbed to the authority of the owners since, in the absence of an institution of their own, they had no choice.

Work continued to be for the strong and healthy. The British government were pressured by the Caribbean planters who complained about hardship and these people received some compensation. Now with 'rights' the people in the Caribbean were in a similar position to White people in the UK in the mines, etc., working crippling hours for little money. Some retained work on the plantations but were unable to keep up with the increased work load. Planters refused to spend enough on labour, while other slaves refused to do anything with the plantation. Some learned skills, such as carpentry, furniture making, and fishing.

Some estate owners who still wanted free labour came up with a scheme of getting indentured workers from India. They were to work for five years for food and lodging and be given a plot of land at the end of the indenture. This created tension with the Africans who felt chances for fair labour were challenged. This practice lasted between 1845 and 1917 and created division amongst the people. Slavery remained legal on non-British islands until 1848, on French islands until 1873, and in Dutch owned islands, Cubans were freed in 1886. New labour came from China and the

Middle East (Syria). Together with Blacks freed before abolition, Creoles, Chinese and Middle Easterners created a Middle class between the ruling white and poor blacks. Few opportunities existed for those born free or anyone else. Some went to work on the Panama Canal – many died there due to poor conditions and disease. Those who made it came back with resources - namely money (Thomas, 2008). This began ideas about travel and earning money with hopes of returning home 'better'. The rise of the black middle class met opposition by whites and mixed Creoles. English Whites dominated the social world in the Caribbean and did so until independence in the 1960s.

Unfortunately, freedom was all the abolitionists wanted to give the slaves. Parliament adopted free trade and began to tax imports of Caribbean sugar at the same rate as foreign sugars, which was cheaper because it was produced by slaves. Thus, the British islands were forced to create entirely new societies while their colonies were rapidly failing. Britain then abolished island legislatures and ruled its colonies directly from London. Land ownership was difficult for black people as the crown sought to get greater revenue through taxes. The fear was that freed people wouldn't want to work and they would settle into subsistence living if they got small plots of land.

The plantation system left societies that were highly organised and complex paying attention to skin colour, education, family name, religion/Christianity, and wealth. Caribbean society is strictly stratified socially. Many blacks had to be seen to copy Victorian English values and look down on less able/privileged Africans. Not all did, chief amongst which was Marcus Garvey who promoted nationalist ideas.

2.14 Independence

Despite all the battles, African people fought successfully to get independence. By the 19th century the Caribbean islands were no longer profitable possessions compared with newer colonies in Asia and Africa. Although legally free, the black majority was poor, uneducated and alienated from the political system.   Conditions deteriorated further after WW1. Unemployment, hunger and desperation contributed to strikes, demonstrations and violent riots on many of the islands during the 1930s.

Island leaders believed that economic problems were exacerbated by the absence of self-government. Strikes and riots were frequent and resulted in the formation of labour unions. This drew some funds from the British Government. Eric Williams, previous PM of Trinidad (1956-1981) and prolific writer, wrote and spoke on these issues. He developed a strong sense of Caribbean nationalism to emphasise the contribution of black workers. His interpretation of Caribbean history awakened great pride in his listeners.

2.14 Migration and Caribbean people

With limited options and resources African people began another journey. By the mid-1920s, over one million had emigrated, many serving in the armed forces for World War 1. This process helped many Caribbeans see that Europeans were no better than them. They became aware that they could be chosen to fight for something but had no rights to vote. The 1920s, 1930s and 1940s marked a period of unrest on many of the islands. A range of political actions, and violent and non-violent strike actions ensued. After World War 2 work at 'home' was even more scarce. This led to mass immigration into England in the late 1940s, e.g. Windrush, and labour problems in the 1950s, when talk of independence made many land owners leave. Many Caribbeans saw it as their duty to come to the aid of the 'mother country' at her hour of need after England's devastation at the end of World War 2.

The backgrounds of migrants who came from the Caribbean to Britain are extremely complex and in the host community there have been some misconceptions based on the belief that the migrants came from a homogenised region of the Caribbean and that they were all one ethnic group. The last misconception may have arisen from the large numbers of African Caribbean people who arrived together, but there were also families from the Caribbean who were of Indian, Chinese or of European origin and mixed heritage, though these groups were in smaller numbers. From the point of view of the new arrivals, they were at an advantage having been taught by middle class British teachers and knew a great deal about their language, their social history and their way of life. However, the working class were unknown to them, not having occasion to meet with them in the colonies. Many resolved to make the best of 'the

mother land/country'. Some returned as they found it too difficult and were not prepared for the levels of hatred and barriers that they encountered. They were invited to England to help rebuild the economy but on arrival the great jobs that they were promised were not offered. Others came with deals made via the NHS (nurses) or British Transport, key recruiters to the Caribbean. Those workers had packages that included accommodation and wages. This applies to my own mother who arrived in the early 1960s to train as a nurse. As a child born in the 1970s, immigration to England was not even questioned. I had been born in England and returned to the Caribbean with my mother as a child when she and my father separated. Immigration was spoken about as key to be "bettering myself" and this "bettering" was through education.

Many nurses/teachers had to retrain if they could. Some got married to cope with adjusting to living in England, many missed the guidance of the extended family. Some got involved in betting, or joined the Pentecostal movement in England. Many hoped and expected that their children would achieve professional success, which would give some success for parents by proxy. Thomas (2008) writes about how important children's success is to Caribbean parents for allowing the parents to feel a sense of pride.

It is fundamental to my study to consider the history of African Caribbean people because it is from this context which they navigated the world and raised families. African Caribbean people have an entangled history with Africa and colonial England, and I wonder what these entanglements do to the identity of African Caribbean people. With a history as complex as the African Caribbean people have experienced and survived, I am curious about how they have been thought about in the literature. How do they get understood academically? How do they get explored? How are they storied?

Chapter 3: Literature review

"The world does not contain any information. It is as it is. Information about it is created in the organism through its interaction with the world… We move the problem of learning and cognition nicely into the blindspot of our intellectual vision if we confuse vehicles for potential information with information itself." Ivoa Illich (in Dunleavy, 2003, p.29)

My understanding of a literature review in the context of my doctorate is best summed up by the following Greenhalgh quote: "to identify a body of research that has addressed a problem and clarify gaps in knowledge that require further research" (Greenhalgh, 2010, p.20). It facilitates an understanding of how my area of study has been written about and researched to date. In conducting a literature review, inspired by Illich (2003), I want to think about how I interact with the information. What did it mean to me and to my area of study, and what might it mean to my participants? In doing this, I hope to keep a clear connection as well as distinction between me, my participants, and my discussion. This will then form the basis of a theoretical frame that will influence my discussion section later on.
My study is concerned with African Caribbean people and how/if they told their cultural stories to the next generation post immigration to England. To explore this I have chosen to review the following subject areas: resilience and integration, parenting and discipline, socialisation, young people's view on physical punishment, education and social mobility, passing, religion and spirituality, identities, language and accents, fables and myths, and, finally, because I am a Family and Systemic Psychotherapist, I am interested in how stories are used in therapy. I will explore migration, belonging, narratives and systemic psychotherapy, stories as tools for healing, and how stories have been used as a language between generations. My research is about Caribbean immigrants so I have prioritised my reading according to this group of people. When this was not possible, I read about other migrant group experiences.

Due to the word constraints of this study, I have chosen not to explore racism, or mental illness, firstly because the focus of this paper is to understand how the African Caribbean people navigated life in England, and if and when they chose to

tell their cultural stories. Secondly, I feel that those subject areas are extensive and too broad for my study. It's important to say that, as my study explores African Caribbean people, I am not denying that issues of racism and mental illness are key to the story and have emerged when I set the context. My research focus for this group of people is to think about how they construct identities post migration using narratives from the island of their origin.

As part of the reviewing process I used books, article and, the British Cultural Archives, and spoke with colleagues who have an interest in this field. The most significant part of my review was with Electronic Databases and Social Media. This allowed me to move between history and current discussions and get an understanding of how the subject is being storied/understood.

Using the Tavistock Electronic Database System I undertook a database search via PsychInfo, searching key words of migration and narratives, intergenerational stories and migration, migration and family life stories, stories as a tool for healing, stories as a language, as a starting point. What became apparent in this search is the interchangeable use of words 'narrative', 'stories' and 'experiences'. For example, Nikapota (2006), whose paper "After the tsunami: A story from Sri Lanka", used case vignettes to describe the various interventions put in place during work over a period of time in Sri Lanka, and used stories to mean narratives of recovery in a cultural context, not cultural stories between generations. This necessitated that I define the terms that are relevant to my literature review.

I started with mental health due to the established long history that African Caribbean people have had with mental health services. My intention for this review is not to explore mental health in this community in depth as I feel that this has been extensively done, such as Cummins' (2015) more recent discussion on race, racism and mental health with a focus on inquiry into culture and the experiences of young black men of African Caribbean origin, or Fernando (1988) on race and culture in psychiatry and Fernando (2003) writing about racism in psychiatry.

3.1 Mental illness – a context

Odegaard (1935) explored rates of schizophrenia among Norwegians who migrated to the USA. They found that incidences of schizophrenia were higher than among those who stayed behind. Fundamentally this provided recourse for other researchers to explore the pressures of immigration that could be experienced by migrant communities. This study was important because it stimulated a flux of studies investigating the link between stress and migration (Bhugra & Arya, 2005). Bhugra and Gupta (2011) wrote about migration as involving a series of losses such as family and the family's society. Within these losses are a loss of language (especially colloquial and dialect) and change in attitudes, values, social structure and support networks. The sense of loss can lead to cultural bereavement and grieving for this loss is healthy. This study was not a disciplined research piece but reflections from clinicians in the field. It was useful for me in setting a context of mental health for all immigrants. I then became curious about psychotic disorders as I understand them to be elevated in Caribbean groups compared to the overall population. Tortelli et al (2015), as part of a review they conducted using reports going back to the 1950s, found elevated rates of psychotic disorders were higher in immigrants than in the host population. Modood el at (1997, p.3) say "1 in 8 people of ethnic minority experience some form of racial harassment in a year". Repeated racial harassment is a common experience, including physical attacks on self or property. Combine these with negative experiences of looking for work and we could hypothesise about the complex negative impact to mental health. Those of African Caribbean descent were three to five times more likely to be admitted to a psychiatric hospital with a first diagnosis of psychosis than white people. They also had more complex and coercive pathways into care and were more likely to present to hospital services in crisis. Often, they were assessed as dangerous by healthcare workers and given compulsory treatment. They were also more likely to remain in long-term contact with services after discharge.

3.2 Resilience and Integration

With a reminder of the statistics for African Caribbean people in mental health services, thinking about resilience and integration felt an important area to consider.

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In the majority of writing on immigration it seems that resilience is written about specifically in the context of integration. Therefore, resilience could be viewed as fundamental to the process of integration. Deaux (2009) writes about movement of large numbers of Blacks to the United States linking clearly the story of immigration to a story of colour. She looked at first and second generation immigrant West Indians to the USA. This was done by engaging a quantitative research design with 243 respondents to examine whether maintaining identity as a West Indian buffered the immigrant from the negative stereotypes they would be surrounded by. The quantitative nature of the study puts it in a positivist paradigm with some ability to be generalisable. The first-generation migrant groups 'did better' but there was no story to explain what 'better' looked like or how they understood 'better'. One hypothesis offered by Deaux (2009) was that there was a willingness to work for less pay. I am curious about the other side of this hypothesis for the second generation. What are they asking for if not wanting to work for less? This made me wonder about how immigrants are storied.

Verkuyten (2005) researched discourses on immigration and its impact on multiculturalism among native Dutch people in the Netherlands using two studies, both of which were a subset of a larger study which included an ethnography. This information was used to focus more on particular areas of discourses. In one study Verkuyten had 71 Dutch participants of middle-class status, aged 22-71, and he conducted interviews to examine the stories of immigrants. Analysis involved identifying themes in the feedback. The second study built on the findings of the first study. Verkuyten included 76 Dutch nationals, mainly students at university, aged 18-26, in a quantitative research design to look at the rhetorical consequences of these stories. Participants had to respond honestly to two different cover stories which emphasised themes found in the first study. Their focus was on the discursive impact of stories.

Analysis was undertaken using a number of quantitative analysis tools including Anova. The study concluded that multiculturalism (accepting of immigrants by the host residents) was better accepted when the host people could understand the story in the context of making a choice and taking responsibility for this, or the immigrant had no choice (they fled) and needed support. This is an important study

for thinking about the needs of the host community which may better support an integration process for migrants. I wondered how the social construction of the migrant impacted the perceptions of their entitlements, and specifically how it endorsed multiculturalism. On considering immigrants and integration, I wondered how things might be different for refugees, such as those refugees as a group who had experienced trauma in their immediate history. Would refugees need something different to integrate?

As Caribbean people have significant trauma within their history, I wondered about immigrants with trauma in their history, and what might be different in their integration process.

Simich (2003) conducted qualitative research by using semi-structured interviewing and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to explore how refugees sought social support and what sources were meaningful. The benefits of IPA in this research is important as analysis located in hermeneutics is grounded within the migrants' interpretation of their experience highlighting what felt important to them. The refugee sample was dependent on refugee flows between visa posts. This was undertaken using a 3-phase procedure with phase 1 being in-depth interviews of 38 participants. Phase 2 involved semi-structured in-depth interviews with 47 secondary migrants and phase 3 focussed on triangulation of the data with 22 secondary migrants participating in focus groups to review and discuss findings. Simich (2003) found that refugees who had already sought asylum in Canada were willing to undertake a secondary migration within Canada. This gave them an option to reconstruct family and social support networks, and assured emotional and material stability as well as a sense of belonging. This links with Bhugra (2004) who undertook a comprehensive literature review on resilience factors. These factors included pre-migration planning, social support, age, gender and social cohesion. Bhugra found that relationships were also identified as offering a sense of place and social meaning (belonging), thereby helping migrants to find ways of belonging in the new country.

Schweitzer et al (2007) also researched refugees. They expanded on ideas of coping and resilience in refugees from the Sudan. They interviewed 13 Sudanese

refugees in three different stages of migration: pre-migration, transit and post-migration in the host country. Schweitzer et al described the themes that emerged following a series of interviews. The themes focussed on coping and adaptation after a traumatic experience. Participants were prompted to outline the strengths and resources they brought to bear on the situation that enhanced their coping. Analysis was conducted in the form of IPA, grounding interpretation and experience from the participants' perspective, and making sense of the phenomenon of being a refugee. Schweitzer et al found that what was important were religious and spiritual beliefs, social support, personal qualities, and comparison with others (in that things could be worse), as expressions and sources of resilience.

Refugees, who come to the attention of services, can often represent more financial deprivation. I wondered about families with money and how they manage immigration. In my literature search I found the following study by Greeff and Holtzkamp (2007), who conducted a quantitative research design in which they focussed on middle class and upper middle-class families in South Africa. Participants were all migrants within South Africa within one to four years, migrated as a whole family and had at least one family member still in school. Two-parent families were approached within the local university, and 68 were interviewed, using the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation as a theoretical basis for exploration. This model highlights four domains of family functioning which are essential to family recovery. They are: interpersonal relationships; development, well-being and spirituality; community relationships and nature; and structure and functioning. Greeff and Holtzkamp clarified the role of familial capabilities, family characteristics, and resilience factors to demonstrate the part they played in moderating the effect of migration on the family.

In this study, Greeff and Holtzkamp (2007) utilised a mixed method design which included a cross-sectional survey with an open-ended question. This was followed by self-reporting questionnaires using scales to describe family and resilience factors. A number of scales were used in the analysis to identify problem solving skills, commitment, routine, etc. They found the most important resource was intrafamilial emotional and practical support. Family routines and maintaining family integration/connectedness and stability were key to the experience of resilience.

This points to the importance of roles people play that, despite the financial resources available to this group, what was most important were the functions they had to each other. It was not clear to me how the open-ended question was analysed but it felt like they identified themes that emerged in those responses.

3.2.1 Summary

In thinking about integration, resilience is fundamental. As a resource, resilience entails the emotional resources within the family, religion, spirituality, meaning making in context, willing to work even if for less money; in addition, being able to travel to regroup with familiar people or access a type of support is important as well as the attitudes held by the host country being key to the process.

Of the studies that I found, IPA was used in two, which engaged a hermeneutic approach to understanding people. This was essential to ground findings and analysis in the voice of the immigrant and their subjective interpretation of their experience. None of the studies showed how identity was storied as part of building resilience in this interpretive paradigm. I am curious about how parenting fits into developing resilience and in immigration, particularly with African Caribbean migrants.

3.3 Parenting, discipline and control

Within my research I was interested to explore how attitudes, influences and styles of parenting in the Caribbean have been researched. Roopnarine, Krishnakumar, Metindogan and Evans (2006) describe English speaking Caribbean societies as having shared beliefs and values regarding childrearing which are rooted in cultural and religious values. Caribbean parents place emphasis on learning 'appropriate conduct' and basic educational skills before formal schooling commences. I have written my review with a number of sub headings as dictated by my findings to address the different purposes of parenting in a Caribbean context.

3.3.1 Socialisation

Firstly, I address socialisation; parenting is key to this and I wondered how this might differ in Caribbean families. In their 2003 paper, Wilson, Wilson and Berkeley-Caine examined socialisation orientations of a sample of Guyanese adults. Using a positivist paradigm, they aimed to prove coherence to a socialisation process in the Caribbean. They focussed on the work of Kohn (1969) and Blake's (1961) study of Jamaican parents. Respondents were selected from a multi-stage probability sample in the Greater Georgetown area in Guyana. Households were selected with a male or female designate as "head of household" or "spouse of head of the household". Wilson, Wilson and Fox (2002) interviewed 654 respondents; 36% were male and the average age of respondents was 43.5 years. The mean education of the sample was 8.6 years. Using a number of measures the respondents were asked to choose from characteristics presented to them in a response booklet. Respondents had to choose the three most and least desirable characteristics, followed by the most and the least desirable characteristic of their choice. They were told to choose separately for boys and girls in three separate age categories, 10-year old, 13-year old or 16-year old children respectively.

Respondents placed an emphasis on qualities of good manners, rather than intelligence and achievement. Gender based socialisation was also highlighted by Cohen (1956) and Moses (1951) who found boys were generally more pampered while girls were trained to be hard workers. Obedience was rated as the most important for girls in all age groups whereas for boys it was rated most desirable at age 10 and 16. For boys, honesty was rated most important starting in the teenage years. Education was important for boys regardless of the age but it was less important for girls as they grew older. Overall the three most desirable behavioural traits were obedience, honesty and mannerly conduct. Using a quantitative design this study offers a sense of priorities for these Caribbean families with children up to age 16 which can be seen as generalisable.

How did they learn that these qualities were important at this stage in young people's lives? What are the stories behind these ideals? I am curious here about the onset of sexuality and what was being socialised and I wonder about the gender divide that

prioritised male education and if this was about getting boys ready to be a type of head of household. Why is obedience considered so important for these families? What does the act of obedience offer young people and/or their families and how, if at all, is this storied to young people? How does obedience fit into creating resilience?

3.3.2 Parenting/Discipline styles

Having a sense of socialisation priorities for Caribbean families, I wondered about discipline styles and how this shapes the socialisation process. Roopnarine et al (2014) examined whether there was a mediating role of ethnic socialisation in the relationship between parenting practices, prosocial behaviour and behavioural difficulties in 1,282 families in Trinidad and Tobago. In doing this they suggested that harsh parenting, family organisation patterns and child rearing evolved out of the inhumane experiences associated with slavery, indentured servitude and difficult economic and social conditions during colonisation by different European powers. Caribbean parents presented a paradox in their parenting practices to these authors who found a mixture of warmth and indulgence, combined with 'harsh treatment' of children to include the use of physical punishment. Obedience, compliance and unilateral respect were privileged in parenting (Leo-Rhynie, 1997). Harsh discipline is the predominant mode for bringing about change. These ideas of obedience, respect and physical punishment as priorities for parenting are key findings and ideas repeated in a number of other sources (Boyd Franklin, 2003; Arnold, 1982; Arnold, 2012; Collins, 2009; Wilson et al, 2002; Wilson et al, 2003; Clarke, 1966; Conference for Mental Health, 1959). Across the islands were found similarities in child rearing practices.

Wilson et al (2002) researched discipline styles of urban Guyanese parents. They utilised a positivist paradigm for their research design, using cross-sectional data. A cross-sectional survey of head of household or spouse of head of household was selected. Because they engaged a quantitative research design, with a sample size of 654 respondents, 234 men and 420 females, which included 56.3% African Caribbean, 26.6% Indian Caribbean and 17.2% mixed Guyanese (cultural mix not stated), Wilson et al made a specific requirement that questions on discipline styles

be made in reference to a target child selected at random if there were multiple children in the home who met the inclusion criterion. I am not sure what the questions were as they are not stated. Responses were coded. Analysis included a coding system for gender, with males and females interviewed at their addresses and coded one and two respectively. Three specific parenting styles were examined as outcome variables and then the researchers attempted to build explanatory models for each of the discipline styles.

In terms of disciplinary styles, Wilson et al (2003) found mothers were more likely to use physical punishment as well as threats and reasoning when compared to fathers. Boys were more likely to be targets of physical punishments and verbal threats. The use of reasoning was the most frequent discipline technique reported, physical punishment was least used. Fathers were least likely to physically punish their daughters and mothers more likely to reason with their daughters. Importantly they found parents in the sample were more likely to react punitively towards their children when experiencing parental stress. They emphasised this stress existed in the context of ecological struggle for survival.

As expected with a positivist paradigm on discipline styles, they offered some descriptive information on discipline orientations; however, the study does not allow parents their own exploration of why they made these choices in the way an interpretive paradigm would, so interpretation is limited to the researcher's perspective. I am also curious about the explanation of the use of reasoning as an option for this group. This appears to go against the dominant way of parenting as described by other research but does indicate a change in trends from physical discipline. How was this introduced in the family? Would the children of these parents say that they experienced 'reasoning' as a form of discipline? Due to my own interest in stories I am also curious about how this reasoning was done between parents and children. What was said? Did stories and/or sayings feature?

3.3.3 More recent view on parenting

I wondered about changes in attitudes and methods on parenting styles and found some research to indicate small changes. Griffiths and Grolnick (2014) explored relations of parental control, structure and autonomy support on children's motivation in Barbados. They used a quantitative study of 88 participants. For analysis they created three terms: Control, Structure and Autonomy support. Control was used to describe the parental style which is domineering, coercive and intrusive. Structure described a response that guides behaviour with clear rules and guidelines.   They found that parental structure was related to higher levels of child academic engagement, perceived competence, perceived control and intrinsic identified self-regulation. Their study enforced the importance of the values of obedience, respect and manners as in previous findings, but also introduced the importance of educational and social competence (Durbow, 1999; Roopnarine et al, 2014). Griffiths and Grolnick (2014) found the concept of structure and autonomy support were generally related to positive outcomes. This suggests that a range of child rearing practices are occurring beyond physical punishment in modern times.

Franceschelli, Schoon and Evans (2017) researched how Black Caribbean parents prepared their children for challenges, specifically anticipated discrimination linked to social mobility. They utilised eight in-depth family case studies (including 24 single participants) with Black Caribbean families in London. Interviews occurred separately with parents and children. For analysis they examined transcripts of interviews for evidence of retrospective parenting (use of narratives about the past as resources for parenting) as a way to think about relational resilience.   As narratives are rooted in a web of individual, family and community histories, they found that parents mobilised different types of narratives of not only the personal but also the family and community's past in order to arm their children with motivation and persistence to face future life challenges. In this study resilience was clearly storied in the families interviewed. I am not completely clear on the method of analysis but I sense an interpretive lens was used to identify themes. I wonder what this method offers for understanding how identities are claimed, and what young people think about punishment, specifically physical punishment, which has a long history in the Caribbean community.

3.3.4 Young persons' views on physical punishment

To get a view about how the next generation migrant might experience discipline I was interested in Hassan, Rousseau, Measham and Lashley (2008). They researched the perceptions of parents and adolescents of physical punishment in relation to family and migratory characteristics. They undertook a quantitative study with Caribbean and Filipino adolescents. This positivist framework allowed for some generalisability. They interviewed 118 Caribbean and 136 Filipino parents and adolescents living in Canada. Data for this study came from a larger epidemiological study on adolescent-family relations, social adaptation and mental health. Questionnaires were used and a pilot study was undertaken to test for cultural sensitivity, appropriateness, validity and consistency within ethnic communities. Statistical analyses, descriptive data, chi-square and ANOVA were performed to illustrate and compare Caribbean and Filipino parents' and adolescents' approval rates of physical discipline in relation to immigration history.

They found that the majority of parents (78%) considered that they should be allowed to physically discipline their children. This was higher than Filipino parents for whom 41.9% shared this view. The adolescents were much more critical of physical discipline than their parents, which the researchers linked to acculturation factors. The researchers understood second generation perceptions as related to their lengthier exposure to their host society's negative professional and media discourse about physical discipline. They highlighted the need for host institutions to recognise this dissonance and work with it in a meaningful way to avoid either escalation of conflict between generations or a disinvestment of parents/carers in youth upbringing. This is connected to the ideas of Boyd-Franklyn (2003) where she advised joining and building trust as a helpful starting point with these families before challenging the issue of discipline. The therapeutic work involves meaning making with the family as you try to understand the protective place that some firmly believe physical punishment will have on their children. If this is not done properly, parents and children run the risk of being triangulated with the system.

3.3.5 Summary

Discipline, as I expected, is a well-researched area within the context of the Caribbean. Most studies were quantitative of nature which allows for some generalisability of findings but leaves a gap for explorations behind the logic and meaning making process, for example, what is the logic behind disciplinary priorities and styles? There was a clear emphasis on obedience and good manners for all children, and then a gendered aspect was found resulting in more pressure on girls to have self-control and boys to excel at education. Griffiths and Grolnick (2014) suggest evidence of changes within disciplinary options to include thinking with young people.

Hassan et al (2008) found young people, who were second generation migrants, did not support physical punishment. They wondered about acculturation and the impact of exposure to the host nation. Franceschelli et al (2017) used an interpretive lens and found parents engaging with family stories, as a form of resilience, to help their children manage difficult situations. I wonder about the place of identity building in this process of developing resilience and I am curious about how resilience was cultivated for social mobility and integration.

3.4 Education and Social Mobility

To explore social mobility, I considered education. Plaza's (2006) review of Howard Fergus's (2003) History of Education in the British Leeward Islands described education as one of the most important avenues for upward mobility among middle and lower-class Blacks in post-emancipation Caribbean. Education was key because it provided a realistic hope of this possibility. The elementary education given to the slaves was resisted by plantation owners because they were concerned it would undermine the plantation system. Fergus (2003) explored how elementary schooling received support when it nurtured meekness, obedience and contentment with your position in life. Literacy was delivered using the Bible. These factors made Christian teaching crucial to maintaining a system of oppression and subservience, as well as offering a moral code. How might a legacy of education which functioned to maintain oppression impact on those pursuing social mobility? I found three

studies that I was interested in where they explicitly thought about Black Middle-Class families navigating race and class experiences.

In terms of studies of middle-class experiences for Caribbean or Black people I was interested in Rollock, Gillborn, Vincent and Ball (2011). They utilised data from a two-year ESRC funded project of the Educational Strategies of the Black Middle Class to examine how middle-class blacks negotiated survival in a society shaped by race and class discrimination. Dubois' (1903) concept of 'double-consciousness' was pertinent in this study. Dubois coined this term to describe the way a black person navigates the world by looking at their self through the eyes of others. Black people in Britain can have more than one ('double') social identity which makes it difficult to have a sense of self. Another way to view it is that black people carry power dynamics so that their identity is interwoven with power and politics. The method involved using semi-structured interviews with 62 parents who self-identified as Black Caribbean. Analysis was undertaken using Dubois' (1903) concept of 'double-consciousness' to interpret findings.

The interviewers explored the respondents' ideas on the markers of a black identity. Skin colour, skin tone, accent, 'black bodies', etc., were examples of these. Not surprisingly school became a place where participants first developed a sense of how they were viewed by others. In some instances, parents tried to support the navigation process but often the support was insufficient (possibly due to it being new grounds for all concerned) for the complexities experienced. The participants described that they would avoid 'walking like they are from the street', and would use particular accents and values which were seen to further distinguish what was desirable. The quality of being articulate featured frequently in discussions, especially in relation to questions about class identification. Language and accent were regarded as central tools that enabled black middle-class status to white others. This research highlighted issues of intersectionality with race and class, and highlights that for black people there are multiple ways that we are reminded that we don't fit the expectations others have of who we are. This implicitly links to the discourses or stories of blackness. The study did not name these stories or how these families used stories to prepare for the navigation they had to pursue.

I am interested in how this use of language and accent impacted the wider family network of families of this study. How might their personal social world have changed through use of language and accent? Especially as "speaking properly" or "sounding black" were understood as key markers of division between types of black people in Rollock et al's (2011) study. Sounding black signified a lack of education, similar to other respondents' use of patois or pidgin English (broken English spoken in some of the Caribbean islands). Speaking properly reduced the chances of experiencing discriminatory behaviour.

Vincent, Rollock, Gillborn and Ball (2012) researched Black middle-class parents, drawing on qualitative data from the first dedicated UK study of Black Caribbean middle-class families, and their priorities and strategies in relation to the education of their children. They used semi-structured interviews with 62 parents who self-defined as Black Caribbean and were in professional or managerial positions. The analysis involved highlighting and refining themes using a constant comparative method. Using the concept of intersectionality, they argued that the task for the researcher is to understand how race and class interact differently in particular contexts. To explore intersectionality, Vincent et al (2012) used the concept of 'concerted cultivation', a term they say was coined by Annette Lareau to address the task of middle-class parents who make a deliberate effort to develop the skills and talents of their child.

Vincent et al (2012) quote Ann Phoenix that "parents' acute awareness of how difference can be transmuted into racialised discrimination, informs the degree of labour, focus and strength of will that they bring to the cultivation of their children" (Phoenix in Vincent et al, 2012, p.435). Concerted cultivation was found to be a potential defence against racialised discrimination. The parents in this study were fortunate and had experienced social mobility. Their own parents immigrated to utilise opportunities and the respondents wanted to see their children secure positions in the middle classes. These parents also wanted to foster a sense of pride in their children's background and racial identity. This was partly done by helping differentiate their children from stereotypical versions of blackness. Parents in this study were reported to discourage the use of slang (type of language) and tried to keep the children away from 'the street'. These ideas were echoed in

Rollock et al's (2011) study with reference to double consciousness. I was interested that racism was not specifically spoken about as it seems the parents were preparing the children to achieve by navigating obstacles that were not named.

The third study was done by Archer (2010) who discussed the findings from a small-scale empirical exploration of the views, experiences and educational practices of middle-class minority ethnic families in the UK. The study used semi-structured interviews with 36 parents, pupils and young professionals. This paper specifically focussed on 13 parents from a mixed BME background. Analysis considered to what extent generic class resources, as identified by the US work of Lareau, are evident within educational practices for BME middle-class families in the UK. Archer (2010) felt that there was a request from parents for personalised education and they felt comfortable voicing their concerns to schools or escalating to senior parties as required. Parents felt more comfortable raising concerns on the basis of academic achievement rather than on racialised grounds. Race is seen by the researcher as playing a complicated role as, arguably, BME middle-class children face greater risks than white middle-class children in terms of not achieving their potential, due to racism. While their class resources may protect from 'failure', their racialised positionings qualify and curtail key aspects of class advantage.

Franceschelli et al (2017), as previously mentioned in the parenting section, discussed mobility for Black British children. Franceschelli et al found that reflective capability allowed parents to parent in a manner that was 'preventive and progressive'. This made me curious about the struggles for second generation migrants as described in Rollocks et al (2011). Vincent et al's (2012) study engaged a third generation in which migrants appeared to be able to speak more specifically to the obstacles on the path to upward mobility. What was it that made naming these obstacles difficult for the first generation?

3.4.1 Summary

The studies reviewed in this section all came from an interpretive paradigm. It was not always explicitly clear about the analytical method but I had a sense that there was a focus on finding themes. This was helpful for getting a sense of the range of

experiences faced by the Black Middle classes but it didn't give me a story of how identities were claimed. In this section I was interested to consider how education was placed in research within a class context and how the use of Dubois' "double consciousness" was important to show the way that black middle class navigate being aware that they are watched and thinking about how they are seen. The markers of blackness included language, accent and being articulate. Black middle-class professionals were using 'double consciousness' with some evidence that they were parented with an awareness that they were being watched. This fits into thinking about identity. The use of themes pulled out markers that identify 'blackness'. I didn't have a sense of how individuals performed their identities outside of their work context. In a social context how would they story the experience of navigating their identity? Who were they to themselves and how was this demonstrated to others?

3.5 Passing

I introduce the idea of 'passing' here as historically some who pursued the social mobility that education offered could be seen as wanting to 'pass'. Passing is an idea within the Black community to describe those who distance themselves from being black by taking on what are considered white characteristics. Mills (2017) used John Hearne's 1955 "Voices Under the Window" to explore the idea of passing. He stated that, owing to its colonial history, Caribbean philosophy is more often embedded in literature than in explicit theorising. Hearne's story highlights issues of race, class and colour in Jamaica in the 1950s. In setting out his context for analysis he described the colonial history of the Caribbean. Racialisation took a different form in different places. In the USA blackness followed a 'one-drop' rule of African ancestry. This meant if you had any ancestors who were black, however removed, you were black. Additionally, colour differentials exist and the fairer skinned or those with straighter hair were aesthetically privileged. The social structure post slavery had a small white elite at the top, a predominant black workers and peasantry at the bottom with an intermediate brown as the middle class (Hall, 2017). Independence did not lead to any changes in this system. White rulers were replaced by brown rulers. Race is understood as an artificial construct and more of a structure than a biological reality.

Liera-Schwichtenberg (2009) is a South African writer who described passing in relation to 'whiteness'. Whiteness is understood as the terrain that shapes people's consciousness for what is included or excluded, although the American definition of passing is slightly different because their definition of black is based on having any black ancestry. In racialised times passing opened doors and brought a certain kind of privilege with it. The problem is that those who could pass also faced literal danger from White people if they were outed. Liera-Schwichtenberg understood passing as leading to a death of 'self'.

Vigoya (2015) explores how "whiteness" and 'whitening' are understood in Colombia by exploring how social mobility and whitening became part of an ideological, social and personal process. She explored how this process was experienced by the rising black middle class and examined the link between social mobility and whitening as an ideology. Whiteness was used to describe not physical appearance but "a global phenomenon of social and cultural behaviours which have different expressions in different social and geopolitical contexts" (Vigoya, 2015, p.493). Her research engaged 30 interviewees, aged between 25 years and 60 years, of which 15 were males. The analytical method is not explicit but seemed to focus on identifying themes within the responses. Vigoya (2015) found that the black people wanted to have a place in the system without having to renounce their blackness but also the system was conditional in terms of which blacks were accepted. Progress is difficult without group support, but also difficult without some compliance in passing.

Vigoya (2015) focussed on Latin America but this research has some transferability to the Caribbean due to experiences of colonialism. Passing is understood partly as part of a process which reinforces and reproduces a type of power. It is also an attempt to safeguard oneself from deprivation and to increase the chances of a quality of social existence in a context that privileges whites, and where white is a synonym for progress, civilisation and beauty (Vigoya, 2015).

3.5.1 Summary

There is not a great deal of research in this area but the focus here is not the attempt to be physically white (although skin bleaching is a phenomenon within the black community) but an ideological shift that is not always conscious. It is an ideological shift to what is considered superior. The impact of this is a type of death of the self and problems with identity and feelings of belonging, as described by Fanon (1967) in *Black Skin White Masks,* where he wrote about the inferiority complex that belongs to those with a colonial history. Dubois' (1903) concept of double consciousness seems to have a role in increasing your chances of passing.

3.6 Religion and Spirituality

My history section makes reference to how attendance to traditional Christian denominations would allow Caribbean people an opportunity at social mobility. In this sense passing has a direct connection to religion. In my reading of the literature, Taylor and Chatters (2010) explored the importance of spirituality and religion in daily life among a sample of African Americans, Caribbean Blacks and Non-Hispanic Whites. Using a quantitative research design, a total of 6,082 face to face interviews were conducted with respondents aged 18+, over a two year period. In each group they found the majority believed religion and spirituality to be important; however, the African Americans and Caribbean Blacks were more likely to indicate that "both religion and spirituality" are important. By way of comparison, Taylor and Chatters (2010) use an analysis by Chatters et al (2009) and Taylor et al (2007) to describe what they call religious participation. Both Caribbean Blacks and African Americans demonstrated high levels of religious participation in terms of the 'organizational' (service attendance and duties) and 'non-organizational' (private prayer or devotional time). I am curious about this finding as a form of resilience and support for Black people in managing the oppression that they encounter. I also wonder what other meaning is made of the experience of religion/spirituality in contemporary times especially for the descendants of Caribbean people.

Taylor and Chatters (2010) found Caribbean Blacks were less likely to identify as Baptists and more likely to indicate that they were Catholics, Seventh-Day Adventists

or affiliated with a Pentecostal tradition. I assume this is connected to their different influences of religion for African Caribbean people compared to African American people. The groups acknowledged by African Caribbean people were the ones who were the larger groups of missionaries who worked the Caribbean islands.

Using his personal experience and history, Turner (2015) explored the concept of the Holy Spirit, specifically in African Caribbean theological discourse. He believed that within the colonial context an intense 'othering' of the African person occurred. The process of 'othering' positioned the experience of African Caribbean religion and spirituality as a vehicle for change and became the driving force behind African Caribbean forms of resistance and a template for human rights (Turner, 2015; Thomas, 1999; and Taylor, 1988). Turner (2015) supported the work of Roseanne Alderly who examined slaves' and re-captives' contribution to religion and theology in the Caribbean. Alderly argued that attempts to clarify what was African and what was Christian limited African Caribbean people as it does not allow demonstration of how African culture influenced Christianity. The African Slaves and Liberated Africans reinterpreted and significantly influenced Christianity (Turner, 2015; Taylor 1988).

Christianity for the African Caribbean slaves was a pneumatological (concerned with the Holy Spirit and other spiritual concepts) system that brought the resistance movement and fight for civil rights. Turner (2015) argued that, without the spirituality pre-existing in the African belief system, you could not adequately explain the spirit of resistance found across the spectrum of Black experience in the Caribbean. Turner (2015) used the 1831 slave rebellion to highlight that, prior to this, slaves rebelled to escape and build a new society in the mountains (called The Maroons). In 1831, they rebelled to change society into one in which they were free individuals with legal rights. Slaves took history into their own hands. They translated the missionary doctrine of spiritual equality into political terms. They found a tool for freedom.

3.6.1 Summary

The study I found was quantitative in nature. Taylor and Chatters (2010) found that African Caribbean people believed that both spirituality and religion were important, and had high service attendance and private devotional prayer time. They identified as Catholics, Seventh-Day Adventists or affiliated with a Pentecostal tradition. Turner (2015) and Taylor (1988) argued that Christianity did not just influence the Africans in the Caribbean but was in turn influenced by it, hence the focus on the Holy Spirit. This became important in the struggle for freedom and is seen as part of a liberating force. I did not find any qualitative studies exploring the place and meaning of religion in the lives of African Caribbean people. I am curious about the meaning behind its continued importance in the lives of African Caribbean people.

So far in my review I have explored resilience and integration, parenting and discipline, education and social mobility, passing and religion. I wonder how these themes connect to creating an identity for African Caribbean people.

3.7 Identities

My experience of Caribbean identities is that they tend to be explored by Caribbean writers and artists. Stuart Hall was a pivotal academic thinker in this area of Caribbean/diasporic identities. I find his writing dense so I have considered his ideas in relation to his direct work and others who have written about him and listened to him in interviews and lectures online.

Hall (1991) argues that there is a desire for African Caribbean people to be of a culture where we belong, something secure around which we can organise our identities. Some have tried to create identities of being British, by returning to Africa and some have claimed the Caribbean. The work for identities for a diasporic people is different to that of indigenous people. How do you make sense of yourself and life if movement and change is your lived reality? Blacks returning to the diaspora are twice diasporised. African Caribbean people living in the diaspora are evidence of the traumatic break with their original cultural sources (Africa) (Hall, interview in *Cosmopolitan, 2006*). This means that we cannot explore culture without

acknowledging power as Caribbean culture was continually imprinted with power, resulting in a society which is profoundly culturally graded by skin colour, hair, education, religion, etc.   We also cannot speak about African Caribbean identity without thinking about loss and grief.

Diasporic societies experienced a complicated process of negotiation and cross influence which characterise Caribbean Culture. Hall (1991) saw three key processes at work:

1. **Retention of old customs** – This included the traditions of oral life like storytelling that served as a tight connection with home, religion, language and folk customs. Additionally, in this expressive culture we have music/dance, all giving the people a resource from which they could survive the trauma of slavery.

2. **Assimilation** – This described the process of being forced into an imitative relationship with England. This included looking and acting like English people and learning English language (ideas of passing) which is never really attained by African people. Hall (1991) believed that, apart from passing, the other option is to retreat back to where you came from which is not a real possibility. This would then speak to issues of loss.

3. **Name the unnameable** – this described the ability to eventually be able to engage in a story about who you are now. What can be said? What can be spoken in this new context? What do African Caribbean people have to speak of/acknowledge to be able to create cultural identification? Hall in his interview on what is a cosmopolitan spoke about the importance of understanding your history and not engaging the misconception of your culture as "always the same".

Hall (1991) wrote about the historical implication for "myths of identity". I understand this to mean that, when thinking of African Caribbean people, there are misconceptions about who they are despite the many transformations and crises of identity Caribbean people have experienced.   Within these myths African Caribbean people are not seen as dynamic, experiencing, complex beings but can be

constricted to a particular view. The discourse of identity often has a question about culture at its roots.

Hall (1991) used the term positioning to think about identities that are reworked by experiences. Identity is understood as an act of constantly producing and reproducing ourselves through experiences. Hall also wrote and spoke about "othering" and how this can result in exoticising the other as well as evoking a binary of 'good and bad'. In this binary the African Caribbean person (or black person) is often 'bad'.

Mercer (2017), reflecting on Stuart Hall's work, considered the idea of race as a social construct which placed it in the domain of power not biology. Identity is not a genetic issue and too often the focus ends with arbitrary racial features. Race then becomes what Hall (in a recorded online lecture, year not stated) called a signifier. 'The African' was an image created by those in power who produced knowledge about what the differences signified. This othering created 'The African' as a negative signifier, and played into human instinct for defining ourselves by skin colour, nose width, etc. Ang (2000) refers to Hall's work on 'counter to identity' as connected to our real or imaginary past, meaning that identity has a temporal element to it, i.e. identity belongs to the future as much as to the past.   Although African Caribbean people have histories, like everything historical African Caribbean people experience constant transformation. History depends on how we see ourselves. If we see ourselves as active changing subjects, who can see how we have been represented and how we represent ourselves, we can then understand the idea of 'becoming' in identity.

Grossberg (2000), in the same edition as Ang (2000), used Hall's idea that the more 'obvious' the statement the more ideological it is. Questions on belonging require radical questioning. African Caribbean people can use our agency to narrate a story of ourselves to our self and others as a resource of hope. In using our personal agency, we can challenge 'the obvious' by creating our own stories of who we are. This will encourage others to participate in the making of their own ongoing histories. Hall believed that the imperial self is disturbed when it meets the colonial other (African Caribbeans) in the imperial centre (England). This is because the idea of

superiority relies on the African Caribbean being static and out of sight. To create new ways of belonging we must listen to other ways of being temporal in the reconfiguration of history. Temporality is a way of belonging to time, to the past, present and future.

Hall (1991) wrote about the experience of returning to visit Jamaica after some time in England. In the 1960s Rastafarianism exploded. Rastas (as known locally) were speaking out. The Rastas tried to return to Africa, but Africa had moved on, and this brought intense sorrow for those who were able to do the trip. How do African Caribbean people create a cultural identification without facing pain?

3.7.1 Summary

What I've understood from Stuart Hall is that the focus in identity is in part a focus challenging the power taken from you in the binary stories that exist about who you are. Agency is what allows us to narrate our own identities. When we look back, we need to be able to see our own ability to be self-determining whilst recognising our presence, and this will implicitly challenge some who have created a story for us and prefer not to be confronted. The ability to do this helps other people to do this and starts the creation of new identities. The presence of African Caribbean people in England challenges the story held about us because there has been a meeting of stories. Agency, when noticed and spoken to, creates a type of power and I would add its use requires resilience. You have to be able to go against the story that is being held about you. By challenging this story, we engage in identity as a state of "becoming". This is invaluable for my participants and myself as it puts the power of the symbolic pen in our hand.

3.8 Language and accents

One way to identify where someone is from is by listening to the language they use and the accent that they have. These are aspects to identity that I am curious about in African Caribbean people. To address the question of language in the Caribbean I must return to its colonial history. Thomas-Hopes (1980) wrote that the folk languages in the region, such as patois in the French Antilles and former French

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Colonies, various other patios in the former British Islands, Creole in Haiti, Sranang in Surinam and Papiamento in Curacao and Amba, all reflect the influences of West African linguistic characteristics in Caribbean speech resulting in a variety of types of speech and languages within the Caribbean islands.

I became curious about the place of language in current post-colonial thinking. Winks (2009) stated that the process of translation is fundamental to the creation of post-colonial identities. While translation has a specific function, namely, to adapt and explain one language into another, it has often served as a method of subjugation. He argued that language also works symbolically to mediate cultural messages, practices and beliefs, and to reconcile differences. In this sense, a translation challenges limited notions of identity held by both oppressed and oppressor, rooted in their binary (them and us) opposition towards the Other. This is a powerful point as implicit to this idea is the place of relationship, where we truly meet an individual in translation. The task is to listen out for unique human beings which means being able to move beyond the story we created for people (othering). What Winks (2009) termed an 'intercultural transfer' occurs when we are able to engage in the sharing of beliefs, ideas and methodologies of our lives.

Keeping his idea of translation as central, Winks (2009) used two novels, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* to place the use of language in post-colonial literature, and Erna Brodber's novel *Myal*, in which he explored the changes of language that have occurred in order to resist authority as well as assert an independent account of history and identity. Winks (2009) agreed with Fanon (1967) that language is a means through which the power structure is maintained, but expanded it to be a tool for conveying the ideas of how truth, order and reality are established. Winks (2009) argued that use of silence should be placed at the heart of translation as it can allow us to park our preconceptions. Wilson (2009) believed that persistence to name, interpret and translate has damaged the self-belief and confidence of generations. Post-colonialist reconciliation, mutual debate and negotiation must focus upon the formation of language as a means of communication (reciprocal and enlarging) instead of constriction.

Burck (2005) conducted an exploratory study regarding bilingualism, multilingualism and the implications of living in more than one language. She used two types of data, 24 research semi-structured interviews and five autobiographies from the public domain. Analysis was completed using grounded theory which was pertinent for generating theory about processes and ideas about the social world. Burck described language speaking as a signifier in the construction of racialised identities. Identities, when positioned in language, have been influenced by racialisation, ethnicity and cultural identities. The result is that language carries symbolic and fundamental meaning, as it carries national and cultural identity which can actively make political claims. Burck explains that language can gain increased national or cultural identity when a country or community has been threatened with dispossession or in a post-colonial period when a country is reconstituting itself. While Burck explored multilingual and bilingual ways of being, she did not look at dialects or sayings as part of this exploration.

Hall (1991) recounts returning to Jamaica in the 1970s, having left in the 1950s, and being surprised to see that Jamaica was no longer trying "to be something that it could not". Ordinary people realised they could speak the language that they ordinarily spoke to one another anywhere, such as on television and the radio, and he was shocked at hearing the news read in Patois. His education (in early post-colonial times) had been to prevent this use of language. Language ('proper English') was fundamental for which important things could be spoken. He attributed the change to the revolution of Rastafarianism. In the context of language, Hall (1991) argued that people wanting to 'return to their roots' did not want to return to a literal place; Hall wrote: "it was the language, the symbolic language for describing what suffering was like. It was the metaphor for the experiences they had and what they needed. Metaphor of Moses, Freedom, Passing to the promised land." (p.11) Needs and desires were communicated in the metaphor of speech.

Finally, I was interested in the work of De Fina (2007), who explored the use of Italian by Italian American men. She felt that ethnicity could not be understood outside concrete social practices so she engaged in an ethnographic observation, the study of actual talk in interaction. De Fina (2007) attended an all-male card playing club as her place of ethnographic observation. Analysis was conducted by

using the concept of 'code-switching' to describe shifts in how the self was performed. De Fina (2007) felt that identity/language had central roles to play in interaction as linguistic and non-linguistic acts were used to claim membership. Individual behaviour is seen as part of a reciprocal process in which it is both influenced by and influences collective practices. In this way practices/identities constitute each other in a dialectic way.

3.8.1 Summary

Language is seen as part of a racialised identity. Burck's (2004) study used a qualitative research design and grounded theory which was helpful as this method is particularly useful where there is little previous thinking in the literature. She engaged multilingual and bilingual people and the meaning speaking in different languages had for their life, but did not explore dialects or sayings. Other research considered the importance of translation, from a socio-political perspective, which offers a way to challenge assumptions and beliefs we carry. De Fina's (2007) ethnographic study allowed a longer observation of participants in their habitat, demonstrating the way language was used to perform different parts of the identity, in this sense eliciting similar findings to Burck's (2004) study. Historically, languages not dialects or styles of speaking have been explored. Stuart Hall reflected on the symbolism in how Rastas speak and what this style of speaking meant to Jamaican people at the time. His reflections, though relevant and important, do not reflect a formal study and are worthy of further consideration.

3.9 Fables and myths

As I am interested in language and stories it felt pertinent to consider how this has been addressed within the literature. I did not find any papers that considered this but found some historical discussions about the use of the fables and myths which I will present here. Harris (1995) writes of fables and myths in the Caribbean as a medium where oppressed peoples used their imagination to make sense of their world. To study fables and myths could be an empowering experience for descendants of Caribbean people as it demonstrates some resilience and creativity in navigating sometimes painful times. A lovely example is given by Fred Smith in

his 2015 speech for receiving his Social Sciences Association Scholar Award, storying the event that led him to researching rum and alcohol and its place in Caribbean life. During field work in Barbados where, at a particular site, there was a discovery of a number of skeleton bones, time was spent surveying the unmarked forgotten cemetery and a conclusion was reached that it was the slaves' final resting place for that particular locality. People started to talk about the ghosts of those buried and the restlessness of duppies (the mischievous and sometimes malicious spirits of the dead). As the field workers began to remove the bones someone from the crowd shouted that they needed to pour libations to those buried at the site. Smith (2015) reports that quickly a bottle of rum was found and poured for the specific purpose of offering libations. This was done with requests that duppies rest in peace and leave them alone (this is an example of a myth, that duppies can return and it is completed with an accompanying ritual of pouring alcohol, usually spirits, on the floor). The idea that we need to plead with the souls of former slaves invites research on 'who needs to be sorry for what?' After all, where are the persecutors? Why do the surviving descendants of African people on the island feel the need to plead with their deceased ancestors!

A key figure in Caribbean folklore is Anansi. Iremonger (1956) writes of Anansi as God of the spider people. He is not a spider but can change himself into one or anything else he likes. Kemoli (1976) did a more comprehensive description of Anansi, describing that, in the context of slavery, God was not immediately discernible, so satiric irony had to assume absurd proportions. The slave must win by cunning, deceit, treachery and wit because he is under oppression. Anansi is an ingenious spider, others say he is a man and a spider who is originally from Ghana. In looking at Jamaican folk stories, Kemoli (1976) tried to understand the role of Anansi. If folk stories were aimed at castigating evil deeds in society then the question is, who do Jamaican Anansi stories attack?

The role of Anansi in stories captured the idea that "when things went well he was a man but when he was in great danger he became a spider, safe in his web high up on the ceiling. As a man he walks with a limp, speaks with a lisp and falsetto voice, physically he is a middle aged to older man with a bald head who usually plays the underdog" (Iremonger, 1956, p.2). Kemoli (1976) described Anansi as a trickster

hero of the Caribbean who works with flattery and radiates humour and wit. The main criticism of Anansi is that he is full of envy, jealousy and is lazy. In the tales there is always an observer, at times the trickster is punished. In Caribbean contexts Anansi's deceit and trickery are admirable due to ideas of freedom and resistance. Kemoli offered that in original Ghanaian storytelling Anansi is admired by the Gods for his initiative, he brought tales from the Gods, sun, moon and stars into the world, and a certain amount of cunning is not condemned.

Marshall (2012) describes Anansi's tactics as a resource for resistance. Tactics on plantations aimed at hitting the master in his pocket included lying, stealing, cheating, working slowly, self-mutilation, wilfully misunderstanding instructions, breaking tools and machines, setting fire to fields before harvest as different forms of sabotage, as well as spitting in the master's food, suicide, infanticide, and abortion. Anansi's character had techniques that could stir up mutiny. Marshall argues that tales were a mechanism of survival as well as sources of wisdom/knowledge. As resources for resistance these stories played a part in slave revolt but only if slaves were already in resistance mode. Survival is still key to resistance; the priority was to survive in order to resist. Where resistance implies acts against the system, survival can result in compliance with the system and it meant at times techniques of survival were techniques of resistance.

Anansi's drive for survival and freedom could result in oppression of others. Maroons employed psychological techniques to intimidate their enemy, such as terrifying soldiers with taunts, and urging blacks and Indians to desert their ranks. They made hideous noises to intimidate them, making soldiers imagine that their numbers and strength were greater than they were, effectively using cunning and trickery to claim freedom.

3.9.1 Summary

The focus for folklore in the Caribbean is on Anansi stories. Anansi is the key archetypal trickster figure. In this section I have presented the creative ways in which Anansi navigated his world but also how this was particularly important for African Caribbean people. African people found a way to survive by learning from

the original African Trickster figure. His influence can be seen as operating in the resistance movement that contributed to the liberation of African slaves.

Having thought about stories within the Caribbean folklore the natural next step is to explore stories within therapy.

3.10 Stories in therapy

In this section I wanted to think about how family stories have been considered so far within the literature. Mostly I found papers that discussed the use of stories in terms of their applicability and relevance within therapy. I was able to locate one research paper, which was a qualitative study that considered transnationalism as a motif in family stories.

Stone, Gomez, Hotzoglou and Lipnitsky (2005) are American researchers who seemed to have a similar interest to mine in terms of thinking about family stories and their meanings in the immigrant experience. They interviewed 24 individuals aged 21-60 who were either born or their parents were born outside the United States of America. This was done using a questionnaire to identify transnationalism including bilingualism and speaking a language other than English at home (except for those whose home country is English-speaking) amongst 11 criteria. They then used another questionnaire to elicit family stories in interviews. Analysis appears to be done by pulling out the different themes/motifs that were present in the interviews. In stories including "birth and naming stories", motifs were as follows:

1. Tales of home remedies associated with the country of origin.
2. A denigration of ethnic or political groups, past or present, that have been "enemies" in the country of origin.
3. An idealisation of the country of origin, especially for its beauty.
4. An extensive knowledge of the country of origin's past and present history and politics. Sometimes the knowledge goes back several centuries.
5. A celebration of endogamy or an expressed disapproval of exogamy via cautionary tales of those who have been exogamous.

6. A characterisation of "American" or "America" that is faintly negative and an idealisation of one's own ethnic group (Stone et al, 2005).

They felt that these were indicators of transnationalism which led to the belief that transnationalism could offer support in reducing conflict between the generations in families. These were helpful in demonstrating the existence of transnationalism, and some processes used by family members to navigate two or more cultures and countries.

The study did not give any information about "the how" of the story, meaning how these stories were enacted, or when these sayings emerged. I wonder whether the received message is the message that was intended, and how the message has been made use of.

3.10.1 Therapeutic use of stories with families

From thinking about the general therapeutic use of stories I went on to think about the therapeutic use of stories with families. I start with McCabe as I was inspired to read his ideas of healing as a historical phenomenon. McCabe (2008) discussed the meaning of wellness from an Aboriginal perspective and the importance of this in the positioning of mental health and psychological treatment. Within this context, health and wellbeing are seen as the result of balance and integration of mind, body, emotions and spirit in an individual. Part of the treatment was an integrated dialogue for healing, an ability to speak to self, a self-reflexivity. Storying was one part of the treatment in which both the inner dialogue and telling of stories was in itself an expression of healing. In Aboriginal traditional healing, accepting the role of one's life narrative as a component in therapy is absolutely vital to the healing process, and stories of resilience, overcoming, etc., are seen as vital to this community who experienced colonisation.

Regarding a more traditional clinical setting, Keiser and Baumgardner (2010) explored aspects of family story telling fundamental to using narrative techniques with families who have experienced trauma. Story telling is understood as affording multiple meanings of family experience whilst concomitantly building a shared frame

to facilitate exploration for the whole family. When repeated over time these stories become schemas for individual family members, similarly to Byng-Hall's (1995) idea of replicative scripts. In terms of working with trauma, Kiser and Baumgardner (2010) understood this as an example of families having to learn how to incorporate the "unspeakable" in their story, made more difficult because of the adverse impact trauma has on functioning. The role of the therapist included helping people to disentangle from the influence of traumatic events so that subjugated story lines (e.g. stories of resilience) are uncovered. The work was understood as helping the family consider the meanings and beliefs inherent in their story as well as helping them with the decision-making process of how to proceed with the trauma narrative.

I wondered about how this therapeutic use of stories could be helpful to workers who do not have access to a range of stories. Shapiro (1998) explored the use of life narratives of creative writers as shared resources for growth. This idea is echoed in Roberts (2005). Shapiro (1998) demonstrates how, by reading a variety of biographical and fiction material, we engage the process of learning about difference as well as provide access to otherwise subjugated stories and perspectives to help people find ways for reclaiming lost connections.

The word 'story' has different associations and understandings for different people. Within systemic psychotherapy, the use of stories has seen a recent increase, mainly in the form of narrative therapy.

3.10.2 Narratives in Systemic Psychotherapy

Some writers have made reference to metaphors. For example, Onnis et al (2004) wrote an article on metaphors in systemic therapy. Using the work of Paul Ricoeur, they argue that metaphors are alive and operate as an isomorphism to the problem itself. Narratives can be a metaphor for something else or they can also just be an account of something. Gergen and Gergen (1988) used the term self-narrative to describe the "the social process whereby people tell stories about themselves to themselves and others"; this self-narrative describes the narrative metaphor. The narrative metaphor represented a shift from the strategy/strategic metaphor in systemic therapy (Denborough, 2012). In this way metaphors act as an interface

between the person in difficulty and the difficulties, which provided a way to connect to the emotional levels and the unconscious aspects of the experience. Ideas of 'internalisation' and 'externalising' are techniques for narrating the self. The metaphor fills the space between therapist and family, and gives them something from which dialogue is developed.

For narrative therapists, stories consist of:

- events
- linked in sequence
- across time
- according to a plot.

In this context humans are understood as interpretive beings. We seek to create meaning of our lived experiences and do this by linking certain events together in a particular sequence across a time period. This meaning forms the plot of the story. We give meanings to our experiences constantly as we live our lives. A narrative is like a thread that weaves the events together, forming a story. White and Epston (1990) are the architects of Narrative Therapy which draws together the personal and the political.

Epston and White (1990) used Foucault's critical thinking on social abuses of power to explore the stories people bring to therapy, and offer a model of therapy that encourages therapists to help clients re-story their lives to think about the subjugated aspects of their story that society or culture may have forced them to hide. From this position they provide a new coherence to a life narrative that has been constricted. This provides an opportunity to understand the socio-political events that shaped our lives. In interview, Michael White (2001) discussed the narrative metaphor in family therapy. He described being influenced by Bateson's ideas to think about how we use our beliefs to prioritise how we engage in the world. We have a process of privileging the experiences we give meaning to and we use words, figures or pictures in a story to explain them. White (2001) described being drawn to the temporal element of a story metaphor because it encouraged a focus on the ways in which the

events of people's lives are understood in time and re-read into the telling of one's life. This is a dynamic process which is an opportunity for the therapist to pay attention to the temporal dimension as well as the way events are accounted for in the experience of the problem. Both Denborough (2012) and Epston and White (1990) write about externalising as a technique that reduces the pathologising of clients by locating personal problems within culture and history not within the person.

A number of people have built on the work of Michael White but I was specifically interested in Heath (2018), who wrote about cultural democracy, and Carey, Walther and Russell (2009) wrote on the absent but implicit. Carey et al's paper supports the therapeutic use of narrative ideas with a therapeutic focus on exploring the stories of the self that are alternative (later came to be known as subjugated), which represent people's intentions for their lives. This exploration of personal agency necessitates the space to think about who we are and what we stand for.

Heath (2018) reflects on his previously published practice paper to demonstrate a way cultural democracy can be engaged with within narrative therapy practices. Cultural democracy describes an anti-colonial approach to therapy which Heath states to be beyond multi-culturalism into actual decolonisation practice.   In this reflective piece Heath asks what does an anti-colonial approach to therapy look like and how do we as therapists shape our questions to consider the ancestral socio-political trauma of the persons who consult us? He uses the terms exegesis (critical interpretation) to explain that a person could not critically interpret something while they were in the process of creating. This suggests that time and conversation with another critical thinker (e.g. supervision) is critical to a process of critical examination.

3.10.3 Summary

In this section the main research paper was a qualitative paper which demonstrated an existence of transnational themes. The methodology was not completely clear but it was within an interpretive framework which felt like some sort of thematic analysis. This allows us to see some of the intricacies involved in negotiating identities for the children of immigrants. However, it does not allow an exploration of

language, including dialects or ways of speaking, and how this contributed to negotiation of identity or what it meant between the generations.

The papers used focussed on the benefits of narratives, be they fictional or biographical, as they acted as a medium for accessing other ways of being. Stories are seen as intrinsic to human communication, and therefore essential to a healing process but also to a community building process. Michael White has most clearly brought this to life within Systemic Psychotherapy with his Narrative Therapy model. Influenced by Foucault, we have a way to think critically about social power in people's lives and can use this to tap into people's use of agency. This model of thinking seems pertinent for social action.

3.11 Literature review summary

When I embarked on conducting a literature review, I set out to identify research that had addressed particular problems around stories, language, race, culture and immigration. To clarify gaps in knowledge where further research would be helpful was going to be straightforward. Instead, I found myself journeying through a number of subject areas that also connected to the themes I had in mind, then trying to understand the analytical lens used to make sense of the data so that I could get a sense of other ways my subject area could be considered. Ultimately my subject area is African Caribbean immigrants. When looking at this group of people there are a number of studies which I considered in the context of mental illness and racism. I chose not to explore this here as it is too expansive an area for my study. However, it was important to acknowledge these powerful markers on the lives of African Caribbean people.

With this backdrop, starting with resilience and integration seemed key. In this area what I found was that resilience was fundamental to the integration process. Resilience could be viewed as types of resources within the family and functions that the members play, as well as in people's ability to make sense of their situation. Practical support also played a part, as, understandably, setting up a new home in a new country requires practical tasks to be undertaken. The studies were mixed, using mostly an interpretive framework, specifically IPA, which allows us to hear the

perspective of the participant as well as the researcher. Verkuyten (2005) had important findings for immigrants and multiculturalism as he found that how immigration was understood was important to the host country receiving the immigrants. None of the studies I found considered how identity was storied in terms of building resilience.

From thinking about families and immigration I wondered about parenting. As expected, discipline was a well-researched area in the Caribbean with an emphasis on obedience and good manners. I was surprised by the use of a positivist paradigm in this area as it left me with more questions. As had been my experience of being disciplined in the Caribbean, there was not much explanation. More recent research by Griffiths and Grolnick (2014) and Franceschelli et al (2017) shows signs of change and that people are engaging more in reasoning and some storying to manage difficult situations. Young people in a Canadian study by Hassan et al (2008) did not support physical punishment. Franceschelli et al (2017) considered resilience building in parenting but I am curious about how resilience was cultivated for social mobility and integration. Social mobility is a significant discourse in why African Caribbean people came to England.

The search to understand social mobility leads to understanding the importance of education and navigating new terrain. In this section all the studies used an interpretive framework for analysis; however I was not always clear on the details of the method. The concept of Dubois' (1902) "double consciousness" was important to demonstrate how the black middle class navigate being aware that they are being watched. This led to 'markers of blackness' to include the ability to be articulate and avoid slang. Markers of blackness and double consciousness allowed me to introduce the idea of passing, passing being a type of persona taken on to help a black person increase their chances of success. There is not a great deal of literature in the area of passing so I used Vigoya's (2015) exploration of this in the context of Colombia. Vigoya used an interpretive paradigm and found that black people wanted a place in the system without wanting to renounce their 'blackness' but the system determined which 'blacks' were accepted.

Religion was another way that African Caribbean people could 'pass'. I found one quantitative study in this area. Taylor and Chatters (2010) found that both spirituality and religion were important for African Caribbean people who also had high service attendance and private devotional prayer time. Turner (2015) and Taylor (1988) argued that Christianity was key to the liberating of African Caribbean people.

Having explored resilience and integration, parenting, and discipline, education and social mobility, passing and religion, I wondered how these themes connected to creating an identity for African Caribbean people. I mainly used the work of Stuart Hall (1991) as a key figure in thinking about African Caribbean people and the impact of the diaspora on identities. What was key to me in Stuart Hall's work was that how we see identities should be a dynamic process. Our ability to use our agency to tell our own stories challenges the binary and othering that can occur for African Caribbean people. It is in this challenge that we engage in identity as 'becoming' which allows us to impact future identity perceptions of who African Caribbean people are.

As someone with an accent I have experienced language and accents as influential in shaping perceptions of me. As seen in the social mobility section, language was a marker of 'blackness'. I wondered about language in the literature. I found two studies rooted in an interpretive paradigm. Both found language to be part of a racialised identity. Burck (2004) used a grounded theory analysis which has strength in being able to create theory about processes and avoid being organised by prior hypothesis. De Fina (2007) used 'code switching' as part of her analysis to show how shifts in the self were performed. Neither study considered dialects or sayings nor how these could be used in creating identity or navigating social worlds.

As I continued my exploration of language, I looked at fables and myths. A key figure for Caribbean fables and myths is Anansi. There is not much formal research on Anansi, but what I did find was a clear belief that it was the influence of Anansi that contributed to the resistance and fight for freedom. Trickery was key in finding creative ways to respond to the colonial power. I ended my review by thinking about stories in therapy. These studies focussed on the therapeutic benefits of telling stories with Heath (2018) linking this to an anti-colonial approach as it allows clients

to speak their own story in their own voice or preferred medium. Within Systemic Psychotherapy, Epston and White (1990) were the key creators of Narrative Therapy. Influenced by Foucault they created a way to think critically about social power in people's lives.

Within my review none of the papers used an analytical model that would facilitate understanding how identities were constructed and negotiated within the integration process for African Caribbean migrants.

In the next section I detail my methodological approach to investigating these questions.

Chapter 4: Methodology

I have divided my methodology section into two distinct areas, the theory and the practical application. Firstly, within the theory section I explain my chosen research paradigm and position in terms of why I believe this is the best approach for my study. My focus will be on post-modernist ideas of social construction and the critique of power in relation to the research process. Acknowledging the constitutive role of storytelling for the human experience is something I privilege in both my therapeutic work as well as within my research process. To access the meanings, I move beyond simply recognising a narrative to a process of reflection on the tensional relationship and interplay between experience and narrative. To capture this, I navigate between the experience, how it was spoken to, how I heard it, how I speak to it, how I present it.

Secondly, this section describes how my study was conducted (my method), how the data has been analysed (analysis) and the theoretical underpinnings that informed my analysis, which is the Big and Small Story in Narrative Inquiry. To describe my ontological and epistemological position, I reflexively consider issues of power when conducting research on the Caribbean immigrant journey.

4.1 Research questions:

1. How do first generation Caribbean migrants tell their stories of migration and integration? How do they negotiate, construct, contest identities within this?
2. What, if any, stories, sayings from the Caribbean do they draw on to help them navigate their new context?
3. How do the next generation negotiate, construct, contest identities within these stories/experiences?

4.2 Ontological and epistemological position - Theoretical underpinnings

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) describe research paradigms as encompassing three elements: epistemology, ontology, and methodology. I like the definition offered by

Harper (2012, p.87) who sees epistemology as "the philosophy of knowledge, or the study of the nature of knowledge and the methods of obtaining it". Its purpose in research is to situate and orientate the research questions.   Epistemology asks how do we know the world? What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known? What is possible to know? Ontology raises basic questions about the nature of reality, it asks what is there to know in the world? From where do I get my knowledge? Methodology combines both these philosophical positions and focusses on 'How can we know?' What is the "best means for gaining knowledge about the world" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.157).

As a child knowledge was given to me with a delivery style that was authoritative and certain. Whatever the lesson being taught there was rarely any curiosity or uncertainty. There was limited space to question, knowledge was predominantly Godly and had to be treated with reverence. Those that delivered knowledge were also to be treated with reverence; these were mainly parents, teachers and leaders within religion. Prayer was the methodology and the epistemology to the seeker of knowledge. God operated in a positivist paradigm, he was not uncertain, faith meant submitting to a God that was certain in a time of life when you were uncertain. This paradigm served to offer some comfort to those who were certain that God's knowing meant they could have faith that life would work out for them.

Those with mystical gifts, the seers and the healers, were also considered gate-keepers with special access to knowledge, but they were not always respected as they did not pursue truth in a mainstream way. Much of this I accepted, except for the moments I just didn't understand, ultimately, why God had so many rules. If God loved children why did they need to be silent around adults? Why did children have to have so much regard for adults and not the other way around? When I started secondary school, I questioned authorities more but I always respected those who represented God as I felt they had a special key to the universe and that key could help me understand myself. What was my place in the universe and how did I discover this? I left Trinidad as a 14-year-old girl and came to live in the North of England. England was where I was told you go to "better yourself" and this bettering was done through education. My idea of knowledge was quickly challenged as people here didn't have the same regard for God, or the mystical. They seemed

much more grounded in a scientific evidence-based paradigm, or appeared comfortable not questioning. As my experience had been faith based, it was one of my first cultural shifts. Once I joined the system (started school) I needed a way to understand the experiences of exclusion that I was having. I heard the word racism and it explained some of my direct experiences but it didn't explain others. With time I found critical theory offered explanations of structural and embedded racist ideology which positions me also by the stories that it holds about me as a black woman.

Shotter (2010) states that our surroundings have agency and can influence us. He writes about the unspoken "real presences" (2010; p35) that are present and are felt in our communication (sometimes in an embodied way). These exchanges with 'others and otherness' in our surroundings provide a basis against which our understandings may be understood by the others around us. For example, I consider cultural and social norms of racism as an example of real presences that are felt and can inform our exchanges and understanding without being named. This is further complicated by the idea that what a person's words mean may not be what a person meant when saying them. Because I am researching talk, I am explicitly thinking about what people mean when they speak. What is heard by the other party? How are they asking me to hear it in the moment of the interview? As an immigrant I am curious about what language people choose to live and express themselves in, and how this impacts relationships and relatedness. The idea of exchanges also makes me think about non-verbal communication and embodied forms of communication. I understand all these ideas as 'presences' that inform the discursive experience.

Over time I have adapted my views and, on reflection, though my self-reflexivity raised many questions, it was only in conversation and in relationship with others, where we could have a genuine 'meeting of souls' that I have been able to extend my understanding. I became aware of the power that conversation and relationship had in my learning. At this point in my life dialogue became more important than monologue. "All communication is recursive and requires feedback, but cross-cultural communication in particular highlights the challenge about how we assume communication takes place and how we may communicate most effectively"

(Krause, 2006, p.183). One of my assumptions is my belief in storying as both a key element in the process of becoming human as well as a way of expressing social experiences which are intertwined with power dynamics. It is in this that my analysis builds on my perspective as a Black Caribbean Migrant.

My personal journey with epistemology has informed the types of questions I ask of the world and my responses have come from relationships. It feels inevitable that this has led to a methodology that is based on the notion of 'the relational subject'. This idea draws on systemically informed theories of meaning and communication. Systemic psychotherapy contains resources that can be adapted for use in psycho-social research. A number of approaches which have particular application to enquiries include: curiosity, neutrality and circular questioning (Selvini Pallazoli et al, 1980; Cecchin, 1987), family scripts (Byng-Hall, 1995), and dominant and subjugated discourses (Epson & White, 1990). These models influenced my questioning with families. My semi-structured interview promoted a recursive conversation. This style of interviewing allowed me to have the freedom to pursue certain conversations as required. With the majority of questions being created in the moment during the interview, my participants and I could go into further detail as we felt necessary. I was mindful of Cecchin's (1994) idea about the cybernetics of prejudice. My prejudices clearly influenced the discussion and this is magnified for me as a lone researcher; however, my skills as a therapist and a reflexive practitioner would also enhance the interview process. Additionally, I utilised the supervision process where I had individual meetings and small group meetings with my peers. I am aware that for all participants there will be some issue with memory recall that may impact on the story but this is of less importance in this study where the focus is firstly on identities being claimed and secondly the impact of the discursive.

A key line of inquiry in my research is the place of language for African Caribbean people navigating personal positions in the context of migration. Fanon (1967) was a seminal thinker on this subject, and he discussed multiple ways that people who have a history of being subjugated through the colonial system can struggle to belong. Fanon (1967), in one example, used the example of language, and how the loss of a language impacts people's sense of belonging as language offers a way of

thinking. For those who share a colonial history they lost not only their 'home' language but they also lost a way of thinking. For the colonial subject language was also a way of becoming 'whiter' and differentiating yourself from other colonial subjects. It became a part of a "white mask" that was worn with the belief that it offered you a degree of privilege and opportunities. Language is central to my exploration, making it suited to a paradigm which pays attention to language and how meaning is made via language.

Language is the method for expressing our narratives. The narratives we speak are constructed in a web of relationships to include significant others, cultural/religious context and mediated within a historically defined time context. Interpretations therefore must operate under the same complex relationships highlighting the dynamic nature of the phenomena of reality. Meretoja (2013) offers that the concept of a triple hermeneutic is relevant here, as narratives provide interpretations of experiences which are already interpretations and which are reinterpreted in the light of cultural/historical narratives. The ontological shift is not involved so much with the idea of reality itself but with the status afforded to human meaning-giving and 'sense making' in particular.

4.3 Epistemology – Social Construction

The epistemological framework within which this study is located is social constructionism. The term was introduced by Luckmann (1966) who drew on the perspective of symbolic interactionism to argue that people, through social practices, construct and maintain all social phenomena which they experience as natural. Social constructionists are sceptical of "universal truth" and "universal knowledge". In this context truth is critically deconstructed to offer multiple realities/truths. As claims to truth and knowledge are central to a discussion of identity and power it becomes fundamental within the ethics of knowledge (Meretoja, 2013).

Within social construction ideas, objectivity and truth are replaced with subjectivity and curiosity to allow understandings to be expanded upon. In an exploratory study such as mine, Interaction, collaboration and relationship are crucial tools to facilitate meaning making. In paying attention to how participants tell their story, I focus on

their use of agency as they narrate the histories that they are living and have lived. In this the narratives describe not only the personal telling of a story, but the style and genre of the story emphasise a process of positions taken and positions offered. All of these narrative ideas communicate how an identity is negotiated. My belief is that this kind of dialogue is in itself transformative, so, for me, the role of narratives in our lives has ethical, political and cultural importance. Meretoja (2013) offers the idea that our entanglement in narratives allows us to acknowledge the fundamental role played by power within the experience of subjectivity and identity. Cultural narratives can be a source of resistance and resilience for individuals engaged in a process of creating identities that are complex, because cultural narratives offer permission to be different or to think about difference (Lorde, 2012).

Social reality and identities are constructed between people as they go about their lives interacting/engaging with their social world. We are informed not only by our social interactions, but the different contexts in which we interact are influenced by the prevailing dominant narratives of the time. Discourse is a term that allows consideration to forms of knowledge and what is accepted as reality within a given society. Professional groups, religion, cultural standards, colonisation, political fights for freedom, laws, all contain forms of knowledge that would contribute to the migrants' experience of the new homeland. These discourses use language in a particular way to assert themselves and give credibility to knowledge. Different constructions of the world are expressed and maintained by different discourses which inform social action. These actions are associated with the ideas of legitimacy and entitlements that each discourse offers.

As previously mentioned, the socio-political and psychological are at the heart of my study. To this end, the ideas within critical race theory are pivotal as it provides a framework to think about race and power within society. I could engage with a discourse analysis study with this group of respondents; however, my focus is on the discursive and how these experiences impact on what happens between people, how these dynamics are negotiated, acknowledged or not. This fits in with my clinical work where I think about the socio-political and psychological and its impact between people on the type of relationships people have and the types of distress people may experience.

Burr (2003) highlights one critique of social construction in that it does not account for the emotional investment that people make in particular discursive positions. How does social construction account for 'self', including desires, hopes, fantasies and the role of choice or agency? A sense of agency is what gives us the ability to define ourselves in any given moment, and is vital when thinking about identity. Positioning theory offers me a way to think about how we choose to use our power to position ourselves in conversations. Social positioning (Harré & van Langenlove, 1999, cited in Gergen, 2010) speaks to the idea that we are invited to be a 'type' of person in different discourses but only if you accept the position in which you are placed. Exploration of narratives provides an opportunity for me to utilise positioning theory to think about the self, the emotional investment being made in a given moment in time and the identity that we are choosing for ourselves in any given moment.

With my exploration being centred on the socio-political, critical theories are essential to my thinking. Critical theories address a number of perspectives e.g. feminist, race and culture (Solorzano, 2010). These perspectives have their own criteria, assumptions and methodological practices that are applied to a disciplined inquiry within that framework. I have chosen to include the writers Bell Hooks, Audre Lorde, Patricia Hill Collins and Stuart Hall.

4.4 Working with identity

Pearce (1999), Epston and White (1990), Meretoja (2013), and Hall (1991) all describe the idea of narrativity as being fundamental in human reality as it offers individuals a way of interpreting their present and past experiences, whilst also taking into account cultural models of narrative sense making. Narrating also provides the narrator with a sense of order and meaning to life experiences. Meretoja (2013) draws on Ricoeur's concept of 'emplotment' to consider how we shape experiences to become meaningfully connected to each other. This idea of emplotment will be key in my analysis as it is part of understanding the style/genre in which my respondents contribute to telling me what identity is being called. We give meaning in storying our lives but we are also empowered to 'perform' our stories through our knowledge of them. Emplotment sets the context for entitlements.

In storying, participants as story tellers connect with a genre, style etc. of the story and this contributes to the meaning that we ascribe to experience. Continuity of meaning takes on a temporal element and the way we live our daily lives becomes the foundation for future interpretations of experiences.   The narrative is future shaped, past determined and happening now. My interest as the researcher is in the stories that people tell themselves and others about everyday experiences in the shared narrative accounts of families, communities and societies which people inhabit and which shape their lives and identities. We also develop a sense of continuity about who we are in the telling and the cognitive work required to formulate who we are to be able to tell it. My role as the narrative researcher is to explore the character of these different types of narrative and how they connect with everyday social life. Kim (2016) writes that part of the analysis process is in deciding how best to retell the stories that have been gathered.

The methodology I have chosen for gathering and analysing data is Narrative Inquiry which is located within a social constructionist theoretical perspective and a relativistic/subjectivist paradigm.

4.5 Narrative Inquiry – The Turn to Performance

Narrative turn is an ontological position that describes the shift in narrative analysis to think about meaning making. Narrative Inquiry is part of the Narrative turn which shifts from the understanding of the constructions of self to paying attention to the performance of self in different contexts. It is for this reason that Narrative Inquiry is most suitable to my study, as it offers a framework for thinking about African Caribbean people as migrants having to navigate a different context. In my search for an analytical framework I considered Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009). "IPA is a qualitative research approach committed to the examination of how people make sense of their major life experiences. IPA is phenomenological in that it is "concerned with exploring experience in its own terms." (Smith et al 2009, p.1). This is an important aspect to research that would have enabled me to access the sense that African Caribbean people made of the integration process, but it does not enable me to get into how they storied and created an identity within this.

Bamberg (2006) referenced du Plessix Gray's fundamental explanation of the popularity of autobiography to explain the approach. Fundamental to this process is the act of immediacy, with an emphasis on empathy and self-reflexivity, rather than simply reading and listening to guide the process of enlightenment. This reflexivity was key in my interpretive process, paying attention to the reaction to the immediate moment of the interaction, whilst simultaneously anticipating a response from the audience. Bamberg (2006) stated that the challenge to the study of personal narrative is to be able to differentiate experience and reality whilst simultaneously understanding why the pull to conflation is so compelling.

I needed symbolic help from Hermes the Messenger God in Greek mythology. As a God he guides souls on a mystical and psychological journey, while as an archetype he is a communicator who is able to think and act quickly, but additionally as an archetype, he represents the Trickster, clever, cunning and able to change shape or form (Bolen, 1989). For me Hermes was especially important because he guided souls from one realm to another. This idea of journeying between worlds was essential to my study as I chose to be in relationship with participants as they journey from their world in the Caribbean to England and relationships in England, whilst also undertaking the same journey myself. This metaphor signifies my role as a researcher travelling with my respondents and myself. Because of my "insider outsider position" (Hayfield and Huxley, 2015), I needed to think quickly to connect to find what was different. To do this I attempted to answer the following questions. What is this story designed to do? Who in your network knows this as a familiar story? How does the story get told? What is accomplished in the telling of the story? What intentions are brought out? Why and in what circumstances does the story get told? How does this story make me feel? Think? What does the story do to me? How does this story position them and others?

I specifically refer to Narrative Inquiry as described in the 'big story' 'small story' approach (Bamberg, 2000; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Freeman, 2006; Schachter, 2010; Phoenix & Sparkes, 2009). Its philosophical underpinning is phenomenology which focuses on identity phenomena and how it is perceived by participants. The 'big story' 'small story' is part of the performance turn in narrative studies. Peterson

and Langellier (2006) describe this performance turn in two aspects: the "poiesis and praxis", "the making and the doing". The process requires you to examine an event that is distinct, where the performance is turned back for comment on its context, as well as put on display for the participants. In doing this it produces the phenomena to which it refers. The study of the narrative can be an end in itself (Georgakopoulou, 2006).

The interests of the 'big story' are in 'the what' and 'the who' of narrative. It answers what stories tell us about the teller's self.   Freeman (2006) describes the big story as having a focus on the internal psychological construct and requires reflection on behalf of the story teller. The themes around immigration for example were my big stories. Participants had to reflect on the decision making, wants, desires, process of coming to England and how they positioned themselves on arrival. The small stories were everything else that didn't seem to directly answer my question but were responses.

Freeman (2006) describes the small story as dialogical/discursive and interactional; however, Georgakopoulou (2006, p.123) describes small story as "snippets of talk that flouted expectations of the canon". Kim (2016) describes it as a term used in life-story narrative work to describe "atypical, non-canonical, unpredictable and fragmented" what? (Kim, 2016, p305). It's about the small talk that happens in ordinary conversation and can easily be missed if we look only for coherent larger (big) stories. Georgakopoulou (2006) and Phoenix and Sparks (2009) advocate for a synergy between the models (analysis and inquiry) to get a better understanding. For me in the analysis it involves paying attention to different types of talk, bringing to the fore the social moments and the local economies of meaning that those 'small stories' add as narrative positionings to the world. I listen not just to the telling and/or retellings that form part of the analysis, but I actively look for refusals to tell or deferrals of telling. These are equally important in terms of how the participants orient to what is an appropriate story in a specific environment. What are the norms for telling and 'tellability'? For these reasons, my research had to be a qualitative study using interviews because there is no other way to access the richness of understanding in how people story themselves.

Silverman (2000) describes methodology as a general approach and methods as the technique to be applied. I will now describe the methods I undertook as part of this study.

4.6 Method

In this section I seek to describe how I used theory practically to answer my research questions. First I offer a summary of a stages to guide the reader.

Stage 1 - Interview.

Stage 2 – Transcription of interview. This took a long time as I transcribed verbatim what was said and stayed as true as possible to accents and ways of speaking in a hope of capturing some authenticity. Please see appendices for an example.

Stage 3 – Line by line reading process was used to start the analytic process. This allowed me to slow down and attune to the words as well as the line then the wider units for analysing. I then looked at all units to identify meaningful units for analysis. At times in this process I had to re-listen to the audio recording to focus on meaning and not simply textual data.

Stage 4 – Pen Portraits were done to begin the narration of each client by setting them in a wider context. Please see appendices for an example

Stage 5 – Identification of small stories and big stories within units for analysis.

Stage 6 – Search for canonical narratives, plot, positions of narrators, reflections, moral point of story. Holding in mind Gubrium and Holstein's (2009) ideas about context and the narrative environment and how this impacts tellability. Within the context and narrative environment, I needed to think about the fact that we were all African Caribbean people and what this might afford and constrain in terms of speaking with me. How much would my presence change the performance of the narrative. Additionally, participants were aware that my research was part of my doctoral studies but also this means it was linked with an institution. This may also have impacted on what they shared, how they wanted to be perceived and what they thought were the 'right answers' to give me. Thinking about the wider stories (culturally based) that the stories are connected to. Thinking reflexively about

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what the stories did to me on hearing them, and what the stories sought to accomplish or create in terms of identity.

Stage 7 – As above but for 2nd generation.

Stage 8 – Got additional people to look at transcription/excerpts of my work. This included my supervisors and the data analysis sessions offered at my institution of study.

Stage 9 – Review and revisit text for editing.

4.7 Research Design

4.7.1 Data collection

A semi-structured interview was used to guide data collection, with the aim of capturing the richness and complexity of participants' meaning-making. Here, rather than allowing the schedule to dictate the flow of the interview, participants were free to express their views and experiences (Eatough and Smith, 2006).

As a family therapist I was in an ideal position to conduct interviews across generations, so participants were simultaneously interviewed. Interviews lasted between one and two hours. All interviews were audio taped (with permission of participants) and transcribed verbatim. The interview was biographical in nature. The first generation was interviewed with open questions such as: tell me of a family story or saying from your family that has meaning to you. The second generation listened to the responses and were given space to reflect on the meaning of the story. Both generations were given the opportunity to reflect on the meaning of the story/saying.

I conducted a pilot study partly as a way of assessing feasibility but also to think about ideas that could be better thought out. This was valuable in my research as it highlighted assumptions that I had become wedded to. I had spent time (years) thinking about language and speech acts (Pearce, 2007) so I was very attuned to speech in the Caribbean community. My participants did not have the same time to think and needed help to think in those terms. This led me to produce a prompt sheet of examples of sayings so that participants could connect. This was helpful to

the process in focussing on what I was interested in but didn't yield the responses I anticipated. Some participants made broader decisions about speech and how they would utilise this to position themselves in England. It was important that I could be flexible enough to hear this.   With this I responded by widening my inquiry lens away from sayings only and focussed more on how participants connected with language/speech in their integration into England, as well as between the generations in terms of bonding.

4.7.2 Setting and Sample

My intention was to recruit eight migrant families from the Caribbean to take part in the study; however, this proved difficult as a number of participants were difficult to meet up with due to time commitments or personal circumstances; for example, there was a number of bereavements for potential participants at this time. With this difficulty in mind, I made the decision to engage the seven willing participants available to me. To achieve a level of homogeneity (Smith, 1996) my inclusion criteria required all participant families to be families who have migrated to England from the Caribbean and raised families here, or have been actively involved with a younger person who was second generation in England. Other inclusion criteria were that they had children who are old enough to be parents themselves. The aim of this criterion was to better guarantee that participants would be in a different stage of the life-cycle to think about their identity.

With this in mind the definition of the family was more loosely concerned with those who have the kind of relationship where they may be considered 'family'.   My interviewees were made up of parents and children (five of them); I also had a grandmother and granddaughter and an aunt and niece. I had both male and female participants. In one interview, I had a step-father, mother and son; in another interview I had mother, father and daughter. They were all African Caribbean.

Participants were recruited largely through word of mouth. Friends who were aware of my research wanted to be involved and invited their family members to participate with them. Most interest in my study came from word of mouth from people who were keen to participate and think about this subject area.

I also used the Black and Asian Therapy Network to advertise my research. This was done via email and they sent out my research information (participant information sheet) with their news circular. I had one person contact me from this source. Interviews occurred largely at people's homes. Once contact was made, I was invited to meet with them and family members at their home. In one instance, I met an intergenerational dyad at their place of work. This was at their request. In each case we had a room with chairs and privacy in which to conduct our conversation.

4.7.3 Analysis

Seidal (1998) described analysis as a process based on three elegant but simple components of noticing, collecting and thinking. The process is largely repetitive in that the system I used in one, I repeated throughout all my interviews. Riessman (1993) recommended working inside out, underlying propositions that make talk sensible including what is taken for granted by speaker and listener. This informed me in the analytic process so that I worked with the data from the ground up, attempting to put on hold any preconceptions. The treatment of data was considered on a case by case basis, with each transcript being analysed individually. The transcription proved difficult as I grappled with accents and patois of the first generation and documenting responses that were embodied e.g. the sound of "kissing the teeth". An example of a transcript will be presented as part of the appendices of the thesis and excerpts will be used in the findings to organise the development of an expanded narrative account of the research findings.

Pen portraits (Holway and Jefferson, 2013) are a way of giving a brief biography of my participants so pen portraits were used as the first stage of analysis. By beginning to connect with their autobiography I began the interpretive process and started a narrative about my participants, and then I connected to their story. Data collected was subjected to Narrative Inquiry as described in the 'big story' 'small story' approach (Bamberg, 2000; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Freeman, 2006; Schachter, 2010; Phoenix & Sparkes, 2009). My analysis of narratives had to work with what we have, the actual wording and the delivery style of the word. I also had to work through this in order to perceive how a 'sense of self' or an identity has been

conveyed and is marked. How is this accomplished in their telling? I had to ask myself "are new interpretations of the story coming through reflection or are they emerging in and through talk"? In terms of analysis I paid attention to the ways in which the constructed/represented world of characters and event sequences is delivered. The goal was to identify descriptions and assessments of the story characters allowing me to attune to the narrative more deeply.

My analysis held history in mind, and I tried to demonstrate the context/era from which my participants spoke but also, where possible, where this linked to older contexts that they might not have consciously known they were acting into. This was to try to understand the way time influences the wider societal context and how this in turn influences entitlements and behaviours from the different participants. I included these contextual ideas in my write-up to demonstrate my understanding of the time, as well as to try to understand the discourses that may have been present at this time. This led into a natural analysis of how the narrator positioned themselves and others in the interaction. Here my working assumption is that particular descriptions and evaluations are chosen for the interactive purpose of managing/influencing how I interpret what I am being told. The descriptions and evaluations rhetorically function to convey how the participant informs me about how they want to be understood. This allowed me to work with different levels of positioning. On the one hand, I acknowledged the content of what the story is designed to be about, and on the other, the interaction between the speaker and the audience. From here I considered the ideological positions or master narrative within which the participant is positioning themselves as well as how a sense of self is being achieved. Analysing narratives in interaction along these lines enabled me to circumvent the gaps of two opposing subject theories, one in which the participant is determined by the dominant societal narratives, and the other in which the participant creates their own personal story.

In terms of my write-up, when reading my transcripts I had to identify excerpts that highlighted dominant discourses; then I thought about excerpts that showed positioning/decision making, and then the answers that didn't seem to directly answer my question but were answers, as well as answers that felt like 'throw away' comments. For example in interview one with Gloria, when I ask directly for "classic

stories or sayings that you used, that you heard when you were there (Barbados) or that your family used" Gloria said "most of them I couldn't repeat to you… because they were very negative". Despite the broad area of 'stories' that I invited Gloria to choose from (family life or general growing up) Gloria connected with her grandmother's own style of parenting her. It is unlikely that nothing she said couldn't be repeated but she's letting me know that my study which is directly connected to her personal history is painful to her.

4.7.4 Self-reflexivity

Simon & Chard (2014) specifically understand the reflexive process as one where all systemic theories, and personal, professional, and cultural beliefs are open to examination as invaluable in the research process. This allows an awareness of our own preferences/prejudices and the discursive impact this can have in our analysis, potentially inhibiting other voices and narratives. From this context the process of research provides a space for us to consider "what counts as data and what can data count as?" (Simon, 2014). In this light my own reflexive experience within my research project can be considered data as I am affected and have an experience within this meaning making method.

In systemic inquiry the reflexive process works as a collaboration between researcher, participants and data throughout the data gathering process and then into analysis. A reflexive process can produce a level of accountability which makes reflexivity an ethical position that works to reduce the chances of reproducing prevailing values and power relations. Additionally, the reflexive process serves as a method within research allowing us an 'owning' of what we understand that can also lead to a generative curiosity where we can generate useful stories about people and relationships. Krause (2012) uses the idea of "comprehensive reflexivity" to capture a reflexivity that encompasses a recursive relationship between the different aspects of meaning, interpretation and experience held or expressed by persons as well as the self-reflexivity of both the therapist and client vis a vis their own history, development, background and the contexts in which they participate. For me to more deeply access my self-reflexivity I found it helpful to discuss my experiences and my findings with a number of people. I used my main supervisor, my clinical

supervisor Sharon Bond, group seminars and Ann Phoenix as an external supervisor. As my research project continued, I re-engaged with therapy as I became aware of deeply felt feelings about my experience of integration in England and how painful this had been for me.

A strong recurrent theme for me was fear and sadness. This was so powerful that at times I felt immobilised by it and was not able to see beyond this. In each interview I felt I met people who were desperately persevering against the odds but in my pain, I didn't recognise them as also pushing back or understand pushing back as a form of resilience or the use of agency. With Gloria and Sandy, from my pilot study, I saw a woman who left Barbados with hopes of a better life still having to fight perceptions of who she was so that she could integrate in the UK and give her own daughters a different experience. Her sadness was palpable in the room but she did not cry, instead there were moments of silence. I doubted myself and was hesitant about asking further questions, thinking about the boundary between therapist and researcher, as well as ethical concerns about how far I should pursue my inquiry when the sadness is palpable. In thinking about stories/sayings that people may have brought with them from the Caribbean, I didn't think about the other personal stories of loss embedded in the story of migration. Yes, people left their homes, some never returned. Some were excited about starting a new challenge in the UK, some were fleeing the Caribbean as they had experiences that they could not tolerate. In my zeal to connect to the fond memories of 'home' I had not fully considered the variety of experiences that people can have in 'home', so felt unprepared when I heard the pain of saying goodbye even when this is a choice that you are making.

There was sadness in the interview of every first-generation respondent. In Carol it was in the disappointment of having her daughter be teased at school when she was working so hard to fit in. With Ornell it was at the point of remembering losing his mother, with Monica it was in the sadness of losing her mother, with Maisy it was at leaving her young children in Jamaica to come to the UK, even though she knew she would be sending for them, she had no idea how long that would take her. For Cordella it was remembering being bullied for being part of a middle-class family (for passing), for Elaine it was in the sadness of how alone she felt in the UK when she

arrived. As a first-generation immigrant, I connected with the idea of how life changes 'back home' and the emotional sacrifices and life transitions that affect you more deeply when you immigrate. It was in discussion with Ann Phoenix that I was reminded that my participants made a choice to speak to me and to continue speaking with me. She also pointed out how this connected to part of the resilience each participant had and that my own sadness in this story was preventing me from connecting with each participant's use of agency. This allowed me to make myself look for other storylines in their narratives which were more reflective of real life. This is the excerpt that Ann and I were discussing.

Maisy: Yeah because when I used to work down there as well and Mrs S and hmmm Heather and them in the office white and they say something to me I never know now say, what it mean pause, and … that I'm doing that and I used to "sound of kissing teeth" and walk out.: And they call me back and say (in a shouting voice) "never you do that because you are insulting us". You are insulting us when you steups (kiss your teeth)

Joanne: Who said this to you?

Carol: The white ladies.

Maisy: The white ladies dem.

Joanne: The white teachers?

Carol: No no no they were office staff.

Maisy: Office staff.

Joanne: Office staff assumed that you insulted them?

Maisy: Insult them and "you nah have no manners, you not to do with that"

This felt like a critical moment in the interview for me where I was most in touch with my anger. I recognise myself trying desperately to stay curious as a way of keeping my anger at bay. Carol is the niece of Maisy and Maisy is the first-generation immigrant in this interview. Maisy is speaking on the back of a conversation to do with colourism. Both conversations seemed to be ignited spontaneously and felt like an example of 'answering a question not asked'. Maisy was a dinner lady at the same school where Carol worked and this is what she means by she used to work "down there". I am taken aback partly because I wasn't expecting this conversation, and partly because Maisy is describing being shouted at. I am speaking to a woman

in her 70s and I am struggling to hear someone of this age describe what I hear as an attack. Why is she being shouted at? Who's doing the shouting? Repetition "the white ladies dem" also put a particular emotional loading into the conversation for me as I assume that this is a racist attack. I quickly created a story in my own head of a disempowered woman being cornered in her work place by a group of angry white women shouting at her and I found it hard to think. I continued the interview asking more about how she managed the situation. Maisy explained that she simply explained (though shouting) that she hadn't done anything wrong then left the room kissing her teeth, repeatedly, as now she was angry. At this point Maisy was laughing, she even reached out her hand to hold mine as she laughed. We were together.

Simon (2014) speaks about a reflexive response to news of difference (p11). This moment with Maisy was so strong for me that I couldn't help but notice all the feelings I had and memories of feeling bullied in the workplace. I was outraged and was keen to use this as an example of racism in my study. However, in a supervision with Ann Phoenix, the news of difference that she introduced was the idea that the fear and hurt was possibly coming from me. We read the transcript together and noticed a particular performance from Maisy. She was surprised, she did feel misunderstood and "the white ladies" can be provocative. However, Ann had experience of working in schools so she wondered about how many ladies were in the room at the time, it may have been two. Maisy responded and in the retelling of the story it was clear that Maisy wanted me to get a flavour for her as a type of character. A character who was not afraid. She faced it. She laughs now at it and she holds my hand in the laughter, what is she telling me. This was such a powerful moment for me as all my interviews took on a different light in that moment. There was a world of possibilities and maybe, in response to different situations my participants are deciding what those moments meant to them. This is partly what my research was about and, for me, this was a personal moment of transformation as I began to better understand what it means to claim different identities in the face of different stimuli, and how as a researcher I needed to be aware of how my own story affected my listening of other's stories. In that moment the person is deciding who they are and what it means to them. This is agency in action.

To get help with the answers that didn't seem to answer my questions, I had to use the supervision process where I thought about the excerpts that I chose to analyse, and the ones I didn't. In doing this I could see where 'small stories' were not being picked up. Parallel to this process was that internal conversation with myself about what was happening to me and my participants in the moment of sharing. Where I heard a small story differently because I am a Caribbean, I made assumptions about meaning that stopped me being curious, but also my participants made assumptions about me being a Caribbean person and this was all part of the influences on the responses I received.

Analytic bracketing (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) allowed me to move between the two questions "what is being said?" and "what happens between people?" Holstein and Gubrium (1995) describe what they call the "active interview" which differs in that it pays attention to both process and content. The goal is to show how interview responses are produced in interaction between interviewer and respondent without losing sight of the meanings produced or the circumstances that condition the meaning-making process. The analytic objective is to show how what is being said relates to the experiences and lives being studied. Within the process ample illustration and reference to scripts are used and talk is deconstructed to show the "how" and the "what". Gubrium and Holstein (2009) build on this idea of reality being elastic, to think more about what is at stake in what is said and to whom it is said. The agency in storytelling is an integral part of narrative reality. This became a part of what I considered. I engaged the following guidelines that they have offered:

- Attention to story formation
- Examine the narrative organisation of these occasions
- Examine stories as they are being put together, told and received (or not)
- Listen and take account of how stories are taken on board
- Consider the preferred tellings in particular circumstances, and explore risks and outcomes of storying experience in conformity, or out of line with what is expected
- Attention to how narrative occasions and circumstances have privileged stories

These guidelines helped me to engage with the 'big and the small' story of the narratives I heard.

"Reflexivity in this context is a dialogue between multiple narrators and audience voices, all performing selves, which are brought into mobile, temporary alliances, that then dissolve and reforms repeating themselves but never exactly, differing but never losing entirely their relation to previous story lines, previous narrative performances" (Squire et al, 2014). In light of my experience of migration and using stories, special attention was given to reflexive issues. In particular, a reflexive journal was utilised throughout the research process. I also made use of three supervisors and in addition engaged with the process of therapy. To support transparency, I documented my personal reflections, preconceptions and biases, and methodological decision making. In the appendix I have offered a sample guide of my reflexive process during my research.

4.7.5 Ethics/Ethical Considerations

Miles and Huberman (1994) write about ethics as a way of considering the "rightness or wrongness" of our actions in relation to the lives we are studying. Clarke and Hoggett (2009) talk about ethics in terms of "care of/for the subject" (2009, p.20), a term taken from Holloway (2006), or simply as "avoiding harm" (Thompson & Chambers, 2012, p.30).

I was interested in Miles and Huberman (1994) as they refer to a number of theories that inform ethical and moral considerations. These include a critical theory approach that considers actions according to whether one provides direct benefit to the researched, and/or becomes an advocate for them. Relational ethics emphasises the attachment, respect for participants and ecological basis for ethical decisions. They view the research experience as an interdependent one which includes consideration for language and meanings of local culture, and considers the wider impact on the participant and its environment. This is combined with the utilitarian theory of informed consent, avoidance of harm and confidentiality. With these ideas in mind I ask myself the following questions: firstly, who benefits from the

project? Do I have the competence needed for this? My supervision with both my supervisor and peers prepared me to consider issues of vulnerability or potential distress that my participants might experience. It was agreed that, because the research focused on storying/narrating a subject matter of stories/sayings, there was a reduced chance of potential distress. We also thought about what participants might gain from the process, such as the opportunity to reflect on experiences, but also an opportunity for a marginalised group to have a voice in an area of their life that has not been voiced.

As a qualified family therapist and an immigrant to this county I have a unique insider/outsider position and needed to consider how this would affect my research. Hurd and McIntyre (1996) write about the seduction of sameness. They suggest that sameness distances the participants from a critical reflexive research process and privileges one point of view. This can lead to a misrepresentation of participants' stories, aligning to the participants' lived but not critically unexamined life experiences. I used my discussion with supervisors and peers in our group meetings to think about the ethics of my research, including how I could differentiate myself from my participants, and how to acknowledge sameness and difference.

After the initial submission of my research proposal, I undertook the UEL's ethics application as part of seeking ethical consent to partake in the study. This involved completing an application and a risk assessment as I would be doing home visits. I also gave samples of my consent sheet, described how data would be protected and anonymised, and my recruitment process. Once I successfully achieved approval (please see appendices for the approval letter) I began to advertise for participants. My participants had access to the information sheet and advert before we met. Once contact was made, I reiterated what the study was about. A time was then negotiated for a meeting, participants gave consent and had the opportunity to ask any questions before we began. It was clear that they could terminate the interview at any time and that confidentiality would be maintained.

I was informed by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Clarke and Hoggett (2009), who describe informed consent as part of helping participants to understand expectations, about what specifically was being asked of them. All participants were

informed that the nature of the study was to explore the use of inter-generational stories and sayings when they migrated to England. My information sheet was clear about the purpose of the study, that they could opt out and that participation was voluntary. They understood that this was for the purpose of research, with a hope of contributing to clinical thinking and practice post analysis.

Willig (2012) writes about the ethics of interpretation within a relational framework, which for me translates not only into what I do with my analysis but describes an attitude throughout the process of engaging my study. Paying attention to interpretation (language, meaning, negotiation, how people are positioned and talked about) is a key ethical consideration especially with these participants, since, as previously mentioned it is about understanding the socio-political context of my research and the limitations of my own interpretations. Clarke and Hoggett (2009) discuss the approach to data analysis that acknowledges what gets privileged in the feedback, how we present data, transcriptions and presentation.

Willig (2012, p.56) offers three key strategies for addressing ethical concerns in analysis:

1. Keeping the research question in mind and being modest about what the research can reveal.
2. Ensuring that the participant's voice is not lost.
3. Remaining open to alternative interpretations.

Post-research I allowed time for participants to debrief or just speak as needed. None of the participants needed referring on for any form of support post interview. This was considered at the time.

4.7.6 Confidentiality

In thinking about confidentiality, I considered Thompson and Chambers (2009), who describe confidentiality as relating to the protection of private information that one has chosen to share for a specified reason. Interviews were recorded and transcribed by myself. Transcripts used anonymised names and locations beyond

saying "London". As part of an anonymity process pseudonyms were used in the transcriptions, in the discussions with peers, supervisors and for the write-up of my analysis section. Recordings and transcripts were stored in a locked cabinet in my office at home. I live alone and no one else had access to this information. My participants were all made aware of how data/information would be stored and managed. They were made aware that their responses would be anonymised. They signed consent forms to this effect. Please see appendices for an example of a consent form and information sheet.

4.7.7 Validity

To assess the validity of the research post-analysis, a multi layered approach was utilised. I used Dr Sharon Bond to carry out an 'independent audit' (Smith, 2003). Here a review of the analytic process was conducted, from start to finish, ensuring all interpretations were 'grounded' in the participants' accounts. Second, Yardley's framework for assessing the validity of qualitative research was used (Smith et al, 2009). This meant having a focus on being systematic and transparent in all my research methodology, especially analysis. It was critical for me as a researcher to be reflexive during this process as it is difficult to not have some sort of bias as someone with an insider experience of my subject. I was transparent in my explanation and rationale. Additionally, research seminars offered by the training institution were another means of double-checking meaning/interpretation that arises from the data.

Having described my methods, I will now present the results of my study.

Chapter 5: Results

"One's dignity may be assaulted, vandalized, cruelly mocked, but it can never be taken away unless it is surrendered." Martin Luther King

Central to my narrative enquiry is the historical, cultural and social context of each participant in their telling of their stories. Once this context was established in the first generation, I then needed to review the meaning made by the next generation. As I am pursuing three distinct but interrelated lines of enquiry, I have organised my analysis into three distinct sections that have emerged from the data and that reflect some of the context of being African Caribbean:

- **Life on the island** captures the experiences of the participants before they first arrived in England. How they lived and how they spoke. It is about day to day living in their original home country. In doing this it captures some of the social experiences and family life of that generation.
- **Integrating into England/Priorities for family life** captures some of the experiences and negotiations undertaken by African Caribbean families/individuals as they considered what took precedence in family life in England.
- **Meaning made by next generation** captures the understanding made by the next generation. How did they make sense of their family's experiences in England and how has this informed their lives?

I aim to acknowledge the underlying sense of movement, transition and adaptation embedded in the participants' stories shared with me through interviews. With the complex and traumatic past that my participants and I share it also felt important to acknowledge that within the responses where I have presented a use of agency, I have understood this agency to be in the service of also maintaining dignity as part of their identity. Hall (2017, p.23) states that "identity is never singular but is multiply constructed across intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions". I recognise personal agency as a key tool in shaping experiences of identity. I connect with the above Martin Luther King quote on dignity as this feels central to any exploration of African Caribbean people and identity.

As a framework for exploration I am drawing on three archetypal themes. This is not meant to be a definitive list but a framework to begin to think about identity and survival with a Caribbean context. These archetypes emerged from the reading and discussion with supervisors and is connected to my understanding of navigating a racial identity. I love the sound of the human voice and the way we try to translate ourselves to each other with language. I have tried my best to capture the tones and sounds of my participants, all part of capturing their identities.

The three archetypes I will refer to in my study are:

- **Anansi, The Trickster** – This archetype has two dominant meanings. Hall (2017) describes the ambivalence that is utilised by the Trickster to navigate the world. The Trickster is a migrant with an intuitive sense of doubt and uncertainty. The other aspect of the Trickster is the ability for trickery, using cunning and wit to get their needs met and to facilitate change. The Trickster is understood as an important transformational figure necessary to take into account time and change across history. In the Caribbean the Trickster has a particular meaning, and those with this energy are admired for their cunning and wit which is seen as essential to challenging the dominant culture and staying alive. The Trickster is represented by a spider called Anansi who is able to change shape to a man as the situation dictates.

- **The Conformist** – In this context the conformist represents the person who adheres to rules and social norms. In acknowledgement of the cultural context of this research I have drawn on ideas of "passing" as discussed in my literature review, describing the black person who wants to fit in. This person wants to be seen as someone who can 'pass' as an English person and could be seen by others of his group as wanting to represent what is white colonial. Passing describes the black person who can integrate into the white mainstream. This was used traditionally to describe mixed heritage black people who on appearance didn't look black so 'they passed as white'. Their skin colour was white enough that they could integrate in white society without immediate danger. I am expanding the concept of passing to include

how we dress, talk, style our hair and who you date, as historically it was used to describe the multiple ways black people can try to 'pass'.

- **The Revolutionary** – represents "resistance" and is engaged in promoting socio-political change by actively and directly resisting assumed dominant ways of being. I am influenced by thinkers like Angela Davis and Alice Walker who use the concept of resistance as fundamental in creating socio-political change. The data captures the way in which my participants used their agency to resist taking on different ways of being.

5.1 Section 1 - Life on the islands

God and Nature first made us what we are, and then out of our own created genius we make ourselves what we want to be – Marcus Garvey

As mentioned previously, life on the island captures the experiences of my participants in their formative/early years in the Caribbean. The context for my older participants included growing up at times of key political change and strife. This made the Caribbean, as a region, an emerging identity that experienced constant political upheaval over multiple generations and over centuries. Grandparents having a central role in Caribbean life meant some participants were raised by their grandparents and parents who would have been born nearer the time of the abolition of slavery. Abolition was a legal process between the 1830s and 1860s with different European powers making changes at different times; thus, a time of significant social upheaval, distress and transition. My participants came from different islands in the Caribbean: Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, Antigua and St Vincent. Different islands received independence at different times in the 1960s. Hall (2007) and Thomas (2008) are two writers who have talked about colonial rule as key to the formation and maintenance of the islanders. These participants were growing up around times of key political strife and social upheaval. The 1930s was one key moment in this upheaval. Hall (2007) writes that the people were informed by discontent at the lack of political advancement as well as the impact of the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s, combined with a rising population, reduction in job opportunities and growing unemployment, culminating in a 'workers'

fight' of 1938. Different islands had different fights at different times. These fights were key in shaping the early experience for the islands. It highlighted the inequalities of wealth and encouraged the development of local party politics which eventually created independence. However, it was a fight that was divisive partly because the middle classes fought to maintain their status. The legacy of colonial rule was ever present and the inhabitants of the island did not fully understand this racialised phenomenon they existed within.   People were classified based on class, colourism, religion amongst other things. This stratification of society continues to be a key part of the lived experience.

5.1.2 The Challenge – whose land is it?

The following participant, Ornell, gave this response in trying to explain his integration to his workplace. To do this he was reflective and thought about his experience growing up on the island of Barbados. Ornell is in his 80s. He has been retired for some years now and spends time between Barbados and England. He came to England in the 1960s through a recruitment scheme that operated between England and the Caribbean. They were given support in terms of a package where they were loaned some money upfront to help them transition, in terms of transport and accommodation. Ornell was given employment with London Transport to work on the underground. He was predominantly working with white male British workers.

…this is a white guy now that I used to be afraid of back home. You know you grow up you know with people on horses driving in a gang and you don't want to go near them cause you always feel like they are going to run you down, as a kid
Joanne: would they do that in Barbados? Is that something that happened?
Ornell: hmmm, they wouldn't run, they wouldn't run a horse exactly on you but suppose I know as we as school boys coming from school we get to this field where the overseer … he is some distance away from us, but … the bad boys, the brave boys and the big boys would hmm come from, walk from out the road and walk in the field because it's their field. And the overseers and them would ting and shout and do all kind've, wave all kinds of words and things. "get off the horse

> and come and beat you up" and this kind of thing and you know and hmmm and then the overseer would gee up his horse to chase
>
> **Joanne**: to frighten
>
> **Ornell**: yes, but this time they got about half the school coming in that direction, not all in that areas but say, but at least about 12 or 13 in that group and them fellas would run in all directions so, he can't catch people with the horse he can't get his horse near the people because by that time we are near to the village. So we can run between the house and the bushes and things like that where the horse can't run. When he get to the end of his field, where we were in the first place. He would turn back because he can't…
>
> **Joanne**: he can't follow with a horse

In this example we get straight to Ornell's childhood experience that shaped his expectations of "white guys". In this story he is as a child "afraid" of white guys. The structure of society, despite being years post slavery, still gave plantation owners more rights and normalised their authority. The context is fear and oppression.

"Run you down" refers to getting the horse to run over you. The Overseer's main purpose was to guard the master's land and ensure the slaves did their jobs. Post slavery, the Overseer's job was to guard the land, as the master still owned the land and the property. Ornell notices the Overseer, as I assume all the children do, and this sets the scene for the response. Here we meet, first, the spirit of resistance: "the bad boys, the brave boys and the big boys" who are up for the fight and the chase; "big boys" being a classic way of not describing the size of the child but the mindset that would step up to the challenge. These children saw the land as somewhere they could play and had a right to be.

Now we have a lovely example of the trickster energy, they would make a point of shouting and drawing attention to themselves which would make the overseers give chase. They are effectively tricking the overseer into a game that he cannot win by himself and on a horse. The idea of ownership is being challenged here, but so is the idea of power. The overseer's response is to raise the anticipation of dread, worry and harm but it does not change the game for the boys. In fact, I believe his reaction to the boys' game is a challenge for them to overcome. The boys still get to

play on the field and they are playing on their terms. In this social time, they are also playing with the question of 'whose land is it?'

Throughout sharing this story there is laughter from all in the interview. The laughter felt connected with the bravery and playfulness of the young boys, the humour in recognising the trickster in operation and the joy of the win. He is describing resilience and craftiness in the boys who found ways of separating, challenging this rule, each getting a victory of his own. Despite the laughter I am curious, how many escaped? What happens if/when you were caught?

5.1.3 "Seen and not heard"

This following excerpt comes later in the interview. In this example we continue to hear from Ornell, but also meet his wife Marva who is in her 70s, and her son Ron who is 40. I am trying to connect with stories or sayings that they had in the island of origin. They are all from Barbados. Marva came to England in the early 1970s as part of the recruitment drive to get nurses. Ron was born in England but raised in Barbados by his maternal grandmother following the breakup of his parents' marriage. Therefore, Ron is familiar with sayings from Barbados. In response to thinking about how they were spoken to in the Caribbean as children, Ornell leads in sharing his experiences of speaking with the adults in the Caribbean.

Joanne: and I'm also thinking like in your families, if you had to think of your parents and the sayings that summed them up what would you say? What was the thing they always said, what would be that saying (Laughter)?
Ornell: I would say that my mum died when I was a teenager. But to me, I wouldn't say that we used to listen much to our parents' kinds saying. Cause in those days you listen to big people too much they shoo u away.
Joanne: Children should be seen and not heard
Ornell: yeah.

Ornell starts the conversation off by setting his context: his mother died when he was a teenager (key transitional stage in his life) and he does not elaborate on this

experience. Because this is an unusual response from Ornell in my interview it feels pertinent. It is not said with an audible sadness but stated as a fact in his life. I also wonder what this loss meant for him personally? How has this been internalised? As mentioned in my Caribbean history section the Caribbean is a matrifocal community so this loss would have had some impact on family life What meaning did he create for his life after this? With this in mind I wonder if she would have been the messenger of sayings and how this might fit into loss in his life.

Ornell's memory is that "we" his generation? His peers? His family? They didn't listen to "parents kinds saying". In itself this is an interesting way to describe the adults in the Caribbean community. They didn't have to be your biological parents but they are recognised as parental and so they were to be respected like parents. Children were not listened to. This does not mean they were not speaking and I wonder how much Ornell's bereavement impacted on what he could hear and what got spoken? Ornell continues to connect with this memory. If you listen, as though listening into or overhearing conversation, you would be sent away. In my literature review I thought about parents and discipline. Parental success in the Caribbean can be measured to the degree your child is obedient to you. Children were supposed to be out of the way, this boundary was a way of protecting them from the 'adult world'. The wider world was not a safe place so there was a reliance on an obedient 'invisible' child that you could keep safe.   Ornell was thoughtful and silent at this point which is not his usual presentation in the conversation. During the interview he was usually being asked by his family to pause. Thinking about childhood brought him to a reflective place.

5.1.4 Religion and discipline

As a continuation from the previous story we now meet Ron. Ron is speaking on his memory of being spoken to.

> **Ron**: they probably used to quote a lot of bible stuff because my grandma used to quote a lot of bible, although now if I had to think about it she probably got a lot of those sayings from her time.
>
> **Ornell**: yes from her day
>
> **Ron**: quote "spare the rod, spoil the child", "sweet Jesus" whenever they talking about anything. Could be Christ, you didn't want them to catch you doing that or you catch your pants on fire
>
> **Marva**: catch fire in your behind. Catch fire in your behind mean rel lashes.
>
> **Ron**: all round violence
>
> **Marva**: licks (laughter)

Marva and Ron are referring to the maternal grandmother (for Ron) as the person who did the speaking, Ron joins in with an idea about conversations of "the times"; in doing this he introduces the context of religion, principally Jesus as a key influence in this.

His mother, Marva, connects with the theme of discipline and she introduced the saying "catch fire in your behind", famous for describing physical punishment so severe that your skin felt hot 'like you are on fire'. This idea of physical punishment is repeated in most of the interviews and is referred to in my literature review. Marva and Ron joke about the powerful deterrent "you didn't want to get caught". Punishment and religion were an interesting blend found in the Caribbean at that time and in many ways still exists. The combination reflects the experience of the brutal history of the Caribbean who experienced instruction by brutality and/or the teaching of "sweet Jesus", who was the sacrifice for us. This position set the children up to be proud to take the beatings, becoming more like "Sweet Jesus" effectively to become better. Laughter in this sense feels like a way to take the heat out of a painful reality. Ron mentions a Psalm "spare the rod and spoil the child" which is an often referred to Psalm at times of discipline, it brought righteousness and God's will to the act of physical punishment. Not many would challenge 'the voice of God'. I will think more about discipline in the next excerpt. Physical punishment was not only sanctioned by God, who loved you but was understood as

an expression of love (as mentioned in the literature review).   I wonder how much this complicated message, understood as love, allows laughter.

5.1.5 Discipline and conformity

This idea of being beaten was repeated in a number of interviews.   The following excerpt is a direct continuation from the previous conversation. Combining the theme of religion and physical punishment, Ornell puts an end to the laughter as he continues in a serious tone.

Ornell: I think there's not much people used to say, they didn't used to talk so much. Only when you are naughty they be passing phrases to you.
Ron: yeah
Marva: we didn't have that kind've rapport like what I have with my children. I didn't have that with my parents. Not all the time, we didn't call it family time but it was family time. Cause my mum... We always say prayers at night and in the morning when you get up you got to say prayers too
Ron: Jo knows that (laughs)
Marva: so my kids, right, my kids do, I used to make them do that. Even though back then, we didn't know what it was all about. But then they used to make us do it religiously. Every single day and every single night. Morning and night time, we had to say these prayers. That's why we know the Lord's prayer early o clock and the creed and all dem things. Early o clock you had to learn them by heart, and then all the nursery rhymes and bible verses and all that stuff we had to learn them and if you couldn't remember them you used to get lashes. At night you know when we get together, everybody had to know their bible verses, you know. John 3:16 you know you had to be able to say it and talk about it that sort of thing.

Ornell is increasingly certain that he wasn't spoken to as a child although I feel he demonstrated being spoken to, but not negotiated with. Ornell, from the previous section, when thinking about childhood experiences of being spoken to, started with a story of the loss of his mother. I wonder how much that key moment has influenced how he experienced adults. Communication was connected to being disciplined so being seen by adults had a certain danger to it for him as you risked

being disciplined. There was a sense of pain being spoken about with Ornell. The tone was less jovial than it had been and he was increasingly more silent, seemingly reflective. I wonder what it was like for him to be an invisible child when you're in pain.

Marva builds on this idea/context in her experience where in my view she reframes the experience with adults. In doing this she acknowledges that there was a relationship in her family between adults and children but the focus was different. Building black Caribbean children required connecting to real dangers. Creating a 'foundation' for the child was understood as crucial. I remember these conversations in my own growing up where adults would use the symbolism of a tree growing and say "you've got to nourish the roots as that's what feeds the tree". Physical punishment was one of the methods of the indoctrination of Christianity but also seen as key in "nourishing the roots".

Marva in some ways has expanded the idea of communicating with parents to think about a different kind of rapport. She is connecting to something different, something about bonding. Family time was influenced by the ideas of preparing you to have the skills you need to survive. Religion, obedience and discipline were necessary components.

Marva recognises she had replicated this script (Byng-Hall, 1995) without questioning it. Prayers and repetition of the religious creed and all other rituals associated with prayer and religion were memorised so that in any given situation could be informed by your belief system. 'Early o'clock' was another saying to describe the time of day but also the time in your life. People woke for prayer between 5am and 6am. She remembers that physical chastisement (lashes) were central in this process. Physical punishment was the way that conformity was implemented and this became a script in families and it started in early childhood. John 3:16 was given as a quote, this scripture says "that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son that whosoever believeth in him shall not perish but have everlasting life". It is not uncommon to see this on billboards outside churches. This is all part of what contributed to the story of 'sweet Jesus' who was willing to sacrifice himself. Jesus was an obedient child and he was the gift. The promise for

the people, and key to what they wanted for their children, was the ability to experience heaven. It was unfair to struggle in this life and the next. You were also learning that you had rights, if you believed in God you had rights to this promise. This was important for some black people in the struggle as Thomas (2008) writes about. The Bible became the way that some Caribbean people fought to be taken seriously and to negotiate entitlements. In parenting there was some expectation to be seen as an instrument or teacher of 'the word of God' which brought honour to you and your family. It also prepared you to have a resource to enable your fight in injustice, a promise 'of a better day'.

5.1.6 Religion as comfort and a moral code

Religion and the practice of it is explicitly mentioned in the next interview where Elaine describes her lived experience of it. Elaine is a similar generation to Ornell though she is older. She was 86 at the time of the interview and she is speaking about her early years which precedes independence in her island of Antigua. This was a key transitional time for the island and the people, as they were having to reorganise themselves as a community with political rights and needed to function differently to survive. Elaine is from the rural part of Antigua and the first born of her family.

Joanne: I can tell you believe in your faith, when did that become part of your sayings

Elaine: I do. Well I was brought up in a Christian home there were things that my mother, father and grandmother discussed with me and they used to talk and me. The other day I was sitting here, my mind said to me you know what I know my bible, and I will tell you things from the bible. I was eldest. At the end of the day because when I came over this country, I cry night and day. Sometimes when you look back at home and friends but it is the way you meet people. You need to appreciate them. You know what I don't study geography, at the end of the day one thing certain you can't separate from how you have been raised. Though that's me when I meet people, I speak to them "how your family?" "How are you keeping?" "I'm just rushing off to work my dear". "The Lord has been good to you

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and your family. He provides a job for you and your family you hold onto it." She (her mother) used to do a lot of …for a lot of people. Doing a lot of work that me, I always helping people. "You know God has provided a job for you, you hold on to it". That for me, I always gives people encouraging words even though I have my family and still have my family and I love my family but still people outside that like to hear something to somebody to build their spirit going.

In this context Elaine has learnt that scripture and religion can be comforting. She is thinking as the "first born" daughter and part of her duty was to provide comfort. She describes the leadership of the family which includes a grandparent. This idea of grandparents still in leadership is a familiar one in many Caribbean households. Her grandmother would have been alive in the late 1800s, again a key time for Caribbean people politically as people were at an early stage of fighting for their rights. It was a desperate time as resources had been used up on the island and people were struggling. At this time, her family used religion as a source of support and guidance. It is interesting as in her mind she connects this time with the experience of being a migrant in England and the support/comfort that is needed as part of this process. She connects migration as part of how we meet people as well as a time that calls for encouragement, not just to family but to all.

Part of her improvisation (Byng-Hall, 1995) was to learn to appreciate the way you meet people. She also prioritised the lived experience of meeting people above education when she speaks about not studying geography, education didn't help her integrate to England but her connection to her foundational years (her mother, her community in Antigua) did. These memories and her faith in God were comforting, not punishing as in Marva's family. She shared comfort, freely recognising that it was not something that only her family needed but her community needed. This comfort had a resilience-based idea to it, an appreciative stance, "you've got a job, you've got a family, keep going". Have faith, faith is comforting but also essential when you're without home, alienated and need to keep going.

By contrast we are about to meet Pappi. He is from Trinidad. As is familiar in the Caribbean, his family are not sure of his exact age, he is thought to be from the generation before Elaine so possibly would be just over 100, maybe 110. He is

being referred to by Susie. Pappi is Susie's maternal great grandfather. Karen, his granddaughter, is from Trinidad, she is retired and lives between England and Barbados.

5.1.7 Resistance "Pissing on Jesus' Head"

Following Susie's encouragement to her mother to share the stories, Karen shared the following story.

> **Karen**: the other story that Susie referred to with the Jesus is hmmm, again drinking, he is drinking is hmmm. He came back and he said, you know "always sending these children to Sunday school, what do they learn, you know at, you know at Sunday school"
>
> **Joanne**: hmm
>
> **Karen**: so, he called us all around and asking "what did? (pause)... you know, you know Palm Sunday" and then so he said to us hmmm. "what did Zachaeus went up to the palm tree?" so you know we all saying, you know he was too short, he couldn't see Jesus coming through the back. "You see that's nonsense, they teaching you all. That's nonsense, he went up there to piss on Jesus head" (Susie and Karen: laughter) and again that was in his drunken state
>
> **Susie, Karen and Joanne:** Laughter

Karen reluctantly set the scene to tell the story of Pappi. I am curious about what's behind her reluctance. Her grandfather was drinking "again" which suggests this may be something the family lived with, as well as it may hold some importance for the story. He is questioning the merits of Sunday school, known as a key instrument in introducing children to biblical stories. This felt a classically rebellious moment of resistance, challenging the place of Jesus in the Caribbean. Why would anyone want to see Jesus?....

Despite Pappi being drunk, I get a sense that he is protecting his family. He's capturing and challenging something about Christianity that assumes we all desire Jesus. Pappi perfectly captures the revolutionary. He is actively trying to challenge the power religion/Jesus has by offering an alternative perspective on Jesus and

Zachaeus. What does Jesus/religion have to offer families in the Caribbean? How much can these beliefs be challenged and what do you need to do/be in order to challenge it? How much does Pappi want to "piss on Jesus' head"?

5.1.8 The "demands of change"

In the next excerpt, we meet Cordella, she highlights the personal demands of taking up opportunities. Cordella is about 60 and comes from the island of St Vincent. She is describing the stories she was told by a family member of the emerging professional/middle class in the Caribbean. Again, this would have been at a time when employment opportunities were opening up on the island (Thomas, 2008).

Cordella: there was a lot of the ways in which you get by, the ways in which (pause) errrrr people helped each other, the ways in which um err you know you (Pause). I also remember my aunt telling some stories about the first. My aunt was a midwife and she was one of the first African women of African backgrounds to be trained as a midwife on the island and she was um, you know talking about the challenge that they experienced and how if it wasn't for so many other people around it would have been impossible to have been able even to get the training because what was asked of them was really quite hard, so they wore um white and they wore um white shoes as well and every day they had to be sparkling white

Joanne: Wow

Cordella: and the demands of that were really really quite difficult to be able to perform. The uniform and to be able to have all the uniform washed every day and your shoes cleaned every day was ah really really demanding so they talked about the ways in which so many different people would assist in order to um have that happen.

This is an impressive story as her aunt represents and contributed to a significant moment in the island's professional history. Her aunt told her the story of the challenges she encountered and how the support of others made it possible, as the requirements sounded exclusionary in terms of class/resources. She goes on to

describe the uniform, white clothing, and the necessities that it looked "sparkling white". This was a memory I had of school and the expectation (which if broken came with brutal punishment) that you looked pristine. This expectation came at financial costs and would be especially hard for those from more impoverished backgrounds. Living in areas primarily surrounded by mud (as the land was largely underdeveloped), this was an additional challenge for those entering the professional class. These opportunities could not easily be taken up. To pursue them brought strain, you had to be determined and tap into a spirit of 'resistance' as determination in this context means resist the script of lack that so many African Caribbean people were experiencing. If you didn't fight for these opportunities you would not experience change. If you did not have community support it could not be achieved.

5.1.9 Community life – Divisions

This felt like a paradoxical moment as the following excerpt speaks to some challenges her family had from locals on the island. In this excerpt Michelle (Cordella's daughter) and Cordella are speaking about coming to England.

> **Michelle**: … I think in some of the stories that Grandma told me, and of kind of, in terms of the journey of coming to England, when she would tell them it seems like a kind of, she was really ready to leave the Caribbean behind, that's the impression that I got, she packed up one like she was eager to go, not because of what she was going to, but more because of what she wanted to distance herself from, and so I think that reflects in the ways in which you speak quite a lot
> **Cordella**: that was true for me too, because um just before we were ready to leave I mean really leaving with a relief really, because we got, I personally got bullied quite a lot, we were seen as being, we were different in many ways, we attracted a lot of envy.
> **Joanne**: because?

Cordella's gifts and abilities were a complex bag because it brought her opportunities as well as painful attention. The affordances of their emerging middle-class status meant they had options, but these options increased their visibility and made them liable to persecution; the paradox is they knew how support had helped other family

members and that without it they could not progress. They fled the island as a family for safety but also so they could use the opportunities England sold to the islands. This was part of the story telling. There isn't much detail of what "support" looks like. I wonder about how you find the language to discuss unspeakable pain. A place where you learn the importance of support but have to flee because you are not given this support. They were a resourceful family but this perception didn't help them in terms of community acceptance, indeed it further isolated them. They came to England to use the opportunities here.

5.1.10 "Don't walk before you can run"

In this excerpt we meet Elaine again. She tells a story that reflects a different time growing up in the countryside on the island of Antigua.

> **Elaine:** I didn't know my grandmother, I know my father grandmother, and my grandfather I know my grandfather on my mother's side, but I didn't know my grandmum on my mother's side
>
> **Joanne:** how's that?
>
> **Elaine**: cos I wasn't born when she passed away. I wasn't born as yet but my mother always speak about her mother, but I know my two grandfather and I know my father grandmother, I know her as well yes indeed, cos it's a village, it's a village we were living in so everybody know each other you know what I mean, they were hard working people and that is it you know.

I enquire into her experience of growing up in Antigua. Elaine in this interview is introducing me to her family context. In doing this she introduces me to her grandparents. Grandparents typically have a central place in Caribbean family life. As a woman who was born in the 1930s her grandparents would easily have been born post the legal abolition of slavery in the 1830s, but still in a critical time for black people. Elaine would have been born in the 1930s which is the time of The Great Depression where, as previously mentioned, the islands erupted in fights for workers' rights.

Elaine introduces loss into the story straight away (like Ornell did) and with this loss is an idea of how she is remembered, she is spoken about. She is spoken about by the family but also by the village. The village remembers and holds stories about people. She develops a "knowing" of her grandmother by proxy which is lived in the stories. She then adds more information about the villagers, that they were "hard working people" and everyone is known to the other. This feels an important aspect to storying, the ability to stay connected to community and ancestry. The villagers held the connection.

This next excerpt is a direct continuation of the above conversation. I am curious about sayings used in Antigua that she brought to England with her.

> **Joanne:** Cos I wondered about what kind of sayings like we were talking before that you heard in Antigua that you kept using when you came into England
>
> **Elaine:** Well I guess they said don't run before you can walk (spoken with authority)
>
> **Joanne:** And who used to use that saying
>
> **Elaine:** Well the village people no run before you can walk take your time walk, take your time and search your mind, get up early and reach in time (laughing)

Straight away there is joyous laughter in the room, as Elaine proclaims "don't run before you can walk!" which is about teaching you the art of mastery and patience. Work through one thing first then move on to the other, but master that thing first. Work on your foundations first. Interesting words for a community which is trying to build itself. There is laughter, it feels like the laughter is at the familiarity of the story but also the delivery style. The laughter is contagious and in part I wonder about laughter and hope.

Elaine remembered this as part of the voice of the community: "take your time, search your mind, get up early and reach in time." It's hard not to hear the rhythm of this saying which I imagine supports the process of remembering. The emphasis now is on thinking, be patient in thought, and rise earlier as this automatically gives you more of the day to work with. Again, these are important words to a developing

community: patience, foundation, mastery, wake early, create time and think. Key ingredients for building.

5.1.11 Education, Explanations, Distancing

We return to Karen and Susie's family and meet Carlos. He is Karen's husband and Susie's dad. The following excerpt shows Carlos responding to my request for stories he knew from the Caribbean. Carlos is from Barbados, he is recently retired in England. He arrived in the 1960s, working for British Transport, then he retrained and worked for BT as a contractor. His wife Karen came to England at a similar time as part of the drive to recruit nurses. They both had accommodation and work arranged for them as part of their transition to England. They are both similar age, early 60s, and currently live in Barbados since retiring. They return to England annually, to see family. Carlos leads the conversation.

Joanne: Do you remember stories or sayings being shared?

Carlos: being shared, by our family

Joanne: yes with your family, and I've had to widen that out, so it can even be teachers or friends but in your community

Carlos: right ok. Well we had stories about hmmm people, we talked about vampires type of

(**Joanne**: uhm hmmm) **Carlos**:…. But that used to be hmmm, the old people used to tell us about those stories.

Joanne: did you call them vampires in Barbados

Carlos: no we called them….

Joanne: sucunya,

Karen: I was just about to say, I waiting for him to finish to say that

Carlos: well well, Javelin

Carlos is apprehensive throughout the interview. He often checks that he is getting it right but also speaks with a level of caution (pausing often in his speech). I am asking for them to use memory to recall times past on their island of origin, so I wonder if the issue is memory or permission. What stories do you remember being told is a very wide question as it can invite a range of stories – family, Anansi,

classical/colonial etc. I am purposely being open hoping for any connection to the home island, but this may be overwhelming. I am curious about this apprehension, so I add not just stories but also sayings to facilitate permission, an openness.

Carlos recalls this was with "the old people".   These were not his peers speaking but 'old people' which typically describes the grandparents of the community. This has resonance with Ornell's story about who 'did the speaking'. I feel a sense of distance between himself and "the old people". Carlos himself was born in the 1950s, a time when education and explanations were on the increase in the community. This was part of educating a professional class and challenging certain dominant stories that restrained the locals (Thomas, 2008; Hall, 2017). There were political movements that emphasised education to demystify the idea of how change was going to occur. Education was also an empowering tool in the act of resistance. Without education we could not fight back effectively or challenge the story of who slavery/colonial powers told us we were. Nelson Mandela (2003) in a speech said "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world".

Superstitions and other spirituality like voodoo were influences in the island. Part of this increased time of explanation and understanding meant some people were able to move on, or live without these old belief systems. This is why I am surprised by the use of the word vampires as I associate this term with the west. Carlos accepts my invitation/ permission and uses his own local term "javelin". Aware that he is helping me to achieve a doctoral thesis he might be genuinely wanting to 'get it right for me'. I also wondered about the conformist (passing) who might want to put distance between the old sayings and ways of speaking.

Though these sayings were specifically related to the supernatural when he has choice, he continued with the following story:

> **Carlos**: hmmm, there was hmmm, there was a story about a man who. Well they about 'steel donkey' that was a story going around
> **Joanne**: what does that mean?

> **Carlos**: yes, yes, the story was, hmmm, you know, if you got there at night this donkey would…. (pause)
>
> **Joanne**: yes
>
> **Carlos**: because donkeys was prevalent on the island, drawing donkey carts and there was donkeys and carts in those days
>
> **Joanne**: right
>
> **Carlos**: and because there wasn't a lot of street lighting you know when you go through local villages and thing. But a lot of it, it turns out, that the whole thing it comes out of hmmm, someone donkey, had actually got away from being tied up and… tied with chains, and, the … was running and they heard this thing,
>
> **Joanne**: clanking
>
> **Carlos**: clanking, and the donkey is trotting behind. And that was how the story came about
>
> **Joanne**: laughter

Carlos tells a local story about "steel donkey" which invokes my curiosity. He set the context, which is a familiar one where story telling occurs at night and often describes night time activity prompting some to believe that stories were a way of keeping people safe (off the streets) at night. Night time and darkness was understood to be a time of increased spiritual phenomena as well as a time of increased risk to personal safety. This usually manifested in scary/frightening spiritual stories to keep people off the streets.

Carlos gives a lot of information in his story that allows us to connect with the context of the time. Information also removes fear and allows a local story to be simply a local story. Despite his explanations and knowing that I was raised in the Caribbean he checks that I understand. For him, these stories and sayings could be explained, and if scary things could be explained they did not have power over you. What some understood as spiritual phenomena could be explained if you were curious and brave enough to seek an explanation or brave enough to challenge dominant thinking. Carlos is also reflecting the times in which he grew up. One of the consequences of the fight for independence and freedom was the emphasis on education. People became formally educated and others questioned more. Education could be seen as part of a process of freedom from some of these superstitions as well as a way of

empowering people. Carlos is showing that people were afraid and they didn't need to be. They could have gone out at night or just generally they could have been having different experiences. Education can be about conformity, in this context I understand Carlos as engaging the Revolutionary who didn't just accept what was given but could ask questions.

5.1.12 Stories of shame and class

The following excerpt is a continuation of the interpretation of stories from this family unit. The daughter Susie sets the stage to change the story style to family stories, making it more personal. In this interview, Susie, who is a professional middle-class black woman, was the one who was encouraging her parents to share. She picked up on the ambivalence and she would initiate the sharing of stories with rhapsodies of encouragement. In this excerpt she has initiated a story that brings her joy, but her mother wasn't keen on sharing. I am wondering about entitlement "whose story is it?". Additionally, she introduces the family story teller who is the mother. The idea of the women as the predominant story tellers was familiar in my study.

Susie: it's really funny. I don't really remember stories from dad so much. I remember stories from Karen. And Karen likes to… laughter. There wasn't stories, they were like… what happened in her family. So, they weren't like, so much like folklore type stories, or stories to prevent you from doing things. But eh, laughter, there is one, laughter, about the hard soap. What is it about the hard soap?
Joanne: the blue soap?
Susie: no. What was the soap that you used to wash clothes? The salt soap?
Karen: the salt soap
Susie: and someone was in the shower, laughter
Karen: oh Susie
Susie: and the little kid came running up shouting out, is it "Tanty K, you using the salt soap" laughter
Joanne: cause the showers used to be outside so everybody could see the soap suds coming out

Karen focussed on family stories, not folklore stories or stories to influence your behaviour, which shows that distinctions are already being made about what is significant to different generations. Karen mentioned earlier in the interview that she found many of the folklore stories scary and she did not want her children to be afraid. I felt a genuine sense of vulnerability as she said this because she looked at me and said "do you think they believed it?" Some part of her still wonders about this. There is another question in there, which is why would you scare the children?

As this is usually Karen's story for sharing, Susie had to rely on her mother for more information. Susie laughs throughout the process of telling this story which for me raised a joyous anticipation about what was going to happen in this story. Her mother was not laughing and was in fact working hard on being demure. Her response "Oh Susie" was noticeable to me as it reminded me of my experience of mothers in the Caribbean who wanted to demonstrate restraint and composure in certain contexts where there was some uncertainty. Karen was not comfortable. I didn't have a sense that she consented to the publicising of the story.

The story describes a routine act in daily living and has a feeling of being well worn within the family. Susie gives the punch line "you using the salt soap" but fairly quickly goes on to say how she understands it. This felt almost apologetic, to demonstrate that she can see the pain of the story, but also her attempt to say 'we can laugh now'. She is not ashamed by this story. The example speaks to class issues, poverty and shame. This was key in the Caribbean, especially in the times they are describing (1960s) when the island was in the middle of fighting for independence. As previously mentioned, opportunities had opened up for locals to take positions in the infrastructure. These positions brought a certain amount of status (Thomas, 2008); however, there were not enough opportunities for everyone, so many still experienced hardships on the island. Some felt they needed to hide their poverty as it was attached to social stigma, and class was connected to worth. The islands were created and maintained to feed the middle and professional class, division was essential to this structure and so it's not unimaginable that these ideas, as well as other forms of division (colourism for example), continued to be part of the practice of divisiveness.

5.1.13 Lest we forget

As a small story analysis Karen shares

> "you know we laugh at these things, but it is real life"

This feels particularly pertinent and reminds us about the painfulness of the experiences that we now laugh about. People were directly affected in real ways, people were hurt and this cannot/should not be lost. Laughter at this point in the interview was hiding something painful. Perhaps the family style of sharing stories, the humour, hid the pain so well that the following generations were not aware of how painful this story was to live. Which feels part of Karen's story that we will meet in the next section, she worked hard to remove fear and pain from experiences. This movement between laughter and pain was consistent in the storying of Caribbean experiences. At times it was refreshing as it reflected hope, and at other times laughter said "it's over now". Pain was real and somehow needs to be acknowledged respectfully. It is because of this pain that resilience, dignity and agency are understood and magnified. The people were actively trying to build a life for themselves.

5.1.14 Summary

In this first section we have seen a people 'pressing on'. Due to child raising traditions including grandparents this includes a generation from the mid-1800s. They storied their life in the context of daily living. My participants have not once spoken of racism or oppression. My 'life on the island' reflects the following themes: trickery in the challenges, colonial rule, still present, religion as a complex tool serving as comfort, discipline and ethics and, as in the case of Pappi, another ideology to resist. In this we meet stories of the elders and grandparents who worked to build communities despite a mixed bag of divisions and unities. Shame and class were presented with a reminder that the pain of these stories were real. They are not just historical events but real events affecting African Caribbean people.

5.2 Section 2 - Integrating to England/Priorities for Family Life
'To speak or not to speak'

This section captures the experiences and some of the negotiations for family life in England. To do this I explore the context of the time, as well as how participants used their agency to take up different positions and call forth different identities. My participants were invited to England. With the Caribbean being depleted of resources, and an invitation from "mother" (England) many seized the opportunity for a better life. This became almost an anthem for me as a child. Told that one day you were going to live in England for "a better life". Part of this better life included a search for dignity, to be able to work, provide, and support families and loved ones. African Caribbean people were told that they would be able to use a range of opportunities. They arrived with their hopes and dreams. How much can we really prepare for such a significant journey? In all my participants' histories is a story of hope and loss, they are leaving behind home and family in the belief that they could do better here and support family back home.

There would have been a number of life issues to navigate. I chose to use this section to specifically consider the use of their voice in the integration process. In this sense it can be summed up in "to speak or not to speak".

5.2.1 Conformity – "we wanted to adapt"

In the following excerpt the family get into a discussion about the saying "hard ears you don't hear bum bum you gon feel" meaning physical punishment was going to be given to those who didn't listen/obey. This is my third interview and the third time it came up demonstrating something about the prevalence of physical punishment. Also, at this stage in my interview my participants have all been from Barbados. Their daughter Susie leads the conversation.

> **Susie**: did you used to say it to us
>
> **Carlos**: no no no
>
> **Karen**: no no, we never used …no we didn't
>
> **Carlos**: I think we didn't, we didn't say it. Thinking of it now, we didn't say those things with consciousness
>
> **Karen**: yes
>
> **Carlos**: because we wanted to adapt to the English ways of life so in a lot of ways, we stepped away from a lot of the things that would make us not English if you like. Cause a lot of the people you met, most of the people you went out with, were English people, you were working with them, so you weren't trying to keep your language
>
> **Karen**: … yes
>
> **Carlos**: and the kids had to go to school

Father is the main speaker in this section which was unusual during this interview. He describes something behind the idea of passing/conforming. Survival depended on being able to adopt these qualities. Integration was important for this family unit and using your own language was not considered helpful to a successful integration. They unified as parents in a goal that would support the education process in England for their children. During the interview Carlos is informative in the way he engages. He explains that, even in Barbados, where he is from, he learnt to practise speaking English in the 'correct way'.   In this way, contrary to ideas that they are conforming for Engalnd, they are replicating scripts (Byng-Hall, 1995) that came from their home islands. Karen is from Trinidad and she recalls the same lessons. Trying to speak what has been called "the Queen's English" by Ron and Ornell in another interview, this was taught to inhabitants while they were still on the islands. It was important to sound as though you were from a different class. How you use your voice is an old story in this context so in this family it's part of a replicative script.

5.2.2 Education/conformity – an old story

In the following excerpt Karen and Carlos are connecting to their history and how the script (Byng-Hall, 1995) of 'passing' was taught to them in the Caribbean via their family of origin.   Carlos is leading with his memory of being corrected in Barbados.

> **Carlos**: so, you could be saying stuff, that would be (inaudible) but that is common in Karen's upbringing and also in mine in the Caribbean. Because my dad, if I said to my dad, "well da boy". My father would say "not Da boy, that boy."
>
> **Karen**: Yeah
>
> **Carlos**: so, we were also corrected in the Caribbean.
>
> **Karen**: uh hmm
>
> **Carlos**: but the local language is "da boy there"
>
> **Karen**: …, we made a conscious decision. Education, Education, Education. And I had this thing from my father in Trinidad. Education, Education, Education. And I didn't do well but.
>
> **Joanne**: you did your best
>
> **Karen**: Education, Education, Education… cause once they had their education, nobody could take that away from them. So, we focussed on that… now to get that something had to give. And what gave is what we talking bout is word and language.

Karen is able to name a decision that is critical for her and it has a central point in the narrative. At this point in the interview she is firm, she is focussed, she has made a fist and she is tapping the arm of her chair "education, education, education". The family's decision was to perform education in the goal of social mobility so they had their children prioritise education. This ideology was inherited in Trinidad from her father so is a replicative script (Byng-Hall, 1995). The saying "education education education" I am aware was used by Tony Blair in his political campaign, but in Trinidad where Carol and I are from, it existed under a much earlier campaign (1950s/60s). It was part of the self-imposed mandate by Eric Williams (former president and considered father of the nation), who would attend Woodford Square in Trinidad in his efforts to reach and educate grassroots people. In the struggle for independence he saw education as invaluable. Woodford Square was nicknamed "the University of Woodford Square". He explained economics, how England impacted the islands, repercussions of slavery and the idea that it was not goodwill but capitalism that brought slavery to an end. He did this weekly for some time, opening up the idea of learning for everyone and not just children. He was a historian and had travelled to study in Engalnd and USA; he went on to lead the

nation, until his death in 1981. He was greatly loved for his acts, hence the title "father of the nation". The nation mourned when he died. Karen is a living message of Eric Williams whilst being unaware of his influence. In this message education is a powerful act of claiming your rights and making sure you succeed in life. As a proper education was a rising phenomenon on the island conformity doesn't apply here as Eric Williams is teaching the people to fight, differently. Fight an informed fight.

There is a small story in this section, where Karen showed her own disappointment when she expressed that she "didn't do well". She was a qualified nurse who had a responsible job of engaging patients with mental illness. This was especially important work when you consider the overrepresentation of black people within the mental health system. How has she understood her work? How did her perceived failure influence how she pushed her children?

I offer comfort, instinctively I want Karen to know I see her as a success, but Karen continues with the 'party line'/'family line'. "Education, Education, Education". This is repeated three times within a brief exchange, demonstrating the importance and priority this held as the highest context marker for this family. She may also be telling me she does not need comfort. A critical point transpires as she mentions how this could not be taken away from you. An education once earned cannot be removed. No one can steal knowledge from you. This is true power. She is preparing her children to have something lasting in life, true power. To be empowered in a 'knowing' in life. She repeats her father's words. Her father is given importance in a key identity performance where a family script is being repeated. She is part of the first generation who received an education. Her children (they also have a son) are both professional middle-class people.

Karen's narrative continues as she says I "THINK", her emphasis was on thinking, she was becoming more reflexive as the conversation continued "this thing". Language changes from something decisive to something more open and less sure. This 'thing' mattered. This 'thing' feels like an indescribable phenomenon but also a presence that was shaping her decisions. This thing feels comparable to Shotter's idea of "real presences" (2010, p35) that are felt in the environment. Eventually

Karen named the 'thing' as "word" and "language", yet I am unsure whether 'the thing' was word and language or whether word and language were a consequence of 'the thing'. What was the phenomenon that was even creating the need for this type of thinking in family life? This section of the interview had feelings of sadness but was spoken of in a considered tone. The success of this family didn't just happen, it was an intentional act.

5.2.3 Despite it all, pain

In the following section

Karen: cause I remember once with Susie, something happen in the (pause) and it was about "my back scratching me" and you said to me that the children were laughing at you at school because I said my back scratching me. How can you back scratch you?

Joanne: now I'm confused because I say that

Susie: your back is itching you

Karen: you scratch the itch.

Susie: you scratch the itch

Karen: yeah, yeah yeah, And she came home and I think it was Zoe C it was was

Joanne: you still remember the name

Karen: yeah…

Susie:… bitchy! (Laughter)

Karen: no I never… although I didn't make… we were trying so hard to be on the …(pause) and it …(silence)

The narrative then changes to show the difficulty when trying to perform this new script. "However" signals a change to alert me that despite best efforts they were reminded that they don't fit in. Karen recalls her daughter "something" again this phenomenon occurred and the punchline "my back scratching". I join with the family and the little girl with the itch/scratch and the mother who is hurt. This is a gendered moment in the story telling but also a moment of heartfelt connection when sharing a pain. The fact that mother remembers the name of the child despite being almost 30

years ago speaks to the significance of this moment for her. Susie jokingly calls Zoe bitchy which in the moment a soberness, a pain, is being felt, but laughed over, as has been the pattern in this interview. The sadness is palpable and I find it hard to be with. The family tried, and what could be an immaterial moment possible to a White UK family is remembered with pain because it highlighted a family's plight to belong and, despite efforts to protect their children from a type of pain, they experienced it anyway.

5.2.4 "We wanted to fit in"

In the next example we return to Ornell and his family. They speak directly about how they chose to communicate with their friends and colleagues in England.

Joanne: and did you ever use any of your sayings in conversation with your English friends

Ornell: very seldom. You try to be more English

Ron: speak the Queen's English

Ornell: laughter. Cause you want them to understand what you saying.

Marva: laughter

Ornell: there's no point to giving them a Bajan saying. What we call a Bajan twang hmmm

Ron: twang

Ornell: that's another word for language, twang, hmmm, that they don't understand

Ron: they'd say sorry? (questioning, sceptical tone)

Ornell: cause they would just look at you. Hi Ornell! Ornell alright? What's up? (East End accent and puzzled tone))

Marva and Ron: Laughter

Joanne: so, then if you have to use a Bajan twang would you say you mainly used it with your family.

Ornell: yeah

Joanne: … next generation, friends, family

> **Ornell**: Yeah, and then too besides all of that (pause)… when off work and things like that we start to find out where our local friends from back home was staying

Ornell is speaking about fitting in/conforming, but with some negotiation he and his family are aware of being perceived by the 'other'. He tries to engage in what I've called "passing". The "Queen's English" is known in the community as speaking the best possible English that would allow you to "pass"/reflect being a certain class. In this sense, the laughter feels like confirmation of a shared understanding. They are clear that being understood means operating from a position of 'passing'. There is no expectation for the local people of England to try to understand them, furthermore there is a belief that you will put yourself at risk and stir concerns about your mental health. This was also echoed in another interview with Elaine and Sharon, where Elaine said directly "you didn't want them to think you were mad". The repercussions for black people who were seen as "mad" was terrifying, and many were lost to the system so from this perspective 'passing' is an act of survival.

The act of speaking "the Queen's English" is actively working to resist the negative positioning of being perceived as mad. As stated earlier in my study, African Caribbean people have a higher chance of being sectioned against their will. This is interesting as Ornell himself mentioned in the interview earlier that he came to England thinking he was English. They were trained by English teachers, they sang the English National Anthem and they lived a life surrounded by White English people, White people who would intimidate you in Barbados as they claimed the land. Now in England White people can have you removed from your community by getting you sectioned if you are perceived as mad.

The family have a shared understanding about communicating, and how to use language in different contexts. To find somewhere he can speak his Bajan 'twang' he seeks out his community. This is a safer negotiation with more pleasurable outcomes.

5.2.5 And the Trickster strikes again

To continue with the discourse of mental illness I present Gloria. Gloria is from Barbados, she came to Engalnd as a 16-year-old child in the 1960s. She chose at times to position herself very differently as described in the following excerpt.

Gloria: and back in the day… what I mean is not…. Different now but you so much as lay a hand on a white person as a black person you know that was straight prison or the nut house (laughter), because they thought that … you know, because we were loud, we're crazy anyway (laughter)

Joanne: yeah don't give them fuel

Sandy: they still think that

Laughter by all

Gloria: I must admit that when my children were growing up, I really played on that (inaudible)… and crazy because you see the only way to get through to some people.

Firstly, I want to acknowledge Ornell and Elaine as the oldest participants in my study. Though I am not sure how much their ages and arrival in England at an earlier time influenced the position they took as residents it is an interesting contrast to Gloria. Gloria is in her early 60s (guess work as she doesn't tell her age but she has a daughter in her 40s) and came to England in her mid to late teens. She is aware of the perceptions of black people (for example, loud equals crazy) and she has used these stories to protect her children. Throughout this section of the interview she speaks with a very 'matter of fact' tone with a quiet authority. Gloria, in true Trickster spirit, has demonstrated direct engagement with the ambivalence/uncertainty of the local white British people towards black people to her benefit. I am curious at the choices she has given herself "lay your hands on a white person" or 'play on being crazy'. She chooses to engage her wit and manages to be skilful enough at trickery that she does not suffer any negative consequences (in that she was never sectioned or suffered any social consequences). This took cunning and courage, a true Trickster moment.

5.2.6 Resistance – the dividing factor

In the next example we meet Maisy. Maisy is in her 70s and from the island of Jamaica. She came to England in the 1970s and was parted from her young children. In this section, Maisy is speaking about her experience of working in a Primary School as a Dinner Lady in London, in comparison to her older sister who arrived in England before she did. Carol is her niece, she was born and raised in London.   She is the Head of Inclusion in the same school where Maisy previously worked as a Dinner Lady.

Maisy: oh yes and they would come up and say "miss where are you from?" say "You no ha fi know where me come from, it's none of your business…" and laugh.

Joanne: and did you ever feel any pressure to speak like your colleagues?

Maisy: Not really, if I want to, I can speak properly "here there and where". But with she (her sister), she know more than me. But with my sister now, because she is over here longer than me. She come over here way long, long, longer than me, so when I'm talking to her now I find it difficult because she so sch zzz sch…… (posh voice mocking sister's poshness). And I'm trying to give her a joke now in the Jamaican joke now, and she don't want to understand. She "eh?". So when she was trying to give me one in English, here me, "me no understand what you are say? Your joke don't make no sense"

Carol and Joanne: laughs

Maisy: "You too push for me, you too stush"

The school children feel comfortable enough to approach Maisy and ask her directly about where she is from. She laughs constantly when talking about her experience with the school children. She is setting boundaries in her work by how she engages with the children there. She is creating an understanding about what they can talk about together. Maisy is putting distance between her and the children and in this way she is contracting a particular relationship with boundaries and warmth, the laughter makes it warm. Culturally it's in line within an appropriate adult/child relationship.

Maisy is presenting as someone who actively makes choices in her life. She is also happy being the Trickster and the Rebel. In her navigating post immigration, she is making a choice, to be "Jamaican". She is making a decision about how she wants to use language, and how she engages with the world. In this Maisy recognises other people are also making a choice. She powerfully asserts that she can speak "properly" if she wants, suggesting that she understands that she may be perceived as presenting "improperly". She is rebelling/choosing not to engage with dominant ways of speaking and being.

This relationship with the children at school is being compared to her sister. There is a sadness for me in this story as Maisy describes trying to bond with her sister. Maisy's sister has been here longer and should understand the need to make connections to "home" and speak in "the Jamaican"; however, her sister doesn't reciprocate. I wonder what her sister's story is? Why would her sister be confused by the Jamaican voice, as she was raised in Jamaica? The pressure to conform or rebel has contributed to a distancing between the sisters. Her sister, in her view, has become "posh" in her speech. This speaks to a perceived difference in class but also puts a coldness in their relationship. When the sister then tries to bond in the local language Maisy refuses the invitation. This dynamic is summed up later in the conversation with Maisy. The choice to be a revolutionary had consequences in families where members wanted to conform. Maisy shared at other points of the interview that she chose to develop close relationships with people she could speak with. Hence she is doing this interview with her niece.

5.2.7 'I know who I am'

In this excerpt Maisy is demonstrating a clear loyalty to being Jamaican. She was not born in England and does not feel that she needs to try to sound like she is English. In this sense Maisy is engaged in an active act of resistance. She is also inviting people to connect with her difference and understand who she is. She is proudly Jamaican. It suggests that the other person has to do something in the interaction.

> **Maisy**: anywhere I go they ask me "why don't you speak English". Hear me "did I born in England?"
>
> Me say "I born Jamaica!". (in a firm, loud voice)

5.2.8 The other person has a part to play

Jamaicans speak English, but in this context Maisy is speaking to the idea of "speaking properly". She doesn't speak 'proper' English, she speaks 'Jamaican English', otherwise known as Patois, and she is not deterred from her choice to stick with her home language. She takes the position that she is not British. She is a proud Jamaican and how she speaks is partly how she demonstrates this. Sure of her identity she is highlighting the other person also has to do something.

> **Maisy:** me no speak English. Me ah talk, me ah talk, if you cyah understand. "Good luck to you". (**Joanne**: laughs) that's your problem. You don't want to understand. I talking. … say "I talking too fast, I say how fast you want me to talk. You want me to talk faster". Loud laughter

Comments about not understanding her means that she will show you that, actually, she was making an effort before which you did not notice. This is echoed in the interview with Susie, Karen and Carlos where Susie felt not understanding was exaggerated by English people. My laughter here is with the audacity and beauty of Maisy. I have wrestled with my voice so much trying to do the right thing (conform and call it me being helpful) that I am struck by the confidence she has to show the other is not really trying. As usual the theme of laughter is throughout which speaks to it being part of Maisy's way of being. It has a mischievousness to it also that feels Trickster like. She connects with you in laughter, she looks at you and laughs to check you are with her. Maisy's "you want me to talk faster" feels like a response to those she sees as not making enough effort, you not wanting to answer me, I can make this harder for you, you decide.

Maisy goes on to think about fonder memories at her work place. There are possible signs of integration indicated when I asked her about her colleagues being able to understand her at her workplace.

> **Maisy**: oh yes they understand they understand. 32 years me work there for. So they understand, it comes and goes. Even the little English they come to hear me talk cause they love to hear me talk. They say "it sound nice miss" "it sounds nice, but what did you say" laughter.

She states, with certainty, that after 32 years there was an understanding. Even the "little English" (white British born children is my assumption) would seek her out to listen to her. There was finally acceptance and even pleasure in hearing her speak, though continued confusion about what she is saying. Maisy has stood her ground and relates on her terms. She seems to be understood on her terms too.

5.2.9 Misunderstandings

However, in the next excerpt Maisy gives an example where standing her ground caused some difficulty at work.

> **Maisy**: yeah because when I used to work down there as well and Mrs S and hmmm Heather and them in the office, white, and they say something to me I never know now say, what it mean pause, and … that I'm doing that, and I used to "sound of kissing teeth" and walk out (J: yes)
>
> **Maisy**: and they call me back and say (in a shouting voice) "never you do that because you are insulting us" you are insulting us when you steuups (kiss your teeth)
>
> **Joanne**: who said this to you
>
> **Carol**: the white ladies
>
> **Maisy**: the white ladies dem
>
> **Joanne**: the white teachers?
>
> **Carol**: no no no they were office staff
>
> **Maisy**: office staff

> **Joanne**: office staff assumed that you insulted them
>
> **Maisy**: insult them and you nah have to no manners, you that no do with that
>
> **Joanne**: oh dear, what did
>
> **Maisy**: cause they will say that now, they will say something to me cause they, and me never know, now that you insult them. Back home you talk now and just "steups" (sound of kissing teeth) and you walk out and you gone bout your business. And they (office staff at work) will call me back and say, don't do that, because you are insulting us and you ain't have no manners and you're not to scrap your teeth like that".
>
> **Joanne**: and what would you say
>
> **Maisy**: (in loud voice, she swings her arms and marches on her seat) "me say I doh mean nothing" its… and me steups steups steups!!! and walk out

In this excerpt the class and power differences feel evident but I am also aware of my connection with Maisy. Maisy speaks of her experience of being "called in" by the office staff. She felt she was being summoned and is curious and cautious about why. On arrival she is told that her culturally specific embodied form of expression (kissing her teeth) is being understood as an insult. She describes "the white ladies" as the ones who sent for her and this makes me wonder about a racialised dynamic. I also wonder how many ladies were physically present in this conversation. Maisy tries to understand what's going on but I don't know how this was received by the other women. I wonder if part of the confusion in this story for Maisy is that a culturally specific embodied response, which is so natural to her, creates a moment of conflict. The paradox is they have become hurtful to her as they believe that she is being rude. What are the stories that these "white ladies" are being influenced by? What might they have been trying to communicate?

At this point I find myself feeling protective of Maisy. As a young person raised by my grandmother, I sit with a woman in her 70s who is amongst the forerunners of Caribbean migrants to this country. I am aware of discourses about black women being 'rude', 'aggressive', 'unprofessional' and I wonder if they are in operation here contributing to frustrations and anger. For some these discourses fit to a colonial discourse about 'taming the savage'. My need to protect Maisy is unwarranted, she stories nothing but strength.

Maisy claimed the identity of being 'heroine', fearless, one who fights back. Demonstrating how identity can be performed in this context, how Maisy responded to not being understood by the "white ladies". Maisy does not understand this as a racist encounter, and when asked earlier, explicitly denies an experience of racism yet I believe race/racism/power are felt in the conversation and are being communicated. Class is also in operation as you have 'office' workers calling the 'dinner lady' in to challenge her behaviour.

What is the impact of discussing this with me? If the "white ladies" had attended this research how would the story be different, if at all? Her employment with the school would have been 40 years ago, 1970s recruiting and working with black staff. What is different in current times?

5.2.10 Summary

At the end of this section of the interview we have heard experiences of my participants trying to integrate in England with their own family and with work. Employment is a significant part of the integration process and I hadn't fully thought about the ways we are forced to meet society at work. I was also struck by the concerns about being seen as "mad". I hadn't thought about the connection between speech and perceptions of mental illness. I imagine that without a clear understanding of mental illness, some thought about how they could live in a way that made them sound sane.

Some of the themes that emerged in this section demonstrate the ways people thought about living in England: 'we wanted to adapt' reflected those who were willing to conform and "'I wasn't born here'" reflected resistance. In my study people showed some caution about how they were perceived, connecting this to a worry about being seen as "mad". This worry created a desire to find spaces where they could express themselves in culturally specific ways, without worry. Social mobility was a clear theme which then placed an emphasis on education. Ideas of 'othering' were highlighted when working on social mobility and when thinking about mental illness.

5.3 Section 3 - Meaning made by the next generation

"Because of them we can" – source unknown

This section presents the data illustrating the meaning made by the next generation. It attempts to capture the experiences and sense made of the experiences of this participant group in England and how this informed their lives.

5.3.1 A glimpse into history – shame and pride

I introduced Susie, Carlos and Karen earlier in this analysis. They are a family who did not make use of cultural sayings as such but engaged with personal family stories. They prioritised education as the highest context for integration. In the next excerpt Susie gives her recollection of a family story. It was a complex moment as Susie was excited in sharing the story, her father sat still and listened, while her mother was not active. This was also the pattern in the interview, Susie was the person who wanted to share but her mother, on family stories, demonstrated restraint. Susie chose to tell the story because her mother was not forthcoming. I became curious about whose story it is, and how permission and entitlements are negotiated.

Susie: … and the little kid came running up shouting out, is it? "Tanty K, you using the salt soap" (laughter from Susie)

Joanne: cause the showers used to be outside so everybody could see the soap suds coming out

Susie: (more matter of fact tone) and nobody, but the thing I got from that story actually, all joking aside apart from the fact I think hysterical. What it actually said was, first it taught me that they didn't have indoor, like plumbing, like showers, which is like I would expect. It told you about people's perception of class or how people want to be perceived, because ... the actual thing of the story was, that she was upset because then the neighbours knew that she was using the clothes soap to wash herself. So, it implied that they didn't have the money. Was it the, palm, the palm soap (she checks with her parents for what the body soap was called)

Karen: hmmm

> **Susie**: well you know
>
> **Carlos**: Palmolive soap
>
> **Susie**: right and then … it's just like a really funny story
>
> **Karen**: laughter
>
> **Susie**: but it set the scene actually, for what it must have been like back then
>
> **Joanne**: to be poor
>
> **Susie**: YESSS!

This story, with Susie's telling of it, captures three generations. Susie, her mother's generation and her grandparents' generation as Tanty K is an aunt to her mother. What meaning can be made of their personal history? People laugh and laughter becomes a way of telling the story, but what does laughter do to the original experience?

What allows the generation that is two generations removed from the lived experience of the story to laugh? Time and space has made family members no longer alive, a character in a story rather than a sense of family. Susie has only met these people in story form. She can see the pure humour in the story and is determined to. I wonder how different this would be for any family where the descendants are hearing about characters they have never met. Her mother is more closely connected to the experience of the story and takes a different position. She struggles more to share the story, could this be because she remembers the pain of the story. The pain of people being ashamed and hiding from their own community because they feel ashamed. Susie responds to her mother's emotion when she says "all joking aside". This physically brought a shift in her mother who spoke more. Susie's demonstration that she did understand something of the struggle alleviated something in her mother. The family are a professional middle-class family so they have worked hard to correct the script of poverty. How much were moments like this a factor in correcting the family script?

Additionally, at play here for Susie is a question of ownership which supports her entitlement to share, but for her mother it is a question of who you share the pain with. The family stories have mainly been shared in family gatherings. I felt the tension of the positions of the two women and I wonder how mother feels that the

sadness of the story seems lost. In sharing this story as a joke, something of the pain and struggle of history was lost. Susie is determined to hold this as a funny story, and I wonder why this is so important for her and whether in the moment she was also inviting her mother to see the funny side, because it is in the past. How many Caribbean families can connect to the importance of secrecy in sustaining pride? The implications of poverty were visible.

5.3.2 Success – Script corrected

In this next excerpt I continue to hear Susie and her family's story. Susie has not had children and wanted to speak about the stories/sayings that she would hand down to the next generation. She gave an example from her professional career where she was invited to speak on a panel. This saying did not come up when I asked about sayings but Susie spontaneously connects with her parents' voice when she is asked to speak to the next generation.

Joanne: Susie do you see yourself like if you had children or whatever saying things like keep your head down.

Susie: yeah I've used it. I was, on say, like a panel. It's you know Esther McVey, she is like an MP

Joanne: I'm not as politically aware as I should be. Which is a shame cause in Trinidad you had to know the heads and the capital of everything

Karen: yes everything

Susie: to mum's horror I don't read the newspapers. But anyway, I was on this panel and it was for young women, schoolgirls, and it's about helping them make informed choices about their careers and their futures, so on this panel it was me, the first woman fighter pilot, the first woman bomb disposal person in Afghanistan, the woman who started Pineapple Studious, some woman from The Apprentice, so there was like, there was like all these women on there and then it was in a theatre in London and it was like 300/400 girls in there. And we had to talk about what we did and you had to give some of them advice. And that's what they said. If there was one piece of advice that you could give what would it be. And I said "keep your head down, do your work and the rest will speak for itself".

Susie is operating/navigating a world that was not available to her parents and there is something powerful about taking the voice of her parents to this world. Her parents are part of a group of people who, on their arrival, would not have been permitted within this professional space. Susie speaking with authority and confidence asked what I asked, if there was one piece of advice, and Susie offered "keep your head down, do your work, and the rest will speak for itself". Carlos and Karen are saying 'stay out of it', let the work represent you, let the work be judged. This message also says to me, don't risk them judging you, let them focus on your ability. I was moved by this moment because her parents were overwhelmed with emotion. Carlos shouted "well done", "didn't know you had it in you", mother tearfully said "it's moments like this". Susie heard them; they could rest. This connects with Thomas's (2008) point about the children bringing the parents pride and joy.

The words have been handed down not just in the family but extended to the next generation regardless of the diverse background. There was a felt sense of pride in the room and her mother was tearful at this time. Carlos exclaims "yeah!" with pride and with laughter. In this moment, the African Caribbean person had influence.

The line-up sounds impressive. It was an important moment organised to encourage young women to pursue their ambitions. This was part of the power of the moment, that she is on stage as an example to young women trying to achieve. Excellence, and fitting in, was a key part of the parenting lesson and this is evidence of success. What role did language play in the creation of this moment? Susie called forth an identity that spoke boldly and without shame and shared the wisdom of her parents. Their daughter passes and is successful in a multi-cultural context. A goal of all their teaching was success and she was able to trace key words for her in achieving this.

For my next excerpt I re-introduce Carol and Maisy who were the main voice of "resistance". They are an aunt and niece combination who have become closer over the years, especially after Carol's mother passed away. Maisy is a retired dinner lady in her 70s and she worked at the same Primary School where Carol is now Head of Inclusion.

5.3.3 "it don't sound good"

In this section of the interview I am aware that I am speaking more than other parts. I have connected with the story of class, language and presentation to the public. This resonates with me as I have witnessed elders in my community try to sound, to quote Maisy, "posh". I recognise this is adopted to assert some entitlements and rights, like they are 'just as good' as the locals, but it sounds very different. I am curious about this response from Carol who is demonstrating how that generation tried to fit in and be recognised as worthy.

Carol: and when we were growing up, if I went shopping with my mother, she would try "speak the Queen's English", she was Jamaican. She would try and speak the Queen's English and we would say to her "mummy, no mummy, don't bother it don't sound good"
(**Carol & Maisy** laughter) "just talk how you talk, it sounds better"
Joanne: that's my mum, on the phone especially, who are you talking to, I don't even understand you
Carol: no. "it's like no mummy, don't talk like that, you don't talk like that. It don't sound good". You know she'd go to the supermarket or the fish market, you know, she worked with a lot of white people but you know she worked at Dulwich hospital, and you know the nurses, and she, she, she spoke Jamaican but if she was shopping and she was asking for a piece of fish, "Can I have that piece of fish please?" (posh voice sound) and it was like, no mummy, it don't sound good, just talk how you talk (Carol & Maisy laughter) because if it didn't sound right to us because we know what she sounded like at home.

My connection in this section of the interview is in feeling closer to what led me to do this study. Carol is remembering her mother and how she used her voice, specifically, in the domain of commerce when she called forth a different identity. To Carol's awareness this did not occur at work, but it occurred at the point where she had to sell money. She wanted to speak "Queen's English" which refers to people who want to sound educated, less black and more 'posh'. They talked about this with laughter and this time laughter feels like recognition of the ridiculousness of the moment, but it was also an encouragement to her mother. It's a gentle way of

saying "be yourself". It is interesting because in this moment the daughter is on-looking and negotiating ideas about identity. She became a qualified teacher and then the Head of Inclusion.

5.3.4 Speaking to the right people

The following excerpt demonstrates this point in her work context. Carol is an Inclusion Manager at a Primary School and she speaks to a professional struggle that she has. This feels pertinent in the context of the previous section when Carol wants her mother to speak in her own voice.

Carol: children who don't speak English first language is not English, they EAL, so they are seen by the EAL Coordinator (EAL, English as an Additional Language). To learn how to sound out words Patios is not a language.

Joanne: no

Carol: (Pause) and when you work in a school they automatically think that cause you're Jamaican or whatever…

Maisy: they think say it's Patios

Carol: it's a different language or something.

Maisy: right

Carol: so you're classed as EAL, but you're not if they speak to the right people. We have a little boy that came in from Jamaica and because the class teacher did not understand what he was saying she put him, they put him under speech and language so he was down in speech and language therapy and the black staff was like, "no, we can understand him" so you know we will work with him because we can understand him. And they be like "no no no no he's speech and language because he's speaking a different language" and we're like "no, just because his first language is not English it does not mean that he comes under EAL" because you know, Patios isn't a language,.. Its broken English. And you know, that's some of the mistakes schools make.

Carol goes on to the idea of "speak with the right people". This is a powerful statement that acknowledges that the expertise of the people who are connected to the dialect are not part of the decision-making process which they should be. The

power of professionals who get to create a particular type of world with a particular type of people. Who are the people deciding whether you have additional learning needs? There is a potential dominant story unfolding here about competence and expertise. Whose voice gets heard? How do the second generation get taken seriously, especially considering her job role within the organisation that would assume she had some influence? What's being said? The boy's ability to learn is being questioned and is there any further evidence apart from his voice? This was a sad and frustrating moment as it echoes with stories about competence in my own life. There is an assumption of you being "less than" because you are not speaking exactly the same as the people from the locality. It has also informed my curiosity into this research project.

In Carol's story she sees the potential of young people being limited and children being sent down different paths. She is worried and fed up by it. She describes the fight between black staff and the 'other professionals' who are not. Carol says "it's not English to them". These 'others' have made a decision about worth/merit and it feels like this is what is being fought against. The second generation are saying "we are also trained professionals and feel able to work with what we have in front of us"; they are pointing out the cultural competence/resource available to the school but the 'powerful other' decides against us, "that's where they make their mistake" is a direct response to the positioning of Carol and her colleagues. The mistake is in overlooking staff who understand and can help.

It is worth thinking here about identities being formed and being claimed, and ideas of recognition that the workers are battling with. Language and experience aren't recognised.

5.3.5 Yardie – a suit of armour

In the next excerpt we meet Carol's daughter Marcia. She is in her late 20s and wanted to be interviewed with her paternal grandmother, Joyce, who was active in raising her when she was growing up. Joyce came to England in the 1960s 'for a better life', she worked as a seamstress in a theatre doing costumes. Joyce is in her

70s and Marcia is her first granddaughter. In the following excerpts I am asking Marcia to think specifically about her use of language.

Joanne: So Marcia if you were to speak, now to put the heat on you, if you were with friends or family and you were to break into Patois you call it. What kind of things would you say?

Marcia: I probably wouldn't even try and speak in Patois.

Joyce: laughs… well I speak to hmm some of the girls in in Patois at the gym. (Laughs), and they answer back in Patois (laughs)

Joanne: yes, when you're more comfortable

Marcia: cause I don't, I have friends that will speak in Patois but I would never respond that way because it's alien to my tongue.

Joanne: well it's interesting you just made me think when I came to England some people confused me cause I would listen out for an accent to try and find somebody with a Caribbean accent and some people had Caribbean accents and they had never been there.

Marcia: yeah.

Joyce: it's just listening to your parents you know.

Marcia: yeah, you see growing up, well as a friendship group, we found it very fake if you didn't actually come from Jamaica to actually speak Patois cause you weren't born there unless you were raised by people who were born there. So my friends who were raised by their grandparents it was understandable that they spoke that way. But anyone who put it on it was, you know?

Joyce: it sounds different.

Marcia: Exactly! Why you doing that? Why you doing that? You weren't born there, stop pretending yeah. That's how I feel.

Marcia is confidently using her voice and all that brings. She does not feel any pressure to sound like she is from Jamaica like some of her peers, somehow, she has the confidence to speak in her black British voice. Her grandmother gives an example of her 'playing' with girls at the gym and they respond accordingly. There is a warmth and playfulness in her voice at this time. It felt like an example of when non-Jamaicans engage the older Jamaican community, but it's something that she

has initiated. It's a form of bonding. Marcia maintains her stance, it's important to her, she recognises it as a choice that others have and choose, but it's not a choice for her. She then uses an interesting turn of phrase "alien to her tongue". Marcia is third generation and was not raised with this way of speaking in her immediate home. Her own way of speaking recognises this as foreign. Her entitlement is rooted in what is familiar to her. Her way of negotiating her expression is connected to her immediate caregivers and providers of care. Interestingly, her grandmother, who is first generation, was key in raising her when she was younger, as her parents were young when they had her. This suggests that it is more than generational entitlement.

I continue with the conversation trying to get a sense of how Marcia understands this phenomenon of fake "yardie" accents.

Joanne: and so why do you think they were doing it?

Marcia: putting it on?

Joanne: yeah

Marcia: I think I think partly to show off because they could and speak in Patois it made you seem, (deep breath) not more aggressive but speaking in Patois you're not someone to be trifled with, cause you know yeah

Joanne: did it make anybody seem blacker you think?

Marcia: yeah and when I was growing up, all the kids used to speak and make fun of African people

Joyce: oh because they speaking different language

Marcia: because they speaking differently and it wasn't ok to be African when you were younger. So if someone spoke to you in a Jamaican accent…. It was ok to be Jamaican

Joanne: so there were African people speaking in Jamaican accents to try and fit in

Marcia: yeah

Joyce: yeah but it sounds so much different

> **Marcia**: and you could tell, of course you could tell, and you knew but I think people, it was more accepted to speak like that than any other sort of… what's the word
>
> **Joanne**: in any local dialect.
>
> **Marcia**: hmmm

Marcia is trying to make sense of "the why". We are working through something together. There was a discourse between Jamaicans and Africans which was not one of acceptance. Howe (2005) writes that post Brixton riots in the 1980s it gave rise to perceptions that Jamaicans were not pushovers. There was strength in these people. The discourse was that it wasn't okay to be African but speaking with a Jamaican accent was proof of acceptability, that being black was strength. Was this a corrective script (Byng-Hall, 1995) for black people? I get a sense of black people having to think with a sense of otherness. They are relying on the fact that white people can't tell them apart so, if I could master the sound of the yardie, I have found a suit of armour. Now why do they need this armour? What are they protecting themselves from? In a recent television interview promotion for his movie 'Yardie', Idris Elba (British born Nigerian) spoke about his connection to the movie. He said growing up, everyone wanted to be Devante, which is a classic name of a person of Caribbean descent. It just wasn't cool to be African. I think about the sound of urban young people and how often the yardie or Jamaican accent is used as a signifier. Particular words, sounds, to capture some strength. There is something powerful in there about how black/Jamaican is coming to be seen, but there is also something worrying. Black still signifies danger and what does this mean for young people entering the criminal justice system and mental health system?

5.3.6 We resist to conform to be protected – A complex moment

I end this section recognising that Marcia was still trying to express something. Her response at the end showed that she was still thinking so the next excerpt continues from there.

Joanne: so there was something about fitting in that you tried to find the crowd you think had the most chance of success.

Marcia: yeah

Joanne: so I could be the big strong south London person and talk with a yardie accent

Marcia: yeah, exactly that, yardie accent, that's what we called it. But if you were born here… no one made fun of me because I spoke proper English and I spoke very good English, until I got to secondary school

Joyce: laughter

Marcia: then I spoke a lot of slang, then I had to bring it back again

Joyce: laughter

Joanne: to get a good job

Marcia: yeah, exactly

I followed my feeling that there was more to be said and wondered about the archetypal 'Yardie' who represented the imagery of size, strength and not to be messed with. Many young people connected to this imagery and, in some ways, this continues to exist in urban culture. She states her experience as someone born here, who is black and didn't experience that pressure. I wonder how much of this is fuelled by her being female. Was it more important for black males to have an image of strength that they aspired to? Marcia also reminds me of the interview with Susie and her family; though she recognises her use of urban language at secondary school, she was able to make a decision to use language of employability when she needed to find work. She is able to conform when her survival is under threat. She laughed, highlighting for me some trickster traits, as she is aware playfully that slang is also part of her vernacular. Accents for her speak differently to her identity. Joyce laughs at this statement and the process of "bringing it back again", because in that moment I hear something of slang.

In the next excerpt I introduce Sandy, who I am friends with, and her mother, Gloria. Sandy was aware of my research and was keen to get involved. They were also my first interview. Gloria started the interview quite tearfully as she recalled that her experience of growing up in Barbados was painful. Her carer was her grandmother who she believed never had anything positive to say to her. Her take on language

was more reparative as she wanted to be different in communication, specifically speech. Gloria was also a Foster Carer for a number of years and adopted a daughter, and in addition she has two biological daughters. She continues to be in touch with a number of children that she fostered.

5.3.7 "Spit my words back at me"

In this excerpt Gloria returns to my first question in the interview and this is the quote that continues from "do so, don't like so". Gloria feels strongly that we should treat people the way we are treated and the language of her narrative is clearly influenced by the King James Bible where another quote she gives is "doeth unto others as you would have done to yourself".

At this point in the discussion Sandy volunteers to connect with the stories that she has heard and give a sense of the meaning of the story. These were the two main sayings she had from Barbados.

Sandy: and I remember that… Isiah , ok so my son he, I don't know whether I told you this, but it kinda brings me back to that. Cause I, I kinda say that a lot, like how do you think someone probably might feel if you did that? Or how did you feel? ok, so would you? I always kinda like, well ok, would you want somebody to do that to you? Do you know what I mean? So it's kinda thinking "well actually no", that kinda feels a bit like this, probably not very nice, so I kinda….We were watching something on the TV and I kind've… we don't kind've call people stupid, he doesn't kind've hear the word "stupid or idiot" apart from when I'm in the car (Laughter) driving he would hear me use the word really. Yeah but he knows and he won't. It's like "I'm not allowed to say those words". Cause I say I don't think it's very nice to say words like that. Would you want someone to call you stupid? How do you think it might make them feel? Also but we were watching something on TV and I kinda said, "oh idiot" and Isiah looked at me and he said "mummy, don't say that" and I just thought ok "he's gonna spit my own words back at me now" (laughter from the group). So he said "ok, mummy, if I did what that boy just did would you say that to me" and I said "no I wouldn't actually I wouldn't say that to you". And he said "well, don't say it to him" (**Gloria**: laughter) and I thought "yes, that's my child"

Within this story is a mother/woman who is contributing to social justice ideas in her home and promoting it within the wider community. She is clear that her painful childhood experience was not to be duplicated within her home. Her daughter is keen in this moment to demonstrate that the corrective script was a key part of her narrative and she has now made it a mainstream within her family. Between them there is a shared understanding and the laughter felt like a sense of pride in being able to fulfil your part in this corrective script (Byng-Hall, 1995), which has wider implications in terms of community life. The warmth is palpable in the room and I remember feeling a sense of pride and joy myself, especially at the little boy, Isiah, who in this account, has permission to speak and engage with a dialogue about language. He has permission to challenge adults and be heard. This is not a culturally familiar story for me so I notice it. I don't have a sense that his grandmother was afforded this privilege in her childhood and here he is as her grandchild living a different story. This excerpt demonstrated a restorative account for Gloria in her life, she could be heard and influence those close to her positively. In speaking about this together there is a sense of bonding happening between three generations and a sense of healing of previous wounds for Gloria, as described. For myself, it was beautiful to witness the connection being made between Sandy and Gloria as they realise 'they did it', they changed a painful script and made children they encounter humans with voices.

"Spit my words back at me" is an example of a saying that comes up in the natural course of conversation, but when asked directly Sandy was not able to give a saying. This demonstrates how embedded language/words are within our communication, so much so it becomes difficult to think about and objectively describe it. The saying itself in that moment is being used with pride, to demonstrate the idea that her son is bright and able enough to be a mirror to her, and to listen and to understand her enough that he can notice when something is not what it's supposed to be. Both mother and grandmother seem to be proud of his ability to challenge adults' behaviour. Importantly they have corrected a script that "children should be seen and not heard".

'The heart of my research'

In this section I return to Elaine and Angela, a mother daughter intergenerational dyad. In this family, Elaine, one of my oldest participants in the studies, is someone who used stories and sayings frequently within her family. So much so, that her daughter Angela has no problem accessing these for our conversation.

JC: Hmm it's a fair point so Angela had you heard these sayings before
Daughter: Yeah our mum always used to give us sayings I mean she'd say things like "give Jack the jacket" like if (when) somebody done well you were meant to props (meaning praise) them. I think when we were younger, we didn't quite understand it. Like she used to say things like "Don't push up your head where your body can't pass, you can't squeeze". So basically if your head can't get through that gap you're not meant to get involved. But I think when you are younger you kinda find it humorous you didn't understand (laughs). They think "here she goes again" (laughing). Yeah I think "um um you weren't quite clear". But some of them you have to be older to appreciate what she was saying and (then) you say it to your kids and you laugh cos "oh my gosh" that same saying is going down to the younger generation

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In this intergenerational system I could feel that stories and sayings are a well-worn part of family life; "here she goes again" really captures an essence of a childhood memory. Angela is able to recount numerous sayings (and she did as the interview progressed) recognising that this was a key part of teaching for her family. Angela is able to give the saying and the translation showing how fluent she is in this 'language'. I am interested in the choice of sayings used here, "let Jack have his jacket" describes acknowledging when someone has achieved, and "don't push your head where your body can't pass" describes 'knowing your place'. It suggests that if you have to struggle you should walk away. It's curious then to know how the family navigated achievements as an African Caribbean family in the UK who would at times have been required to squeeze. How and when do we learn when to fight and when to walk away?

This excerpt is also key as Angela speaks directly to the heart of my research interest; she is reflecting on a moment when her mother is not making sense to her in a culturally specific way. For Angela, time was what allowed the wisdom of her mother's saying to become transparent to her. Now as a mother (she later makes reference to her nieces and nephews) she recognises herself parenting in this culturally specific language. She does this with laughter, a laughter that seems recognisant of 'becoming your mother' but also and specifically becoming an African Caribbean mother.

'Embodied knowing'

In this interview, I return to Cordella where I speak with her and her daughter Michelle. Michelle at 22 is the youngest person in my study who is also a fairly recent university graduate. Her mother and grandmother came to the UK together. She is trying to recall her memories of sayings/stories and family life.

Michelle: I just remember grandma always saying watch me (laughing) that was the main one that I remember

Joanne: watch me

Michelle: watch me

Joanne: any particular reason?

Michelle: (laughing) When you are being you know leaning towards being cheeky or being naughty watch me (laughing)

Joanne: And how did you understand that?

Michelle: To be honest at the time I knew it in my body more than I knew (pause), more than I'd managed to make sense of the meaning. If you get what I mean…I knew the message that was being conveyed even though I didn't understand why those words

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Michelle makes a similar point to Angela earlier but I use her excerpt here as an example of a feeling response. In Angela's story, as a young person she was confused by her mother's words but as an adult she understands and even practises

them. For Michelle, she didn't understand 'why these words' but she could feel the expectation of the words. There was an embodied knowing of what was being said to her and it was helped by understanding the context in which these words would occur (cheeky or naughty).

'A Challenge of Integration'

As I had this interview after Maisy and Carol, I was curious about the idea of 'Kissing your teeth' and wondered with this family about their relationship with this form of expression. It seemed to connect with Michelle's sense of "knowing in my body". They both recognise this act as something Cordella does but did not see it as a big feature in how they communicate. Michelle seemed to be responding to the fact that Maisy got told off for this act. She said:

> **Michelle**: … I think well anyway I think that that transition can sometimes be a difficult one to a culture that does that doesn't express, to a culture, that expresses things in a very clear and (inaudible) to this whole kind of passive aggressive let's all hide our feelings and bottle of them until we explode

Michelle is making meaning of different experiences for different cultures, and how different ways of being can create tensions and difficulty. This feels special for me to hear because Michelle is not blaming people, she is somehow able to see the wider context that shapes understanding and expression. In this meaning making idea the fight is not a personal one and allows for stepping back. I was inspired to hear a 22 year old young person is able to offer this kind of insight that actually allows a conversation to be had as opposed to getting into a potentially unpleasant blaming of individuals.

Cordella spoke about having a different accent but of the similarity in the construction of English. Cordella was keen that the children were "bilingual and bicultural" and that any use of slang would not impede the ability to construct sentences. Cordella had more concerns for her teenage son at this time but wondered how much Michelle was aware of this. The following excerpt is Michelle's response.

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> **Michelle**: … I think well it was easier for me because I went to an independent school so a lot of the people who I was around on a day-to-day basis (pause). … umm memories of conversations with my grandma, I remember her kind of. Because my grandma had an accent, even though you (Cordella) don't have an accent my grandma had a Vincentian accent. But she still was very particular about how she spoke, but she would like (pause). I've had a lot of people who say to me oh yeah can you speak Patois? Can you? (pause) and I'm like "no my grandma never spoke like that" my mum's doesn't speak like that" so therefore I just don't speak
>
> **Joanne**: is it important to you to be able to own that (pause)
>
> **Michelle**: I think for me it's important to be able to understand not so much to be able to speak but to be able to understand and to have entrance into different kind of cultures and ways of communicating
>
> **Joanne**: because?
>
> **Michelle**: um I don't know that's a good question

In this excerpt I chose it partly because it was a response to mother sharing part of her hopes when parenting her children in a culturally sensitive way. It's interesting hearing the daughter try to respond to her mother's points and see her still figuring it out. She's thinking about her influences, her independent schooling (which later on in the interview she acknowledges as a class factor), her mother's lack of a Vincentian accent, her grandmother as the person with a clear Vincentian accent and her peer group. She's moving between language, accents, patois and how she speaks. I felt that I could feel a degree of negotiations but mostly reflections on the position she inhabits with her voice. At this point in her life what feels most important is that she understands what is being said to her, which was echoed by Marcia (aged 30) in her interview with her grandmother. Marcia as an older person is able to speak to a lack of entitlement to speak a patois calling those who are British born and speaking this way "fake". Michelle is still negotiating and creating a story of meaning to this phenomenon that explains the importance to understand and access different culture and cultural ways. In this part of the conversation, and overall when she spoke about patois and accents, she was speaking about her grandmother as

part of the current explanation could be connected to the love she has of her grandmother. Another part of what's happening is that Michelle could also be demonstrating how a cultural identity develops and the negotiations that happen along the way. I feel that some of this is captured in the following excerpt.

Michelle: hmm I don't know possibly I don't know I think I'm going on a tangent slightly but for me part of what's been important has been an identity finding process. Because also a lot of people here (England) only recognise Jamaicans (laughs). And if you're not Jamaican they're like "so where is that then" yeah and they have no idea (pause). I mean when I come across people who know where St Vincent is its more surprising to me (laughs).

Michelle highlights an aspect of a struggle with her identity is not simply language but literally having to open up the world to about where she is from, demonstrating that the Caribbean is bigger than Jamaica, the island that is most known.

'Doubleness'

In this section Susie is responding to her parents who are speaking about language. The parents themselves are connecting in the interview with how much emphasis this put into language.

Susie: But you say, and I think we've had this conversation. About the language that you use and young black people at work, because once you start talking like that, you will be pigeonholed. And it goes beyond young black people… young Asian people, it's any of the minority groups that think they have to talk street and then go in an office environment and, you're like why you talking? And maybe we're just being old fashioned cause that's the way that they speak but, if you can go to a meeting and communicate what you need to communicate in that meeting and do your job well should I be judging you for the language that you chose to use in that environment. Maybe not.

Though not using the term 'double consciousness' (Dubois, 1903), Susie is thinking about the implications of power dynamics. She is applying this to the workplace using the term 'pigeonholed'. The reality of the workplace for Susie is that it will cost you. Interestingly Susie opens up the discussion to not just young black people but young people from minority groups. The pervasive nature of power is being thought about for a population of young people who arguably already have a number of challenges/prejudices to navigate. She refers to this language as "street" language demonstrating its place as outside but this connects also to being pigeonholed. As described in Rollock et al (2011), part of managing and negotiating your racial identity in a public space is being aware of the perceived impact of a "street" identity. Susie is also questioning her own thinking at this stage of her working life; she has an opinion based on her experiences but she wonders about an unfairness to young people. In this moment I can hear her negotiating and contesting ideas that are informing her identities.

In this excerpt we hear something about the 'doubleness' that is navigated amongst some African Caribbean people. Elaine, the mother in the family, had been speaking about the literal speaking that occurs and how this is changed with knowledge. Knowledge is something that is often repeated in this interview, which suggests something of the priority that it is given in her own life. In this context she had said "that because knowledge has increased people will not till the land anymore, referring to the move from agricultural work to jobs that required an education.

Joanne: And do you think with knowledge increasing, because I'm interested in how people speak and do you think that with the knowledge increase, they don't want to speak like the older people used to?

Elaine: No, they don't want to (firm voice)

Joanne: They want to speak a different way

Elaine: When they go home, they will say they are English people, dem English people, English people! (firm voice)

Angela: You know what Joanne, without even realising it with the opposition that their parents they spoke with a strong accent of where they came from they most probably deterred you when you were growing up to talk properly. If you made a joke about your West Indian culture or spoke in the same dialect similar to your parents they would say "you can't talk like this here!

Joanne: And I think that was your mum's point if you talk like that they will think that you are mad and take you away

Elaine: Well that's it!

In Elaine's observation, this highlights something about the cultural shift in values. People wanted to engage in different forms of labour. I also wondered about shame, and whether people wanted to engage in what felt more worthy. I am asking Elaine whether she felt the increase in knowledge (education) influenced the younger people to speak differently. Elaine is clear it explains the difference to the point that some younger people (Elaine is in her late 80s) now believe themselves English. She says this with some astonishment, as though they believe an education will induce an effective 'passing'.

Angela, her daughter, born and raised in the UK, then raises the issue of opposition which introduces conflict between the generations. Your parents have a strong Caribbean accent to reflect their heritage but her belief is that they deterred you from sounding like them. The parents enforced the British rules and wanted the children to sound like they were passing in the home. In trying to link the conversation that we've been having, I return to Elaine's earlier point (in the interview) to explain the parents' resistance, with the concerns of the system taking you away, thinking only a mental illness can explain this voice. Elaine's exclamation in agreement is powerful to me, and it captures the power of her agreement in recognising that your voice was part of a package to think about protecting young people.

Multiple identities

In this section I return to Ron as he speaks about a cultural identity that he wants to shape for his son (about 18 months old).

Joanne: so how do you think you would be with your son as he gets older? Do you think you'd share stories with him?

Ron: well, because I suppose it's a bit different because with my generation, we tend to be more aware of culture and that's a bit more aware these days and all that (inaudible)… these changes

Joanne: Why do you think that?

Ron: I think it's just the way it's come. Cause like Ornell say, when he come everybody was just English and you were English, the way you know how, so even if they encountered a little racism when they came here they didn't really question their identity it was just really white and black mode. We're all English. By the time my mum came here, white and black was becoming more important. Cause you were still a British citizen when you came here? (to his mother)

Marva: Barbados

Ron: by that time

Marva: I came after independence

Ron: right! so her generation would've just started having independence and the other Caribbean islands would've just started having independence so, was like yeah I'm bajan kind've thing and that's why people would say or you buy a house here and you know I don't want to buy here, I don't want to live here, I going. But with my generation now we're kind've aware of both things so we're understand about nationalities and about hmmm race but also cultural background is now coming into thing because now we're aware that kids who are growing up here essentially loosing ties to all their different connections. It's kind've different whereas I would want my kid to go there and see the place. But I would make sure he has a sense of where he come from.

This is Ron's answer to my question about telling stories. He answers my question without seeming to answer my question; however this is his answer. He connects to the journey that his mother and the generation before her (Ornell) had in coming to the UK. He seems to be speaking to stages in the journey of integration, from thinking I'm British, this is a Black or white issue to the implications of independence in the Caribbean and what this meant in creating and identity. His mother came just

after independence which would have been a time of increased consciousness on themes of Black identity. The islands fought to be self-determining and this movement had an impact to identity. The implications of this journey are behind my use of the heading "because of them we can". He is living the benefit of this previous journey so he feels able to connect to multiple identities. However, he seems certain that the younger generation don't have the same connection to history (possibly to the journey), so in response to my question about stories he has a broader response of making sure that his son has a sense of where he is from.

5.3.8 Summary of meaning made by next generation

It is interesting to see how the next generation have positioned themselves. Within this context scripts have been corrected and we have a number of professionals who are doing their own kind of activism, in just being themselves and being successful. Ideas of othering, double consciousness and identity are more evident in this section and I wonder about language and living in a different era. There is more emphasis on meaning making and this may be why there is more thinking about language to engage this. Additionally, I used the caption "because of them we can" at the beginning because, actually, we can think and thrive because the forerunners of African Caribbean people paved the way for this.

The themes present in meaning made by the next generation are about an entitlement to speak in a particular style, proper English rather than Yardie. Yardie led to an interesting perspective on how othering can happen within a community, a story of resistance and a symbol of power and strength. There were some who were able to hear the social history of their families which gives a sense of the journey, and Carol specifically wanted to stay with a theme of resistance. Interestingly, she doesn't speak with a Jamaican patois but chooses to defend those with Caribbean accents, in her role as Inclusion Manager, and she supported her mother speaking in her voice. There was also experience of success, scripts of poverty were corrected and families achieved social mobility.

Elaine and Angela speak about their experience of passing. Elaine is able to recognise what happens to the next generation when they visit the islands of their

families while her daughter recalls many children were told that they were not allowed to 'sound' like their parents. Angela most clearly articulated the confusion that can occur when children are raised to pass by people who do not pass. How do they negotiate their place within their culture? Angela and Ron are the people who most understood sayings as a way of teaching and recognise that they are and will use sayings with the young people in their family. Interestingly, Angela and Ron are the two in families with the oldest in my study and whose families use sayings as a way of communicating within the home.

The youngest person in the study was the person who spoke with the most political voice. She made reference to a wider context and wondered what happens to a minority people who are from an expressive context when the dominant culture are more restrained. In her own experience of engaging with her family she didn't always recognise the sayings but she had an embodied response to communicating with her grandmother. She, like Marcia, does not speak patois but feels it important to understand what's being said, suggesting they recognise its importance in building relationships.

5.4 Overall Summary

In this section I feel that I've journeyed through some important parts of Caribbean life. Despite not coming from the same islands as most of my participants, I connected with a shared story of oppression and building a community. In the process of doing this analysis I felt a better understanding of my own family, in terms of family life rituals. Prayer was such a mandatory, non-negotiable part of family life, I feel I connect better to the gift that they felt they were giving. A sense of hope grounded in your rights in life. I understand religion as more of a suit of armour and an anchor to help you navigate life.

Ornell starts the journey with his childhood memories of Overseers being a part of his after-school play. Despite his childhood being in the 1940s, almost 100 years after the legal abolishment of slavery, colonial rule was still present and active. From a young age, he and his peers were resisting in their own way. Slavery and colonial rule were a significant part of the backdrop in which Caribbean people expressed

themselves and demonstrated agency. What, if anything, has been internalised for Ornell as part of this experience? How might he story this to a descendant in his family instead of to me as a researcher?   I demonstrated the place of religion in terms of maintaining a conformity, as well as part of a bonding process and moral code. Religion, discipline and education appeared key features of island life.

The idea of building was an important, fundamental concept, and a necessity for African Caribbean people in early island life post-abolition of slavery (1830s), and post-independence (1960s and 1970s). After a traumatic oppressive experience of colonial rule and slavery, a depleted island and a need for survival the people had to pull together in order to survive. Where it worked communities appeared to have a unified voice. Like religion, education had more than one function. Education provided access to social mobility but I am curious what social mobility, and time, did to the emotional distance between the generations in families. There is a kind of death that happens when stories get lost or re-written.   I feel Karen's story captured this best with the statement "we laugh at these things, but it's real life". Some aspects of Caribbean history are heavily shrouded in pain and shame. This shame can make facing history particularly painful. It is difficult when sometimes the story of Caribbean people only highlights oppression and doesn't show the multifaceted nature of its inhabitants. I have seen in my study people who experienced loss and sadness, but who also demonstrated resilience, cunning, trickery, discipline, focus, and laughter. Even those who conformed at times were still engaged in resistance because they made learning the rules their way of equalising the game.   This story of who African Caribbean people are is one area that was both directly and indirectly challenged as in Karen and Pedro's story. This worked to encourage their children to push beyond a particular narrative of want and lack. They wanted success and they achieved this via education.

In my study, people made decisions about how to speak, when to speak, and with whom to speak. This felt important in establishing safety as well as integrating. If they did not sound right and speak right, the consequences were dire for them. Maisy in my study was the person who presented a direct resistance to conformity. She would proudly declare "I am Jamaican, I wasn't born here". This meant something to her and she wanted to share this with the people. For her, living in

England did not erase her original narrative "I am Jamaican". She invited other people to connect with this identity which had mixed responses. She lost connection with some family members but became closer to the members who were interested in a Jamaican identity, people who allowed her to 'talk her own talk' without worry.

One particular worry that participants had was around mental illness. Participants like Ornell and Elaine, the oldest in my study had particular concerns about being seen as "mad". With a history of overrepresentation in the criminal justice and mental health system they were keen to conform to a view of 'normal'. By contrast, Gloria took a very different position. She engaged the trickster energy to manipulate the ambivalence of people not understanding African Caribbean people. She used this ability to keep her family safe, and it worked.

In the last section, my focus was on the next generation. I showed that some scripts have been corrected. Susie became a success and Gloria's grandson challenges his mother if she doesn't "treat others like she would like to be treated". Carol, like Maisy, is challenging the system to listen to the voice of African Caribbean people. She is frustrated that despite education and experience she is not able to have a voice on young Caribbean children who immigrate here. How common is this experience? She speaks about her black professional peers having the same complaint. How do we understand the system not allowing black professionals to speak or represent black people within the system? Ideas about blackness, identity and strength also emerged as we thought about 'Yardie' as a way of trying to be. How much has this 'Yardie' image influenced the perception of black professionals?

It was also interesting within my study the archetype of the Trickster was much more present when discussing living in the Caribbean. Only Gloria spoke about engaging this style of being in England. Others in the study seemed to use positions of conforming or resisting. My sense is that, "they will think you are mad" was a real deterrent. Also, as discussed in my history section, the women in Black women developed systems of thought that resisted the oppressive experiences they were having (Ellis, 1986). In my study, Gloria, Elaine, Karen, Carol and Maisy were all forces who were not afraid to challenge the system around them.

Chapter 6: Discussion

"History, despite its wrenching pain, cannot be unlived, but if faced with courage, need not be lived again" Maya Angelou

As mentioned previously I am from Trinidad in the Caribbean. My research question came from my own experience of the pain of not belonging post-migration. This feeling of not belonging for me brought with it a powerful sense of shame that I've attributed partly to an adolescent transitional task of needing to belong to a community outside of my home. Secondly, because my experience of living with others prior to England occurred in a village that was built on people being connected. To not belong created powerful feelings of inferiority within me because to not belong meant to not have a framework for this new community from which I could navigate this world, and it also meant a lack of human rights, and yet my upbringing meant inherently I knew I had rights and that I belonged somewhere. I held dear the voices and words of people who told me I mattered and used this to navigate my new terrain. The message that I did not belong here came predominantly from the English so I learned to distrust "English".

As I journeyed through this study, I became increasingly aware of how different my arrival story was to that of my participants. Journeying to England as a teenager, on my own, to navigate foreign shores with a goal of 'a better life' and no other detail other than "get an education". My participants all came as adults, to meet families, and many had work arranged for them. Their process to achieve the goal had more details than mine. They had professional and family communities that they could belong in. I was not welcomed by the strangers who were my father and his family, and I did not have a network that I could reach out to. The search of my estranged 14-year-old self was different from the search of my adult participants.

My search in this study was for the Caribbean voice that I longed for when I arrived here. A search for an older wise woman who understood me. I missed my grandmother and my homeland. To hear how my participants cared for each other and how they positioned themselves and their family was both painful and healing, as it showed me exactly what I was grieving for. To be thought of with good intent.

This is not a place that can be returned to, this is a moment in time that is gone. To accept this loss, of what had now become an idealised place in my psyche, is to accept grief that I felt deeply for at least two years during this study. As Hall (1991) wrote, Caribbean people are twice diasporised. This makes loss and trauma a complicated and central part of our identity. Understandably this grief and hurt became the lens through which I understood my participants. Feeling my pain was not enough, I needed to engage in a process of understanding this pain; reflection and meaningful conversation were key ingredients to understanding my pain. In this moment I became aware that essential to working with Caribbean people in therapy is being able to face powerful painful feelings. Once I had acquired this understanding the lens of my inner world was widened allowing me to access the humanity, resilience and agency of my participants.

Holding the idea of seeing African Caribbean people as humans, I was drawn to the work of Brooks (2014) "Black people are seen as part of a mass term, not individual people, and they are, therefore interchangeable" (p.54). It took a lengthy process of conversation with others and self-reflexivity to allow the landscape to expand to see other parts of my participants' humanity, demonstrating in part that this humanising of another, where we see them as complex beings, is not simply about race matching but about how we allow ourselves to both think and engage critically with the person in front of us. This is not a one-person job. Brown (1996) describes agency as "much a topic to be explained as it is a resource for substantiating claims to self-determination" (Brown, 1996, p.130). In this quote I understand agency as a personal method for validating the 'self'.

As I journeyed through my studies, I became aware of ingredients for doing meaningful therapeutic work with African Caribbean people, such as reflexivity, meaningful conversation/discussion with people who understand African Caribbean people, the personal necessity to face generational grief, loss and trauma and agency as a resource for understanding another person's humanity and identity. I also reconnected with the power of education and learning as it was in doing this study that I healed parts of myself and was able to develop my clinical thinking for African Caribbean people. This study made me aware of the power and role of reggae music within the act of resistance and education in Jamaica. Reggae was a

way to connect with the everyday person. In Trinidad where I am from, this would have been done with Calypso, our local folk music. Reggae spread with the rise of Bob Marley and, with the help of commercialisation, had a stronger hold on the people. I was moved to tears by the following song as suddenly I heard it for the first time. The song is sung in a slower pace than many reggae songs, imploring the listener to pay attention. It's a plea to remember who we were, and what Babylon has done to us. I am moved by the resistance to conform, the distrust, and the real request for freedom (in which lies the dignity of the people).

Babylon System – Bob Marley – Album Survival 1990

As I journeyed through my studies, I became aware of ingredients for doing meaningful therapeutic work with African Caribbean people, such as reflexivity, meaningful conversation/discussion with people who understand African Caribbean people, the personal necessity to face generational grief, loss and trauma, and the importance of agency as a resource in understanding another person's humanity and identity. I also reconnected with the power of education and learning, as it was in doing this study that I healed parts of myself and was able to develop my clinical thinking for African Caribbean people. This study made me aware of the power and role of reggae music within the act of resistance and education in Jamaica. Reggae was a way to connect with the everyday person. In Trinidad where I am from this would have been done with Calypso, our local folk music. Reggae spread with the rise of Bob Marley and, with the help of commercialisation, had a stronger hold on the people. I was moved to tears by the following song as suddenly I heard it for the first time. The song is sung in a slower pace than many reggae songs, imploring the listener to pay attention.

Babylon System – Bob Marley – Album Survival 1990

We refuse to be
What you wanted us to be;
We are what we are:
That's the way (way) it's going to be. You don't know!
You can't educate I

For no equal opportunity:
(Talkin' 'bout my freedom) Talkin' 'bout my freedom,
People freedom (freedom) and liberty!
Yeah, we've been trodding on the winepress much too long:
Rebel, rebel!
Yes, we've been trodding on the winepress much too long:
Rebel, rebel!

Babylon is the term used colloquially by many black people to describe the system built on slavery or on oppression of black people. The title of the song is establishing the context from which meaning should be understood. The beauty and power of this being in a song means that it offers a way to unity in the people in a single voice, and those without words to express a particular aspect of their struggle can do so by singing along. In this first verse Marley is setting the theme of resistance. Here he's stating a refusal to conform, and as someone who is considered a leader of the people, even a prophet by some, Marley is confidently speaking on behalf of his people. He is challenging this idea about "equal opportunity" in the fight for his and black people's experience of freedom. Freedom is an idea that is bigger than equal opportunity to me. Equal opportunity is about access and in the 1960s and 1970s access to resources would have been pivotal in that fight. However, freedom is a more expansive idea that encompasses access to resources. it is about our right to exist as individual human beings without dominant cultures wanting to fix our hair, our voice, our dress; "we are who we are" and we need to be accepted for who we are. This is freedom.

The next verse
Babylon system is the vampire, yea! (vampire)
Suckin' the children day by day, yeah!
Me say: de Babylon system is the vampire, falling empire,
Suckin' the blood of the sufferers, yea-ea-ea-ea-e-ah!
Building church and university, wo-o-ooh, yeah! -
Deceiving the people continually, yea-ea!
Me say them graduatin' thieves and murderers;
Look out now: they suckin' the blood of the sufferers (sufferers).

Yea-ea-ea! (sufferers)

My connection with this verse is the acknowledgement of "the children" as this reference acknowledges the intergenerational struggle. Children, for me is also an evocative term for me as it speaks to the foundations of a culture. How we educate the children, and by this I mean the 'truths' we share with them, is vital in helping them shape their own identities and hopefully recognise old patterns of structures that don't support their wellbeing.   Marley then introduces the idea of the mythical creature who takes life and blood from others so that it can survive. The connection is powerful as not only does it highlight an intergenerational trauma but the juxtaposition of children with vampires may offer an explanation to why some try to pass, resist or engage the trickster. He continues thinking about institutions given to us by this Babylon system, and offers two key institutions, churches and universities. I would argue that these institutions are pivotal in scaffolding conformity and passing behaviours. What he sees is how these institutions continue to feed a deception of freedom to the people as they steal the identities of the people.

The final verses that I will look at here are as follows.
Tell the children the truth;
Tell the children the truth;
Tell the children the truth right now!
Come on and tell the children the truth;
Tell the children the truth;
Tell the children the truth;
Tell the children the truth;
Come on and tell the children the truth.

'Cause - 'cause we've been trodding on ya winepress much too long:
Rebel, rebel!
And we've been taken for granted much too long:
Rebel, rebel now!

In this moment for me, as a black woman, as a therapist, as a woman who has spent over 20 years working with young people, I become very aware of what's important

to me when working with young black people. The need for an honest conversation. Here Marley is imploring the people to be honest with the children. How do we create a different narrative for young people if we are not part of the storying of the history that sets a context for an emerging people? How can we exist in a system of oppression that has been set up by the Babylon system if we don't own our experience within this system? I hear myself saying with the same repetition "tell the children the truth". Finally, I hear Marley saying "rebel", a word that is important in the movement of resistance. Black African Caribbean people have been working in the Babylon system and it's time we rebelled and face the world as who we are.

This song could be analysed as a piece of socio-political history in its own right, serving an important connection to history. It's a plea to remember who we were, and what Babylon has done to us. I am moved by the resistance to conform, the distrust, and the real request for freedom (in which lies the dignity of the people). Owing to its personal resonance for me and reflection of so many themes in this research I was moved to share it here.   Rebellion is what you have to engage to access the privilege of being yourself. You have to rebel from how you've been storied in the oppressor's ideology. I liken this to Stuart Hall's counter identities (1991), you've got to create your own narrative; a narrative for African Caribbean people that acknowledges the reality of 'Babylon System' but does not end there. I will now discuss my findings.

"They tried to bury us, they did not know we were seeds" - Dinos Christianopoulos

"People are trapped in history and history is trapped in them" – James Baldwin

I set out to explore the ways in which African Caribbean immigrant families 'use their voice' with each other within the context of living in England. I had a particularly curiosity about the literal use of their voice, specifically what voice they 'do' family life in. This curiosity was based on both my personal and professional experience of being an immigrant who had to think constantly about my voice when navigating relationships in various contexts. My own experience was that I actively sought out

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and clung to stories/sayings from my family and island as a way of maintaining my connection to them. I wondered about others' use of stories/sayings from their own family and community histories to communicate an experience.

6.1 My research questions

1. How do first generation Caribbean migrants tell their stories of migration and integration? How do they negotiate, construct, contest, negotiate identities within this?

2. What, if any, stories/sayings from the Caribbean do they draw on to help them navigate their new context?

3. How do the next generation negotiate, construct, contest identities within these stories/experiences?

My hopes for this study included finding stories and sayings/proverbs from the Caribbean being used within family networks. I thought this would lead to a type of alternate resource that could connect people to their ancestors' way of being and offer a potential alternative way for thinking about healing.   Instead, conversations turned out to be about navigating an integration process in England. When there were conversations about the use of the voice, it emerged as an act of strategic positioning to think about identities in the process of integration (e.g. looking for work) or specific to bonding and forming new networks with other Caribbean people in England.

What jumps out at me when thinking about the Caribbean is it represents hundreds of years of struggle. Since the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the 15th century, the region has experienced unrest, annihilation of indigenous people, with coercion and imposition of colonial ways. The Caribbean was a large-scale industrial complex where humans were exploited for capitalist gains and, when the natural resources were used up and sugar lost its place in the global market, the plantation owners (heads of their industry) left the workers with no support. The African Caribbean people no longer had to do forced labour but now they had to pay rent, so some

continued to work the land for a small wage. With minimal resources on depleted land the plantation owners received compensation for their loss as they returned to the UK (leaving many of their black children behind). A traumatised people were left with a depleted land to survive with minimal assistance from the 'mother land'.

In my clinical implications, I briefly expand on my use of psychoanalytic ideas and how this informed my thinking when making sense of my data. Part of my professional context involves me being trained as an Integrative Child Psychotherapist. This training involved me becoming acquainted with a transpersonal approach to understanding people, as well as an object relations early years account of understanding people. These models were important for me in opening up the world to how people can be thought of. It feels important to say here that all my trainings inform my gaze. By this I mean it means the use of my curiosity ultimately reflects multiple models/ways of understanding people. I tend to use different models to ask questions. The systemic approach allows me to think about the impact of a moment or event on individuals and families and the way that they may relate to each other after this. I may even consider how an event or moment is storied and what the storying of it allows/constrains in a family. But when I think from a psychoanalytically informed way, I think about what's been internalised and the possibility that we can 'carry' the emotional implications of something without being aware that this is a pain we are carrying (unconscious behaviour).

One area systemic thinking strove to challenge was the use of power in therapeutic practice. I agree with Guilfoyle (2003) who states to deny power within therapy serves only to conceal the institutional and sociocultural context of power. Fanon (1967) was a doctor who was clearly influenced by psychoanalytic ideas and Dubois (1902) was an activist and social historian. Both seminal thinkers in the thinking of black people they are both addressing power in their appraisal of oppression and black lives. These experiences of power can be both conscious and unconscious. The overall ideas that are worthy of considering is how black people carry and navigate power dynamics. Working with the big and small stories of narrative analysis provides a way to consider what's said and what unsaid, conscious and unconscious. The social constructionist framework then provides a format for multiple realities instead of one truth to show itself in the analysis.

Family scripts can be defined as "the family's shared expectations of how family roles are to be performed within various contexts" (Byng Hall, 1995, p4). These "shared expectations" are for me intrinsic to the act of culture where, according to Geertz (1995) culture can be understood as a "shared system of meaning" originating from common rituals, values, etc., which become the lens for perceiving the world. Reflecting on family priorities with the use of family scripts is a way of acknowledging how sub-cultures are performed within wider society, and thus forms a helpful context for my research.

In Byng-Hall's (1995) model, transgenerational continuity and discontinuity are recognised within the way families perform family life. Within this model, parents can be seen as the gatekeepers and means by which the future life of a family script is regulated. When a parent repeats a scenario from childhood this is called a replicative script. Often cultural, religious and other traditions are played out. The choice to do something different is called a corrective script. The need for difference can be fuelled by a number of contexts including wider political changes, but can arise from the family's recognition of the need for change so that they can survive or better function. Exposure to difference can give families new ideas, and new ways of being. Difference can include life cycle transitional activities like moving to a new area, changes in family composition, someone marrying/dating outside their cultural context, bereavement, loss, etc. This creates a need, and the family are forced to a position where they experience what Byng-Hall (1995) terms improvisation. Improvisation is sought when we do not have an established pattern of responding. It's a new context, new experience for the family. In this study, migration would be an example of a new context for which the first generation did not have an established pattern of responding, so they would have to create a number of strategies for responding. They had to improvise.

All my participants would have had to engage in the practice of determining what was important to their functioning as a family when they navigated different aspects of family and individual life in England. A classic tale for Caribbean migrants is that they came here for 'a better life'. In my study Susie's family are a clear example of correcting this social script. This is a well-established script on social mobility.

However, in a wider socio-political context one script that the families are negotiating is in direct response to the pain of oppression, a legacy of colonial domination and a long history of being deceived by colonial powers. Racism post-migration would have provided ample opportunities for families to be in a constant state of uncertainty and threat. Social mobility was arguably a way of improving/accessing your human rights. It was a way of accessing a quality of life otherwise denied you and a number of previous generations of your family in the Caribbean.

In some ways, responding to oppression and uncertainty is a replicative script in an old story. However, migration highlighted a deeper psychological injury. In the Caribbean, England was referred to as the 'mother land'. The cry for support during the war said "your mother needs you". Despite being told that they were British subjects in the Caribbean, it was upon migration to England that African Caribbean people found out that they were not perceived this way by the native people. They became aware that the British people were not told the same story about them, were not expecting them and at times violently rejected them. They had been tricked once more. They were not welcomed in England and the jobs/opportunities that they were offered in the Caribbean largely did not materialise. Disappointment, rejection, struggle and mistrust was a significant part of the context which this group had to navigate. I consider Gloria, who took on the trickster position. She didn't describe a background of uncertainty but said "in those days you daren't hit a white person". What was in her experience that would make her consider violence on a white person? These unspoken and unsaid moments that do not give definitive responses are the small story moments in my study that required me to offer an interpretation, suited to people who have lived the unspeakable.

I will set out my key findings using the positions of three types of archetypal themes, as I used them within my analysis, to connect with ideas of agency. My use of these archetypal themes is not meant to demonstrate an exhaustive list. There are likely other possibilities for responses as people are complex beings and different situations may require different things from us. Additionally, responses were not fixed, and people navigated different responses at different times to position themselves accordingly.

- Resistance/Revolutionary - people who engage in acts of resistance as a direct challenge to dominant ways
- Passing/conform - people who are more subversive in the ways they can respond which is either to conform/'pass'
- Trickster/Anansi - to engage in the behaviour of the Caribbean Trickster is to engage with cunning and wit.

All of these responses are understood by me from a wider lens which is the socio-political context. My engagement with these ideas is offered as a way of thinking about what options people felt they had available to them and a way of communicating something important about how they used their personal agency to create an identity.

Additional themes that emerged in my study which feel pertinent to think about further were:

- Education
- Pain and Loss
- Distrust/caution of 'the system'

I will commence by discussing the positions that people engaged as they created identities for themselves.

6.2 Trickster

In archetypal psychology and transpersonal thinking there is the presentation of the character called 'the Trickster' (Quinn, 2000) who is considered the world's first story-teller. The Trickster is the spirit of disorder and the enemy of boundaries. In pushing boundaries (What can be done? When? And to different cultural and societal norms) the Trickster invites a fuller meeting of the self. In Jungian thinking the Trickster is both a mythical figure and an inner psychic experience who helps us connect to different aspects of ourselves and serves as a symbol of transition. Though the trickster offers myriad meanings in archetypal psychology that is not my

use here. Archetypal psychology also explores a wider collective unconscious where in this context, I am referring to the trickster as a position from which people navigate their social world.

Traditional Caribbean storytellers would not have used the term "trickster" to describe their folklore heroes. They used local names for their characters. In the Caribbean, tales like the Anansi Stories and Brer Rabbit Stories were commonly used. Anansi stories are the better known and have been placed in the *Trickster Hero* genre of mythology Auld (Anansi stories on-line). Anansi is an African folktale character. He often takes the shape of a spider and is considered to be the spirit of all knowledge of stories. Hall (2017) references Levi-Strauss to acknowledge the ambivalence that is often captured in the trickster transitional figure. The figure inhabits two worlds and neither world but literally negotiates between them; he is a 'migrant'. The trickster eventually lives an ambiguous experience because he does not belong. This idea of belonging was not always explicitly spoken of but was an undercurrent throughout the study, though, interestingly, four of my participants who are in their retirement travel to the Caribbean every year where they have homes. They stay for a few months and visit England for a few months annually.

The symbolism that is played out in these stories speak also to an interpersonal and socio-political context particularly about challenging power. In my study Ornell gave an example of the trickster in operation when the school boys decided to all run out on the land at the same time. This section of my interview felt like one of the most important because Ornell had been to school in the 1940s, slavery was over and has been over for 100 years but the people were not free. The Overseer (clear evidence of colonial rule and oppression), guarding the land on a horse, could not pursue everyone at the same time. They were in a protest about land/power but they set the situation up so that the Overseer had no way of 'winning'. This is cunning, this is wit, the boys were laughing, this was play for them. Interestingly, Ornell never uses the word oppression or racism. This is the norm. Caribbean people experienced generations of fighting, in the ways that Caribbean people were able to, without this phenomenon being named. This is an example of a taken-for-granted 'normal'. The people did not talk about politics, they got on with their lives. The other important

point is that for Ornell, as a father and a grandfather, these stories may inform and influence his family.

Hall (2017) describes Anansi the spider as a conman, a hustler, and a double dealing character who "exploits the ambiguities of belongingness" (Hall, 2017, p.199). He disrupts and disturbs the narrative in which he exists. In Engalnd, Gloria gave an example of the Trickster in action. As she had to integrate into her new neighbourhood, she said "you know they thought *we were mad".* She exploited the discourse of how she was perceived and played into to it enough to make people not challenge her. She kept herself and her children safe by exploiting ambiguities in a particular story for African Caribbean people.

In Caribbean folk stories, the Trickster figure is seen as able to outwit or outsmart to be victorious in different oppressive challenges. Though those characters didn't always win every obstacle, they usually won the challenge and the central tool was their wit/cunning. Caribbean people had to survive. This can be seen in my literature review section where, for example, Marshall (2012) wrote about how cunning and wit were used to undermine the oppressors and enable some slaves to attain freedom and flee, for example, the Maroons. The trickster is an apt figure because, although he does not discuss oppression, he understands the story that he is in and he manipulates that knowledge to his advantage. In my study, Ornell (with the afterschool fight for land) and Gloria (I knew they thought we were mad) both demonstrated the small victories that can be won along the way when engaging trickster type behaviour.

6.3 Passing – conformist

"Passing is a deception that enables a person to adopt certain roles or identities from which he would be barred by prevailing social standards in the absence of his misleading conduct. The classic racial passer in the United States has been the "white Negro": the individual whose physical appearance allows him to present himself as "white" but whose "black" lineage (typically only a very partial black lineage) makes him a Negro according to dominant racial rules" (Kennedy, 2001, p.1). Though this definition comes from the USA within a legal context, it offers a

helpful parallel for thinking about the phenomenon in other parts of the world. Laws within the USA meant that if a person who looked white but had any black heritage, regardless of how many generations prior, were deemed black and so inherited the legal rights of black people. Within the context of how black people were treated, e.g. lynching's, poor to little work opportunities and higher incarceration rates, passing afforded a type of privilege and opportunity that allowed them to live in the dominant world successfully without mistreatment.

In this context passing is a complex phenomenon which brought a mixed bag of opportunities because, whilst on the one hand you had access to a better quality of life and the opportunities that existed for white people, if caught you faced the brutal and inhumane punishment meted out to black people. With the passage of time passing has come to describe behaviour of a visibly black skinned person trying to fit into a 'white world'. In my study Maisy gave an example of trying to bond with her sister in "the Jamaican" and her sister not only refused to laugh but she also claimed she could not understand. This is the place where she was raised so why wouldn't she understand what is being communicated. Maisy is a fair skinned black woman, at times in the interview she said that she would often be asked if she is Greek-Cypriot. If her sister is the same colouring as her, she is in the territory as someone who doesn't have to be mistaken for 'African'. She is putting distance between herself and certain characteristics of being Jamaican. Maisy isn't. The sister went on to share her own joke, in a "posh British" voice and Maisy refused to laugh stating that she "didn't understand". Burck (2005) explains that language can gain increased national or cultural identity when a country or community has been threatened with dispossession or in a post-colonial period when a country is reconstituting itself. While Burck explored multilingual and bilingual ways of being, she did not look at dialects or sayings as part of this exploration. However, the application of her work is relevant here because dialects are a type of language for many communities but definitely within this study. Divisions are being set up, but not discussed. Maisy's sister's position of passing is activating Maisy's trickster position and creating distance between the siblings. With these markers of identity and 'doing' family life it is not unusual for families to reshape their identities and connections. What is the impact for the individual sense of self when they have to engage in this way of living?

Fanon is a seminal thinker who has contributed significantly to the idea of passing in his book *Black Skin, White Mask* (1967). Within his work, he writes "Every colonized people - in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he removes his blackness, his jungle" (Fanon, 1967, p.18). In my time as a teenager 'passing' had a derogatory tone. Words like 'coconut' and 'bounty' were used to symbolise the black/brown skinned person who was seen as superficially black. This person distances themselves from the markers of blackness so is not understood as an ally in the socio-political struggle. However, in Fanon's writing he is not referring to them as "sell outs", to use a vernacular, he is describing the type of wounding colonial rule created.   Part of this legacy includes a lack of self-love or an internalised hate.

In a broader context, passing has been used colloquially to describe a black person with class aspirations. In this sense, it is an act of survival, a tool to navigate a capitalist world. In colonial times it would also offer some hope to the slave who wants to be seen as more pleasing to the master. An opportunity to leave the field and be taken seriously. Passing, despite being an act of survival can bring upset and hurt to those that use it because there will continue to be occasions when it is pointed to them that 'they don't belong', somehow, they are still different. This occurred in the interview with Carlos and Karen when they decided to speak 'proper English' to support the educational progress of their children. Despite their efforts Susie returned home from school one day having been teased for saying "my back is scratching me". Susie was joyous in the telling of this story because Karen protected her: "mum went down there and stood up to the kid". However, Karen abruptly stopped that conversation. It felt like she was clearly not going to allow her identity to be seen as a type of black woman but, also, she was not going to let her hurt be dismissed. According to Archer (2010), raising issues with the school is one of the responses engaged by black middle-class families. This allowed her daughter's rights to be acknowledged but what happened with her pain? This is another small

story moment where, in the interview, Karen is wanting her pain to be recognised. She spoke "I can't tell you the pain". As part of a family unit Karen and Carlos made a choice to not engage certain cultural ways of being because they thought this would support their children achieve socially and economically in England; this is the spoken story. The unsaid story was that they didn't want their children to feel pain. In this moment she was reminded of something painful which felt real as I heard the pain in her voice as she spoke it. How many moments do African Caribbean parents have like this where their pain is not seen, where they might be interpreted as angry or worry about being perceived as angry? Where even their children miss their pain. More clearly, I experienced caution, some distancing of the self from narratives that would not serve them in an integration process. Dubois' (1902) double consciousness concept was in operation. For example, Ornell and Elaine also used this double consciousness to not use their Barbadian and Antiguan voices (respectively) as they did not want to be thought of as "mad" and Gloria stated "they already think we are mad". This is another powerful moment because to be seen as "mad" in this country is to lose your rights again and enter a system where Black people do not fare well. Susie's family deliberately chose not to engage the 'voice' of the Caribbean hoping to achieve social mobility. Dubois' concept of double consciousness was the basis of Rollock et al's (2011) research on how middle-class black people have to perceive themselves through the eyes of white other. My research found that black people, not just the middle class, were thinking about markers of blackness and how they were perceived by white people; specifically this was just another part of daily living for African Caribbean people. Burck (2011) looked at how people experience and construct themselves differently in each language. My study found that developing a professional identity was the clearest arena where African Caribbean people made every effort to think about how they are viewed and what self gets constructed. They discovered accents and dialects within the English language played a great part in how to negotiate who they were, with how they wished to be seen.

What I am describing is a people post-independence, post direct colonial rule who have joined the system in an attempt to move beyond survival into being successful. Vigoya (2015) found that, though black people wanted to be themselves in the system, they found the system wanted them to be a particular way. They have

engaged in a way of being in the hopes of increasing their chances of success. Success is not easy and if this is achieved racism means you still don't belong. This then makes passing a complex act where success becomes a revolutionary act. It challenges the narrative about who black people are allowed to be and what we can do, allowing a new narrative to emerge.

Susie and her family, as well as Cordella and her family, demonstrated what 'passing'/conforming could look like. They engaged the opportunities for social mobility and achieved some success in this. However, for Cordella and her family, their success in the Caribbean resulted in them being attacked by their local community in St Vincent, so coming to England could best be described as fleeing.

6.4 Revolutionary - resistance

The last of my positions to consider is the revolutionary who engages in direct resistance. According to Wikipedia, the modern usage of the term "Resistance" originates from the self-designation of many movements during World War II, especially the French Resistance. The term resistance has been expanded to a broad term to describe underground resistance movements in any country. In this sense the fight against colonialism is just one example of how the resistance movement can operate. Duncombe (2007) describes cultural resistance as "the practice of using meanings and symbols, that is, culture, to contest and combat a dominant power, often constructing a different vision of the world in the process" (Duncombe, 2007, p.1). I place the style of speaking, using particular dialects, as part of a practice of culture. It becomes symbolic of a particular identity, and can be a powerful act of resistance when, as in this case, it reflects not just black, but a particular class who are also oppressed and rejected.

Flaskas and Humphreys (1993, p.5) argue that "in the same way that power shows itself in everyday social practices, in discourses and in the way person-as-subject comes to be understood, resistance too can be explored only at the local level of everyday practices, in the interactions around particular discourses, an in-people's struggles to negate particular definitions of subjectivity and to claim different subjectivities". This quote captures what I believe is the essence of living resistance.

Ultimately it is a way of contesting power, but because it becomes a way of being, when it travels down the generations, many no longer understand the act, they are simply replicating a culturally specific way of being without understanding its meaning. People are actively involved in an act of rebelling and being self-determined that they may also not fully understand, nor understand why they have engaged in a particular practice.

This is important in my study as some participants engaged in these acts of resistance. Maisy (aged in her mid-70s) and her niece were active in being themselves. Maisy spoke of how she could "speak proper if she wanted to…" or she would say "was I born here? I am Jamaican". She felt connected to her roots in Jamaica and denied any pressure to conform to an English way of being. When asked directly she said "if you don't understand me is because you don't want to". Somehow Maisy connected with an idea that the other person has a part to play in the relationship. Pappi also represented resistance with his line "pissing on Jesus' head". I explore this further in the religion section but, needless to say, his statement is a powerful one, especially in the context of 100 years ago, when most of the islands were being indoctrinated and compliant with the idea of Jesus Christ as someone to be treasured.

6.5 Racism

Having thought about the types of responses that African Caribbean people utilised as part of a process of navigating new terrain, it felt important to name racism as a phenomenon that would have operated within this process. Racism can be viewed as the process through which discrimination operates and power is exerted (Hall, quoted by Rabia Malik in a Lecture, 2010). The result of this process is the dehumanisation of a person. Hall (1991) defines racism as something that "fixes human social groups in terms of natural pseudo biological discourse and asserts their belonging or not belonging on the basis of certain arbitrary characteristics - thereby limiting their becoming." African Caribbean people have a long history of being limited and denied human rights to self-determine or self-actualise compared to their white counterparts. The migration to England reaffirmed a racist ideology as they were, once again, robbed of dignity and put directly in harm's way. They trusted

"mother" (England, under the Queen's rule, was touted as the motherland) and were learning that she could not be trusted. No one in my study talked about racism. They talked about living and preparing for life, they talked about cooking, managing work, etc. The people were not theorising their experiences, they were surviving it and navigating it.

As an immigrant I remember the moments when I realised the script I used in the Caribbean was not serving me in England. Raised to submit to authority, I learnt quickly in England that this was not a safe path for me. Despite realising this I did not have another source I could trust. How did I navigate this terrain when I couldn't trust? I had to engage in a process that continues to date, learning who I can trust. My main criteria for this was the question "who is trying to see me as a human being?"

6.6 Othering

Why am I writing about othering? One of the ways in which we demonstrate that we no longer see people as complex human beings is to engage in a process of othering, 'us' and 'them'. The connection between othering and my study with Caribbean people is power. Power generates difference. Dalal (2002) demonstrates how 'us-es' and 'thems' are constructed and reinforced in the mind. As Hall (1991) says the 'us and them' leads to a black or white, right or wrong view of people, with African Caribbean people not doing well in these situations. This point is highlighted in Kitzinger and Wilkinson (1996) who use the example of how otherness became a strategy by Europe. The colonial power base re-created the history of the people and in doing so established hierarchies of knowledge and power. This is for me why referring to, and recreating, indigenous knowledge becomes important in the process of empowerment.

Kitzinger and Wilkinson (1996) explore the negative consequences of othering. They believe others are not accorded expert status either on their own lives or on that of the dominant group. This rings true in Carol's experience of being Head of Inclusion in a school. She is having to ask permission from the head to use her personal and professional expertise to work with young people from the Caribbean

who sound different, and she is being denied. The children speaking with a Caribbean dialect are understood as having additional learning needs, despite workers of African Caribbean descent, employed at the school to support children, saying they have the capabilities to support these young people. This example resonates with me when I worked within the mental health service and the youth justice system. I was 'othered' enough that I was given all the 'urban' young people who were high risk and complex, but never respected enough to be trusted as a professional with the white child of middle-class status. Another take on this experience could be that my management did not trust the White middle-class people to engage with me. Giving me the 'urban' young people could be their way of avoiding a direct engagement with racism within the organisation. How many African Caribbean people can relate to this as part of their experience of work. The use of stories and sayings is a way of allowing people to speak their own truth in their own voice. This breaks the hegemony of stories and facilitates an alternate way of being. A problem with using your 'own voice' is that you are not seen as credible which means you are potentially caught between the struggle of passing and resisting, just to be able to do your job.

Another outcome of this idea that the dominant group defines itself through its representations of the Other, is that representations of Otherness can be read as inverted representations of those doing the othering. It says as much about them and how those with power construct themselves. This connects with the responses from Ornell and Elaine who both wanted to avoid being seen as "mad" because the consequences for them would be detrimental.

Carol is the person who is most visibly the revolutionary. She fights the system, she fights for the children she works with. Carol also gave an example where she responded to her mother's avoidance of her natural voice by telling her to 'just speak how you speak'. This seems to have become a mantra for her at home and at work. She is pushing to say speaking differently shouldn't negatively define or influence the people. She is fighting her own kind of activism for African Caribbean people.

6.6.1 Othering – The Yardie experience

An interesting example of othering can be seen with Monica's example of "the Yardie". This is the personification of the urban version of the Jamaican revolutionary who will defend himself. This person (the yardie) has been othered by other black people (African people) who are aware that white people are not able to tell them apart and think that by speaking with a Jamaican dialect they will be protected from some of the harms that come to black people. Monica spoke of her frustrations with the people of her generation (in their thirties) who wanted to sound like 'Yardies'. The Yardie, which was mostly captured in sound, was the sound of power and strength. It became a symbol of a people who would fight back and so was embraced by those who wanted to portray strength; it was an audible representation. This has become such a part of urban life that there are many non-Caribbean people, Black, White and Asian, who speak with colloquialisms from Jamaica. Idris Elba recently produced a movie called 'Yardie' explaining in his reflexivity that when he was growing up this is who everyone wanted to be. No one wanted to be Idris (and gave his Nigerian name).

Othering is an act that we can all engage in, and it seems this too is part of a complex phenomenon. Howe (1985) wrote about the impact of the Brixton riots on England. The largest Caribbean grouping in England were Jamaicans, so this means that many Jamaicans were present during the uprisings. A clear message was given in the uprisings that African Caribbean people were not going to be passive participants in their oppression. This resulted in a message about Jamaicans not being trifled with. What is it that African people are needing to be protected from that they have taken up this particular suit of armour? My experience is that it was not just African people who did this. I am aware of people from other Caribbean islands who also used the yardie accent as a way of saying "we are Caribbean". This is not to say that some of these people were not also seeking some protection. They felt it was easier as so many did not know there were other islands in the Caribbean.

Brown (1996) argues that 'othering' and being an 'other' is a public activity. In this process we work to bring understanding through an ongoing discussion/engagement

whereby 'otherness' itself is met, created and transformed. To challenge othering we need to make the process conscious as it is easy to take everyday life as an expression of truthfulness. We understand and create space for it by examining public expressions of how any given activity makes sense in its social context. Without deliberate and purposeful explorations, we as professionals ignore a social process that is in operation. By working with the activity of othering in an intentional way we engage with societal and individual patterns of representation that allows the client and the worker an understanding of the logic and meaning that underlies an individual's thinking.

6.7 Power and Language

If othering is an expression of power and discrimination towards groups of people that generates difference, then it is worth considering other tools that can be used to enforce power. I was interested in Dalal's (2002) views on power. Dalal writes that the nature of relatedness and interdependence is such that it inevitably has power structured into it such that power is seen as "a structural characteristic of all human relationships" (Dalal, 2002, p.121). Power in this context is inescapable.
I am aware that shame is very much a human response and at times may even signal a healthy human being. To feel shame is not automatically a toxic issue. In this study I refer to when shaming interacts with power, resulting in an imposed state of unworthiness to an individual or individuals because they are different. This power dictates acceptable from unacceptable behaviour but ends up describing people as unacceptable and unworthy. This power, when it meets a racist ideology, leads to a shaming process that suggests that something is intrinsically wrong with you and does not consider societal or cultural ways of being that may be influencing interactions. This shame has a power to it which seeks to dehumanise.

Dalal states that "offence however is not a natural phenomenon but an indicator of social standing" (Dalal, 2002, p.124). In my experience, shame was connected to being informed (usually angrily) that I had caused offence, not unlike Maisy being called into the office to be challenged on being rude when she was not. There was not a conversation to understand what was going on but an attempt to use power to control her behaviour. I believe shame and power to be inextricably socially

connected. Dalal quotes Elias to think about shame: "The feeling of shame clearly is a social function moulded according to the social structure" (Dalal, 2002, p.124) and guilt is understood as "nothing other than social anxiety internalized". Both shame and guilt are located in relationship to society and not simply an internal response. In using the work of Elias, Dalal (2002) describes how a history of manners is more than noticing changing forms/acceptability in behaviour, but is crucial to the arguments of how socio-political requirements bring on psychological change. When we end up connecting social acceptability to mental illness the function is to differentiate one group from another. Again, though it was not called shame by my participants, Carol could speak of her mother using her 'posh voice' when shopping in the market, Ornell and Elaine didn't want to speak differently to avoid being thought of as mad, Maisy said "but me didn't do nothing". It was shame as part of a process of othering and they were hurt by it.

In my research, it was clear that my respondents made a decision to use their own power when thinking about language. When Maisy spoke about her story of integration, Maisy was clear that her voice was to be the distinct sound of a Jamaican and refused any effort to sound different to who she was. Maisy is clear she could speak "properly" if she wanted to. Maisy, Carlos and Karen were all educated in the Caribbean to speak in a particular way.

Fanon (1967) describes language as a tool which permits and facilitates a sense of belonging to the world of that language. From this position to speak is to assume a culture. Part of the experience of the colonised is that they would become "whiter" in direct relationship to mastery of the language of the colonial ruler. For the colonised the mastery of the language is an essential tool in the process of survival as it affords a type of power. It allows an ability to access and navigate a world that does not have your best interest at heart. This power becomes a ladder on which you can climb, but also distinguish yourself from others within a survival context, for example, I'm better than that other person. Part of the experience for the colonised people is that language can contribute to a sense of dislocation and separation from your own culture.   There is a superiority attached to the use of language through the relationship that existed between the colonial and the colonised. This idea of superiority of language is transferrable in the English-speaking Caribbean due to the

same colonial experiences. Interestingly, Carlos and Karen as a couple both remember being corrected in their respective islands of Trinidad and Barbados. They were encouraged to speak correct English or Queen's English long before they arrived in England. For them they were replicating a script of what is proper.

6.8 Discipline

There was an example in my study of physical discipline. Marva spoke of stories from her upbringing when she was physically punished (beaten). This beating for her supported the learning of religious text and prayers but at other times, in a more general sense, beatings were about keeping the young person on a particular path. The hope is if your child had internalised your voice and was obedient to it, they would follow your instructions increasing the chances of survival. This deep-rooted fear for their children was grounded in the reality of their, at times, violently oppressive experience. Collins (2009) and Degrury (2005) have both written about the importance of obedience in black families and its role in providing safety/protection of children.

Thinking about the socio-political struggle of African Caribbean people who were fundamentally 'othered' in the process of slavery, I am intrigued to know how this legacy has been understood by professionals working with descendants of African Caribbean people. Although slavery is over in the Caribbean, experiences of racism and brutality continue to be experienced by black people. A key concept in the work of Dr Joy Greary (2005) is her thinking on trauma post slavery to describe how those affected by slavery experienced what would now be called Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS is the American description). Effectively, her work shed some light on the way we carry the legacy of slavery. She put slavery in the context of trauma, which in modern times is a word more professionals are familiar with. This is important because it connects to Carey et al's (2009) paper on the absent but implicit. This paper helped me to think about how we carry our experiences that are not spoken and how this informs our interactions with the world. Caribbean people were not offered psychological support post slavery or as they worked towards independence or the struggles to live with minimal resources post-independence. The battles they faced in some ways served to confirm a distrust of the system.

African people were acutely aware of the depths of brutality that they had to face and this reality would inform how they prepared their children for the world. Physical beatings became pivotal in keeping your child alive. As the comedian Trevor Noah noted, "they beat you so the police didn't have to". Unfortunately, for too many people they ended up being beaten both by the police, the system and the family. I extend this to the parental system, they beat you so that social enforcers didn't beat you. Degrury's (2005) point about PTSS is also relevant here. With a history of internalised brutality and trauma, it should not be a surprise that their way of being (including discipline) reflects a distrust of the world of fear and violence and their discipline technique can reflect distrust, and trauma. This I think could contribute to a challenging and complex carer/child relationship.

I was also interested in Collins' (2009) views on parenting. Collins believed that an important factor in parenting was the need to develop resilience. However, parenting was not just how resilience was instilled but also a way of doing social activism. This was demonstrated in my interview with Michelle and Cordella. Cordella had a coherent story about her experience in St Vincent which caused her to effectively flee to England. Her daughter is also reflective when speaking, and spoke about standing on her faith (in God) and how active she is in her community. Most of the next generation that I met with worked in a profession that acknowledged the social. For example, two participants worked in inclusion in schools, one worked as a youth worker, one worked in teenage pregnancy. Perhaps this is what activism looks like as part of a meaning making process for the next generation. All of the participants had different ways for acting to promote a healthy sense of black identity. Increasingly I realise that my own way of promoting a healthy sense of identity includes working as a therapist with Black families and Black people validating their experiences and giving them permission to speak in the voice that works for them. It also lies in my research interests that offers credibility to my voice when fighting for them to be seen as human beings.

Boyd Franklyn (2003) explored physical discipline in black families. As a therapist, her focus is understandably on engagement and intervention with families. She described the importance of joining and not alienating families/parents who still use physical discipline as part of the parenting relationship. However, in a parallel with

other areas we work in, that can raise moral dilemmas (stories of beatings can be painful to hear) and professionals must develop ways to talk about these painful issues. This is important as often corporal punishment is still acceptable in the Caribbean though my research found the beginning of change.

6.9 Religion

Discipline and religion were key markers for guidance in the lives of African Caribbean people. Like discipline, religion had a complex role in the lives of African Caribbean people. Despite its original work in education to maintain a subservient way of being, religion was revolutionary as the people learnt that slaves had rights. Religion became a tool in the fight for rights as ordained by God. However, when it was influenced with power it became an oppressive force to others, for example, the message to sit at the back of the church and not partake in worship was a reminder that this practice was still bound in power. Within my study, Elaine spoke positively about her experience of religion, and her children and grandchildren are practising Christians. Some are 'born again' Evangelical Christians. The symbolism of being a 'born again' person is particularly poignant to the African Caribbean because it allowed you to start again, with God ordained rights.

Boyd-Franklin (2003) writes about the role of the black church historically and she described how the church allowed African Americans to feel they were respected for their own talents and abilities. You could be a janitor in the week and a deacon or deaconess on the weekend. She felt that many African Americans used their church as a major coping mechanism in handling the overwhelming pain of racism and discrimination. She quotes Frazier (1962) and Dubois (1903) to acknowledge that the church has provided a mechanism for generations of African Americans to survive and deal with their painful life experiences.

That the church then became a focus of political activity is no surprise. One of the legacies of the church is that it created powerful orators who were able to articulate the needs of the people. These people then became crucial in the struggle for rights and freedoms, Martin Luther King Jr being one of the most famous examples of this. My participant Elaine, who was able to get and give comfort from religion, has

engaged in both acts of passing as well as being revolutionary; as she is not describing brutality in religion as so many others did, she is connecting to the power of comforting and being there for others. Elaine has sadly passed away at the time of writing up my doctorate. I attended her funeral and was struck by the words of her Pastor, a white English man, who said that at the end of the service Elaine would approach him and say "You just keep doing God's work, the rest will work out". That, somehow, Elaine internalised something powerful about a comfort in God which gave her faith.

There were for many others examples of religion being an oppressive force. This is what happens when religion becomes entwined with power. They were not allowed to sit in the front of the church with main members, they were not allowed to be active in the church. For some, the church reaffirmed their positions as lesser to white. Hence, when many Caribbean people came to England and tried to attend worship, they were surprised to find out they were not welcomed and some created their own space of worship.

In my results section, I gave the excerpt of the family story with the punch line "that's foolishness, Zacharia climbed the tree to piss on Jesus' head". This story brought me much joy; part of my joy is that Pappi tapped into the revolutionary within me who doesn't always want to conform, while the other part was in hearing this complex moment told so humorously. Pappi raised an important point with his then young grandchildren. I am reminded of the line in Bob Marley's song Babylon System "Tell the children the truth". With his response Pappi was challenging this taken for granted and accepted story of someone really wanting to see Jesus. Who does Jesus belong to? He's not 'ours'. What has been the function of Jesus in the lives of African Caribbean people? In my view it has been a complex function because, as the people lost (in part) what was theirs (as a faith system among other things), they needed something to hold on to. They used this system to fight for freedom but this faith system, once merged with power was equally oppressive and exclusionary. What do you do?

Pappi represented resistance; he did not conform within the structures existing in society. The family were not clear about Pappi's birth date (a familiar story in the

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Caribbean) but as he is Susie's great grandfather, they have approximated him being alive 100 years ago. This is pre independence, pre the workers fight of the (1930s), post the legal abolition of slavery but not post-colonial rule. I am not commenting on Pappi's relationship with his family; when they speak about him, they speak with laughter and some warmth. Pappi was still communicating something about his wider context. I wonder how he would feel to see his family now.

6.10 Summary

Before I explore the clinical implications of my study, I offer a brief summary here. In my exploration I hoped to uncover fables, sayings, folklore in my study. There was some of this, but mostly I met people who thought about who they are and how the world perceives them. This double consciousness was a theme that ran through my analysis. Power was another theme that ran through my analysis and this is of no surprise when exploring African Caribbean people whose socio-political history is a significant part of their personal history. The aboriginal people of the Caribbean experienced genocide. Africans were taken into forced labour and exploited for capitalist gains. Africans were displaced people setting up home in a strange land where they did not have any rights and their purpose was to serve/please the master.

Thinking about Scripts, Byng-Hall (1995) offers an interesting framework for discussion because my participants had been navigating power dynamics before they came to England. The abuse of power and the search for human rights has been a part of the territory that has been navigated for African people since the 15th century. Due to centuries of indoctrination England was a place where many old patterns could be used, for example, religion and discipline in family life. In the efforts to rebuild England following the war African Caribbean people were keen to take up opportunities that would allow them to have some of the opportunities offered to the master; however, they soon found out that they had been tricked once more. African Caribbean people found their own ways of responding to betrayal, injustice and unspeakable experiences. In this sense England offered a consistency to their lived experience.

Mental illness and the mental health system are big areas to navigate and this is not something African Caribbean people had to do in their home islands. As I am particularly interested in how stories are told, I was fascinated by the way they storied their experiences. No one used the words racism, oppression, colonial or colonial power despite these phenomena clearly operating. They simply navigated and lived. I wonder when you have been fighting for a long time, when do you process the experiences? How do you process it? When it has lasted this long (centuries) it comes into the 'taken for granted' aspects of life that don't get questioned. How does this impact on intergenerational trauma?

Stern (1985), whose emphasis is on the emotional development of the child, wrote about the importance of language in this process. The care giver helps the child make sense of their emotional world through compassionate responding and by giving them the language to talk about their feelings. I feel that this emotional literacy is key within my work as a therapist. Helping people colour their stories in with emotions is key to helping them connect with their own stories in a powerful and transformative way. Mental health is an area where they would have to improvise as part of living in England. Therapy, as a mental health intervention, is another culture that African Caribbean people have to navigate. How does the therapist help African Caribbean people develop an emotional language for their experience?

6.11 Clinical implications

Pocock captures my thoughts on clinical work when he said "therapists have, I believe, a primary duty of care not to be analytic or systemic or narrative but to be helpful" (Pocock, 2006, p.355). I understand both psychoanalytic and systemic ideas as both important when thinking about experiences for African Caribbean people. Flaskas (1996, 2005), Larner (2000) and Pocock (2006, 1997) write about how we can understand the therapeutic relationship using psychoanalytic ideas. Flaskas (1996) acknowledged that these models have had an oppositional relationship but this doesn't mean they can't work together. Recognition of differences offers an opportunity for us to see where we overlap with psychoanalytic ideas. Flaskas (2005) and Pocock (2006) believe that the shift towards postmodernism has allowed space for intersecting ideas from other therapy frameworks. This can support us to develop a fuller understanding of an interaction. To this end, psychoanalytic ideas

are especially helpful when they are directly supporting the therapeutic environment of systemic therapy. Much of the writing I have found on thinking about race has been informed by psychoanalytic thinking.

Brooks (2014), an African Caribbean psychoanalytic thinker, argues that our identifications and idealisations can hinder our ability to think on the subject of race. Brooks quotes Laplanche and Pontalis (1973) for a definition: "Idealization is the mental process by means of which the object's qualities and values are elevated to the point of perfection" (Brooks, 2014, p.41). This definition is simple and helpful for setting the scene for a difficult discussion. In terms of thinking about a racialised dynamic, it connects with Fanon's (1967) idea of an inferiority complex that is experienced for a colonised people in that it contributes to an explanation for the inferiority complex. When your sense of self has been subjugated excessively and repeatedly over time, when your education (as discussed in the literature review) focussed on maintaining subservience, then idealising the oppressor makes sense. In the family context this can have a generational impact as it can be passed on through parenting. It means all that is "white" and, as in the context for Caribbean people, "England" can be seen to be 'better'. White becomes an aspirational goal for many Caribbean people who learn to distrust their own. This can manifest in services with black people feeling better if they are seen by white workers as the assumption is often that they will be more competent. The discussion offered by Brooks (2014) also made me reflect on how we can become wedded to ideas. We idealise a way of thinking and being and consequently we invest heavily in what we believe to be true as it can create some certainty. This idealised thinking feeds a certainty that supports us as we navigate the world. When we do this, we reduce the need for relationship. This process of idealisation privileges all that is white and so places some responsibility on white workers to respond to it.

Instead of engaging in thinking about race and culture, what can occur is a self-protection which includes our theories or other subgroups that we belong to. "Thinking involves intellectual integrity, conscience and moral courage, and it often leads to difficult and uncomfortable places" (Brooks, 2014, p.39). Where there is a system of thoughts or beliefs there is also the danger that it restricts as well as

facilitates thought (Brooks, 2014, p.39). Idealisation stops us from relating with others, it stops curiosity.

If we can engage our curiosity we can engage with African Caribbean clients from a different perspective. I was drawn to Littlewood and Lipsedge (1997) as psychiatrists who also researched mental illness. They write about migrants in terms of an understandable response to disadvantage and racism that greeted many of these immigrants. They explored the experience of mental illness in the context of migrants and used the concept 'personal and private symbols' to think about how the communication from those in mental distress can be analysed to highlight powerful personal experiences and the political world they inhabit. People live both their histories of family and wider political discourses. This work calls for some sustained curiosity to help people make meaning of the scary realities. Someone with them as they create meaning reduces the isolation that can often be experienced by those with emotional/mental distress.

Peter Fonagy, in an interview with Jamie Doward and Sam Hall published in *The Observer* (27th April 2019), speaks of the impact of being alone and says that "adversity turns to trauma when you experience the mind as being alone. If you have good relationships they actually help you assimilate that experience". I have understood the families I interviewed as having worked to be seen as human, different but equal to others. However, they have had to do this within a framework of distrust because 'mother' and 'mother land' has not had their best interest at heart. Many did not get this experience of good relationships to help them assimilate their experience.

Another way of reducing isolation is by allowing individuals or families to connect to relationships beyond the 'here and now'. Falicov (2003) explored the challenge of a diagnosis of depression in different cultural groups. In doing this she also explored the socio-political discourses and power differentials regarding gender, class, race and migration as additional possible contributions to depression. Falicov offered a complex picture of assessment to include cultural change, socio-political and generational conflict on manifestations of depression as contributory factors to the experience of depression. In her exploration, race and culture explicitly, and

migration implicitly, become an area that should be at the heart of a formulation/diagnosis of depression.   I argue that this is important for thinking about areas of exploration beyond the 'here and now' experience.

I wonder about the place of Falicov's 'virtual families' in working with resilience. Falicov (2007), in thinking therapeutically about working with race and culture encouraged therapeutic conversations to make room for 'virtual families'. Virtual families describe relationships over distance/time, that increase chances for continuity of psychological presence. This continuity is like the 'golden thread' of identity which is key in developing psychological presence. Stories in my study can be seen as a way of maintaining relationships over time and this is a way to create coherence and continuity in families.

The African Caribbean people in my study didn't name racism, oppression, or politics, so the practitioner has to. Here I am curious about the work of Epston and White (1990) on externalisation, and Carey et al (2009) – absent but implicit. Whilst we do not talk about race and all that it brings with it, this does not stop it having an impact on the lives of black people. Degrury (2005) writes about the painful legacy of trauma on the lives of formerly colonised black people. This trauma is based on real events and much of it has not been processed. People have been left to 'get over it' which leaves them alone in their pain, which, like Fonagy (2018) says, turns to trauma. Even for those who are able to pass, there is a psychological legacy where they are left with questions about identity and belonging. They are playing roles that were learnt where success depends in part on their reception by others. How do we check who they are?

6.12 The practitioner

My experience of working within a CAMHS team left me with a number of concerns for African Caribbean people. Race is either never deemed relevant or somehow it is not the right time to engage with it as there are more risky concerns. The black person's journey to therapy is not understood as a journey that predates the referral letter. Can the African Caribbean person leave their reality outside? What happens to the person who is asked to leave part of their experience outside? How does this

influence or shape their pain? African Caribbean lives are highly politicised, their voice, their bodies are all politicised. The black experience is part of the emotional and psychological landscape to their lives. As with my research, my participants didn't name experiences, they lived them. The responsibility is with the clinician to name and connect these experiences as part of helping an African Caribbean person or family integrate these various aspects, to gain emotional understanding of their experience.

As a therapist we have the power to effect change. Language is an important part of this process as if we cannot name things, we can't talk about them effectively. The therapist and language then become a part of the power structure. Here I'd like to use the symbolism of "walking the racial fence", within the work this fence sits at the entrance to more meaningful work. It is part of the complexity that therapists need to consider. Do we ignore the fence, (ignore race)? Name the fence (African Caribbean person)? Or become curious enough to explore what lies behind the fence? Beyond the fence is to move beyond awareness into actual engagement with the terrain (life) behind the fence.

Flaskas and Humphrey (1993) use Foucault's work to think about the problem of power in family therapy. In doing so they highlight the socio-political nature of power. What Foucault's thinking highlights is that power is unavoidable. Power is neither good nor bad but it is present, and to this end Foucault offers an invitation to think further and deeper about power and its constitutive role in our daily living. In systemic practice this is a shift to constructivism, the role of cultural meanings that underpin the process of change and therapeutic conversations to acknowledge the hierarchical position of the therapist.

Dalal (2012) explored the idea of niceness saying that when you believe niceness disproves the presence of racism, then it is easy to think that the label racist should be used only to mean spirited intentional acts of discrimination. The problem with this framework is it demonstrates a lack of understanding of racism and how nice people in systems and structures enables it. A problem with 'niceness' in clinical work is that it can generate false relating which becomes about reciprocity in relationship or about being tidy. It doesn't give permission for the messiness I

discovered in the process of my research. I needed to face the pain, loss, anguish of being displaced, abandoned, before I could literally see other behaviours in my participants. Therapists need to face their own internal pain but also the pain of their clients.

Privilege is a mechanism where white therapists don't have to engage in the issues that affect Black people. In my study it was clear that participants were concerned to not be seen as mad. The legacy of what happened, and still happens to African Caribbean people in the mental health system, is still real for African Caribbean people. The question is: who can work therapeutically with African Caribbean people and what do they need to do to make it meaningful? To answer these questions, I reiterate, you have to meet the pain. To meet the pain in another, you first have to be able to meet it in yourself.

I want to invite practitioners to support what is being called 'anti colonial practice' (Heath, 2018). This practice acknowledges that the colonial is still active and to really undo this we have to engage in purposeful direct action. This requires a kind of "self-reflexivity plus". This means engaging in the language of the clients, thinking about your actions with other critical thinkers, questioning your questions with yourself and others, working with a transparency where we can see whether you have been helpful.

6.13 What further research is needed?

Raised by my grandmother I truly love hearing from 'the old people'. I would love to engage in research with a group of African Caribbean elders who have lived here for a number of years. I would be interested in a key piece of advice or thinking that Elder African Caribbean people would give to the next generation, as part of holding continuity within their families.

Another area that I am inspired by is resilience that was displayed by my participants. I would be interested to speak with those who somehow achieved, against the odds and find out "how" they took up the positions they took up.

Lastly, I am interested in music and I would love to think more into the wisdom of reggae music and compare this with the communication of modern-day resistance music, to explore the socio-political and emotional messages that young people are share. This gives access to their reality, and would support therapeutic work with young people

6.14 Impact of this study on me

As I connected increasingly with the role of the Rasta man in pushing resistance against a colonial way of being, I felt encouraged. In this track, released two years after Bob Marley's passing in 1981, the message is a powerful one about holding onto your culture and not conforming to "Babylon's" culture. In 1983, the people were still fighting to have a way of being that didn't belong to colonial rule. Babylon is a term often used to represent a colonial system. The lyrics are both encouraging and instructional: "Keep ya dreads", "praise jah", "don't be afraid of the wolfpack" (Babylon society). He names the African man, e.g. the Congo and Bongo man; we have to live and be active in this new paradigm. The very experience of being African is an act of resistance that needs to be supported.

Rastaman, live up!
Bongoman, don't give up!
Congoman, live up, yeah!
Binghi-man don't give up!
Keep your culture,
Don't be afraid of the vulture!
Grow your dreadlock,
Don't be afraid of the wolf-pack!
Rastaman, live up!
Binghi-man, don't give up!

At the end of this research study I feel empowered to keep moving on, fighting "no give up". I want to continue to pursue my life goals as a black woman and as a woman.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Transcript

Joanne:… and hope for the best. Ok

Carol: Let me close the door…put that there

Joanne: So oh, I didn't take your names.

Carol: Carol and Maisy

Joanne: Carol and Maisy and how are your related?

Carol: This is my uncle's wife.

Joanne: This is for my note so I know what I'm saying so thank you

Maisy: That's right

Joanne: Again, and I'm focussing on sayings from the home country. Like the booklet you very kindly brought for me.

Carol: But she wants to hear it from your mouth

Joanne: Yes. So what I'm interested in… tell me what island are you from?

Maisy: Jamaica.

Joanne: Yes and where are your kids now?

Maisy: They over here now. No I have them here with me but they come to me. One was 9 and my son was 11 and a half.

Joanne: Oh so you worked hard to bring them quick.

Maisy: That's right, I worked very hard, very hard. With the help of the husband.

Joanne: The good husband.

Maisy and **Joanne:** laughter

Joanne: And how old were you when you got here?

Maisy: I was in my nearly 30, 20's nearly 30, late 20s.

Joanne: Late 20's ok. So if we think of your time in Jamaica, what kind of stories or sayings do you remember people speaking as you were growing up?

Maisy: Oh lots, there are lots of stories I remember. Like when you sitting down they use to say, like you say "duppy know who to frighten".

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: And playing games, sings "hill and go the ride oh, hill and go li the"

Joanne: Yes.

Maisy: You know when we doing that and then when you going to school, we say, instead of speaking in the right, you know. We say "yeah man, come" laugh, "yeah man come".

Joanne: Laughs

Maisy: (shouts) "eh, whey you are go? Is not round dey so you fe go, you know is round dey you fi come from"… so far!

Joanne and Maisy: Laughs

Joanne: Perfect, perfect.

Maisy: Laughs

Joanne: So when you got to the UK, did you change how you spoke?

Maisy: Not much, when I begin to talk (still laughing) cause I work at the school. The kids dem now would tell the teacher say, "is the Chinese lady outside" cause I speak Chinese. They can't understand because I speaking too fast. (laughs)

Joanne: Are you at the same school? (to Carol)

Carol: Was

Joanne: What do you do?

Maisy: Dinner lady, and work the dinner hall with the children dem.

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: That time it was dinner lady but now it's meal supervisor (Laughs). They mash it up. (Laughs loudly)

Joanne: (laughs) Oh dear, I could just imagine at the school and the kids with their Jamaican accent as well.

Maisy: Oh yes and they would come up and say "miss where are you from?" say "You no ha fi know where me come from, its none of your business…" and laugh

Joanne: Talk yes

Maisy: (loud laughter) They say "miss we don't understand you, what did you say". I say, "me no want you to know what me say" (laughter) (Coughs).

Joanne: And did you ever feel any pressure to change how you were talking?

Maisy: Not really, if I want to I can speak properly "here there and where" but with she (Carol), she know more than me. But with my sister now, because she is over here longer than me. She come over here way long, long, longer than me, so when I'm talking to her now I find it difficult because she so "sch zzz sch…… posh voice mocking siter's poshness". And I'm trying to give her a joke now,

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: in the Jamaican joke now, and she don't want to understand. She "eh?". So when she was trying to give me one in English, here me, "me no understand what you are say? Your joke don't make no sense"

Carol: Laughs

Maisy: "You too push for me, you too stush" (Laughs)

Joanne: And what about with your children? How did they speak?

Maisy: Oh na my children dem alright, because the two come from Jamaica so they Speak. The one that was born here, he just chip right in. So he can do English talking or he can do Jamaican talk

Joanne: Multicultural.

Maisy: That's right.

Joanne: So what about when you talking with Carol, how do you speak?

Maisy: Oh god! She come speak just like this. (in a high pitch voice) Me nah speak no other way, me nah speak no posher, like me are posh. What me posh for?

Joanne: I don't know. Some families are very formal.

Maisy: Na! Me and Carol talk and we talk same way (pause). Carol understand. I don't even know if Carol understand sometimes, but she do understand.

Carol: I do understand.

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: Every time

Joanne: Marcia told me beforehand that you understand that's why she thought you would be a great combination for me to speak to. And I could see what she means. (Laughs)

Maisy: (loud laughter) Poor ting, you never laugh so in your life init (said to Joanne)

Joanne: hmmm. Well because so far, from all the people I've interviewed and I only need 9 for the type of research I'm doing. That most people have tried really hard to speak "the Queens" English.

Carol: Hmm hmmm.

Joanne: So that you've been the first person to just speak.

Maisy: … speak to you and talk to you.. get it right

Joanne: Yeah

Maisy: Me nah understand, you don't understand me,you don't understand me

Carol: She doesn't put on airs and graces.

Joanne: hmmm

Maisy: …. (high pitched voice) for no body

Joanne: I want to go to the school now and have dinner there.

Maisy: Laughs loudly

Joanne: I am too big to sneak in, they'd notice me.

Maisy: Anywhere I go they ask me "why don't you speak English". Here me. "did I born in England" Me say "I born Jamaica,… me no speak English. Me ah talk, me ah talk, if you cyah understand. Good luck to you".

Joanne: (Laughs) That's your problem (laughs).

Maisy: That's your problem. You don't want to understand. I talking. … say "I talking to fast, I say how fast you want me to talk. You want me to talk faster" (Loud laughter).

Joanne: (laughs) So how did your workers get on with you then? Did they understand the way you speak?

Maisy: Oh yes, they understand they understand. 32 years me work there for. So they understand, it comes and goes. Even the little English they come to hear me talk cause they love to hear me talk. They say "it sound nice miss" "it sounds nice, but what did you say" (laughter).

Joanne: (laughs) I love the honesty of children. They know they like what they are hearing, they don't' know what it means but they know they like it. it sounds like but they don't understand what it says.

Maisy: And they, they…, you get the odd yardsie one now and the parents pretend say dem ah yardie and when they come to school now why ya, "you speak like my mouther" (in a high pitch strong Jamaican accent) me say but it's not so your mother speak. "you talk like her" laugh. And then they would say "its Jamaica you come from?" and me would say "you don't have fi know where me come from but me ah talk to you, behave yourself".

Joanne: Perfect, again if we think about when you were in Jamaica, who did you spend most of your time? Who raised you?

Maisy: My grandmother, because my mum died when I was a baby.

Joanne: Ah! Ok.

Maisy: my mother mum.

Joanne: So did you have like a favourite saying that your grandmother would share with you?

Maisy: Yeah, she would say. "who cyan hear will feel"

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Joanne: Everybody has had heard that once.

Maisy: That's right, who can't hear will feel. And ah, "one day you ah go run water, on day bucket ah go run well, it ah go full up one day, so if you can't hear you will feel.

Joanne: What does that one mean?

Maisy: If you don't' hear what me say now, if you think you ah go move out of my yard and ah come back you make a sad mistake. Cause you must hear what me say

Joanne: Oh so one day you're gonna go to the well… right, I'm with you now. Right right, right, right. And if Carol had to guess of a saying you always, say, that's a classic Maisy, what do you think she would say?

Maisy: Carol would say, that's my aunty, so what she says come out of her mouth, that's what goes. (Laughs) Anything she goes, she not neither cut it, or pretty it up, she just say so then and there.

Joanne: You are who you are. And do you have a saying that you always say to Carol?

Maisy: Just talk. anything, anything come out me mouth me just say just so and go long with it. (Loud laughter) No word,true me, now she get a little bit boasie because she go to Jamaica, quite a few times now she been to Jamaica.

Joanne: Ok

Maisy: So she knows places now

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: … More than, she no know it more than be because I born in Jamaica, but … when she ah come back now I ask her about, "oh no no no, its not there". Hear me "you born in ah Jamaica?"

Carol: (Laughs)

Maisy: You go tell me now which place dey dey

Joanne and Maisy: Laughs

Joanne: Lovely

Carol: The thing is when it comes about sayings, sayings, we don't really talk about sayings.

Maisy: No

Joanne: But I was thinking more whether it happens natural in conversation.

Carol: It probably does but I haven't recognised it.

Maisy: That's right. Because we just ah talk one.

Joanne: You just talking.

Carol: And the thing is because my parents, I'm first born here, I'm first generation born over here.

Joanne: Yes.

Carol: And we're used to them, whatever she says to me, because I've heard it over and over again it doesn't come as a saying.

Joanne: It doesn't shock you.

Carol: That's right, doesn't shock me at all.

Joanne: Which also says something about how close you are.

Carol and Maisy: Oh yeah!

Maisy: We so close, very, very close.

Joanne: Yes

Carol: So if she's saying a saying I wouldn't recognise it because I've heard it over and over again, its embedded in me.

Joanne: Ahhh, yes! That's a fair point. Yes, so we take it for granted after that

Carol: I do remember one saying my father used to say, me and my sister when we were growing up.

Joanne: Yes

Carol: And if we were feisty you know cheeky, he used to say to us "you call my red".

Joanne: You call my red?

Carol: You call my red.

Joanne: Ah

Maisy: You understand that.

Joanne: Well, (pause) red is usually angry.

Maisy: No, no, no

Carol: Basically he's saying to me, you seeing your period.

Maisy: And hair are grow which part it's not supposed to grow

Carol: Yeah, but when me and my sister, being feisty and he'd say "ah you call my red". At first me and my sister didn't understand what he was talking about cause he didn't explain it.

Joanne: No, no

Carol: And we was like "what the hell is he talking about" a nd then my mum explained it to us and we was like ok.

Joanne: Oh and so the saying is you call my red,

Carol: Your comb is red.

Joanne: Or right, your comb.

Maisy: Hair ah grow which part it not fe to grow, hair ah grow and you are…
because hair ah grow.

Joanne: Now you feel big, right?

Maisy: Like when my grandson was in the kitchen and me cook the the dinner and I said to him say you he wouldn't eat. And I say "M eat the something because rock stone, people are they in Africa ah eat rock stone. Nyam the something." He go to he mother, "mum, was does nanny mean, I don't' eat rockstone. What is rockstone?"

Joanne: Rockstone

Maisy: I don't eat rock stone (laughter).

Joanne: That's so cute.

Maisy: Meh daughter would have to explain to him when you hungry that's what you will nyam.

Joanne: Yes, very true that's another classic.

Maisy: That's right when hungry killing you you will nyam.

Joanne: Cause I'm not sure how long you two have known each other.

Carol: Since she came here.

Maisy: Since I came here

Joanne: So you were married when you came here.

Carol: No, no, me married over here.

Joanne: Ok, I should say you were with her uncle.

Maisy: No, no I met him.

Carol: She met him over here.

Joanne: Ok, cause the other thing I asked people about when you're growing up, thinking about when you start dating or start a family what kind of sayings did your generation share with that generation.

Carol and Maisy: We didn't share anything.

Maisy: Things like that were, locked up and private…. locked up and private.

Carol: Very true.

Maisy: It was big people conversation. Cause when I was 19 and living at home with my grandmother still. Not even 19 either, when I was 17, and she was in the kitchen and I was doing the washing up in Jamaica. And me was feisty now and say she ah

talk to me and say me feisty and me be big enough to answer back so me ah chat her back now and she ah get up back and she slap, slap me across my face and she ah tell me "gal, let me tell you something as long as your plate in my basket and you on my couch and live in my house so don't come chat me like you're a woman you're a girl pickeney.".

Joanne: Hmmm

Maisy: You know what I mean? I 17 now, so me think now me and me think me can chat back and answer her. Me ah talk to her back, she ah talk to me and me ah chat her back.

Joanne: You're ready

Maisy: I can chat back and me can, I ah call her and me are chat her back and she say. I never see so much water in my life. Every monty ah fly cross me see thin

Carol: What's that?

Maisy: Blinky (a bird)

Carol: See over here we say stars.

Maisy: We say monty. Say me never see so much monty. (jumbled words to reflect talking non 'sense') one slap, as long as your plate dey in my basket you are my girl still, so don't come talk with me, you nah smell your tail yet. …. You aint smell your tale.

Carol: Well what did that mean?

Maisy: Smell your tale.

Carol: Yeah

Maisy: Mean you nah smell your backside yet.

Joanne: Amazing what they told us.

Carol: So things like that was more shut shut in and hide it in.

Joanne: And again that's what most people have said and I guess I work in a time when they encourage so much conversation.

Carol: Encourage

Joanne: About sex, girls, boys

Carol: I I I , yeah

Joanne: Exploitation, everything is a conversation.

Maisy: Yeah, because when I come in this country the smoking, the small person ah smoke, it looks really.

Joanne: Shocking!

Maisy: Shocking to me, because when I was working with the children them I made comment about it sniffing this glue and they doing this sort of wild thing it was really bad, it was shocking to me. I say to myself God have mercy, say my god if I ever go off my parents beat me. Cause my grandfather, if he ever …his pipe or something like that. We may buck up on him smoking his pipe …smoke in front of we… that's when they say … it ah go teach us to smoke or something like that or we ah go copy them. They hide and smoke but now everything is open now. When I come up and hear that it was a shocking thing to me.

Joanne: hmmm, hmmm

Maisy: And buying alcohol and drinking alcohol. Was very shocking to because although we own a shop we never dare not go and touch alcohol or do anything although our grandfather might give us a little bit of rum and say "drink it down, it good for the belly ache," smiles. (Laughs) belly ach meh tummy ache we gee them a drop of rum and say (whispers) "drink it for the belly ache"

Joanne: Or if you have a cold.

Maisy: Alright (loud voice), nan a na, its no good for the cold, me nah hear bout that. Its good for the belly ache. laughter. Squeeze lemon. Most people put salt on it an eat it, laugh so that me go pick the lemon of the tree and put the salt on it and that good for the cold (laughs).

Joanne: Yeah, I keep my cold (Maisy laughs). So how much of this, this way that Maisy talks about growing up in Jamaica, how much of this have you heard before?

Carol: My parents did not hide; they talk to us. We knew how they grow up in Jamaica, they didn't hide anything from us. My parents growing up in Jamaica, they tell us everything. They didn't hide anything from us.

Maisy: So does my grandmother. She tell us what she wants to tell us.

Joanne: So age appropriate? Or any… What do you mean?

Carol: No, the thing is that when I … my parents didn't hide anything from us when we were growing up over here. I knew that my mother was pregnant with her first child at 13 and then she was pregnant at with her second child at 15, you know with her first two sons. My father had his first child at 22 in Jamaica. What they did. They didn't go to school, they used to hide and didn't go to school. No my parents didn't use to hide anything from us.

Joanne: Wow

Carol: From my brothers and sisters we knew everything. We had three brothers born before we were born and we grew up knowing everything about them. Always knew about them.

Joanne: So they were born in Jamaica.

Carol: Yes, yes.

Joanne: Thank you.

Carol: That's fine. No my parents didn't hide anything from us.

Joanne: And what about you twos relationship once you got to the UK, would you say you were equally open.

Maisy: Yes, yes, we equally open me and she.

Carol: Yes, yes

Joanne: Hmmm

Maisy: I even tell her things I wouldn't tell my daughter. That's how open I be with her.

Joanne: Very close.

Maisy: Very close, very close.

Carol: We are very close and the thing is I sit down and the same way I used to listen to my parents talk about they growing up and talk about the old people and the old people they knew, I sit down and listen to her, talk about her people and the people that she knew. Because that's how, when my mother was alive … and we meet up here, her and my mum use to talk about the old people and then argue about the old people

Maisy: laughter

Carol: You know about this person came from there that side, no this one was that side and how this one was somebody daddy no, his daddy was somebody else (laugter). You know and they used to end up arguing.

Maisy: Not arguing, arguing.

Joanne: Discussion.

Carol: Not fighting arguing.

Maisy: Discussion.

Carol: No that was his daddy no this one was his daddy. You understand what I'm saying

Joanne: Yes

Carol: So I used to sit down and listen to them have this conversation and we have this conversation now you since, you know, I've been to Jamaica a few times now so I know where everybody is so I could turn round and say to her, "oh I know what you're talking about" now, hmmmm.

Maisy: Laugh

Carol: So the relationship she had with my mum, we've got it now

Joanne: Yes. And its lovely to watch, I have to say. And so, do you feel, cause I notice like with Marcia. Clear English, well spoken.

Maisy: Just like my daughter.

Joanne: Your daughter as well?

Maisy: uh hmm. She come over here, but she never live where I born and grow. She live in the town in Manderville.

Joanne: And where were you from?

Carol: The country.

Maisy: I was from the countryside.

Joanne: Ok.

Maisy: So when I leave her out there as a baby, she went to Manderville where they more posh and spoky, spoky, speaky, spoky.

Joanne: OK, cause I was gonna ask if the country people have stronger accents.

Carol: Yes.

Maisy: yes, yes, yes.

Joanne: Ok, let me not answer it. Do you ever speak the Jamaican patois twang?

Carol: Yes, all the time. I come from the south east so I have a south east accent. When we're at home, because our parents were Jamaican, we're English, but you can hear the patois come out in certain things we say. When I'm at work, cause you know it's a primary school and they have a lot of English teachers. I, although, have a south east accent some of the patois comes out sometimes. I try to hold it back but,

Joanne: When does it come out?

Carol: When I'm angry.

Joanne: Yeah

Carol: When something has upset. But at home, because we were raised with Jamaican parents, like I said, first born over here, and we used to the language we speak it at home. We're English but you know you can hear some of it come out

Joanne: Yes, yes completely with you, completely with you. (Clears throat) and with your own children?

Carol: Same same, because we speak, I think I speak, I speak fast, I speak fast, and it does come out, it does come out it definitely does come out.

Joanne: Ok, hmmmm. So now we're going too it's just how you speak

Maisy: That's right.

Joanne: So (pause) and you all speak a home language,

Maisy: That's right

Joanne: a family language when you're together and that's how you bond?

Maisy: That's right.

Joanne: That's how you get closer. So if I was to think. Cause one of the things I've asked everyone if there is a sense of if you have a favourite saying from hmmm,

Maisy: No from the English saying.

Joanne: No from the Jamaican saying.

Maisy: No not really, cause I talk it every day and we know what we saying so it don't come like a favourite

Carol: I can turn round and I can speak for her husband who's my uncle, my father and my mother. They had a favourite saying and they said it all the time

Joanne: Yeah

Carol: All the time. "go with your shit rass"

Maisy: Laughs

Carol: That's there saying, especially when we come from the south side. St Elizabeth, they all say it "go with your shit rass". So if you're talking, if you're talking to them and they know it's a lie. They would say "go with your shit rass"

Maisy: You na know wha you ah say.

Joanne: Right, right

Maisy: As a child, as if to say "shut up you don't do wha you ah say"

Joanne: Ok, Yes.

Maisy: Or "go with your shit rass" that mean, shut up you not know wha you ah say.

Joanne: Right right. They know you lying.

Maisy: That's right, they know.

Carol: Or you're talking nonsense.

Maisy: You're talking nonsense, and you're talking rubbish and rubbish.

Carol: That's what they say down where we come from

m… (muffled)… rubbish.

Joanne: (choke) (laughs) that one made me choke, I liked that one.

Maisy: Laughter

Joanne: I like that. Yes, yes (pause) and you don't, (pause) this lady doesn't have one you recognise she says more than others like with your dad and uncle.

Maisy&Carol: No, no no.

Joanne: All equal

Maisy: Me say the same thing equal and me laugh after the same thing, the same joke.

Carol: No, she hasn't got a saying I can remember not that I can recognise no.

Joanne: And what about stories?

Maisy: Anancy stories?

Joanne: Yeah, or other family kinda anancy stories?

Maisy: Anancy stories, we have anancy stories but I them you know?

Joanne: So you don't use them, as much as sayings?

Maisy: No, no, no, no. When I was at school I used to play games with them down they (she sings) "ring ah ring ah roses, a packet full a poses, a tissue a tissue, they all fall down. Picking up the daisy picking up the daisy they all fall down"

Joanne: Yes

Carol: But they are the English ones, Jamaican ones.

Maisy: Eh, no.

Joanne: No.

Maisy: No.

Carol: See I remember a Jamaican song my father used to sing us when we was younger. He didn't sing it every night.'

Joanne: Right

Carol: But he used to sing, when he was, when he was in the mood. When mummy was at work he used to sit down and he used to sing to us when we was younger and I always remember it.

Joanne: Ok, you gonna sing it? You don't have to sing but if you want to sing, or give me the lyrics

Carol: No, no, no. (Sings) "I had 10 tiny fingers I had 10 tiny toes, I have two ears I have 2 eyes, I have a mouth to open and little teeth to bite. I have a tongue which is in my mouth I keep it out of sight.

Maisy: (laughs) "I keep it out of sight"

Joanne: Yeah, stop your talking.

Maisy: Stop the talking, zip up, zip up.

Carol: And that's what he used to sing to us.

Joanne: And what kind of age were you?

Carol: We was young.

Joanne: Like primary school age.

Carol: Yes. Yeah, yeah.

Joanne: Do you know that song? (to Maisy)

Maisy: No, me nah know that song

Carol: My father was much older than her.

Joanne: I don't know. I stay away from people's age as I always get it wrong (Laughter)

Carol: My father the generation before her.

Joanne: Ah, ok, so is he alive?

Carol: Yeah, yeah he is alive.

Joanne: Ok, cause that's the other thing. For some people the music holds the sayings. Bob Marley's songs, a lot of them have an abundance of sayings. One of my favourite lyrics.

Maisy: Hmm hmmm

Joanne: I don't know where the saying comes from but its,

Maisy: Some of them come from, hmmm, a lot surrounding when him do him gang of people dem. Like down town Spanish town

Joanne: Right right. Cause he was from Kingston

Maisy: Yes. Him go down town like down town Spainish town.

Joanne: Yeah

Maisy: And he will mix with the linker people and they will sing the song and they will talk about it now like say he come from now the country side,

Joanne: Uh huh

Maisy: listen to the Kingston talking and they get their lyrics like that.

Joanne: Ah interesting. Well I think this is the quickest interview I've done because some people. Whereas you guys use it very naturally its how you talk

Maisy: That's right.

Joanne: Whereas other people they focus on 'good English' or 'queens English' like they say.   So if they use a saying they know it cause they're being deliberate or if they're being playful.

Maisy: Nah.

Joanne: It's not in the way where you just talk.

Maisy: No, no, no we talk it all the time. Say way and good luck to them if they don't understand

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: Good luck!

Joanne: And you didn't feel any pressure at all?

Maisy: NO! Me no feel no pressure at all.

Joanne: And did you have people avoiding you and not talk to you because they didn't know what?

Maisy: No, no, no, no, no. Dem always say "calm down you talk to fast" and meh say "well, its up to you, if you want to hear" (laughs).

Carol: See the thing is my mother was different, like I said, she's in the generation before her (before Maisy) and when we were growing up, if I went shopping with my mother, she would try "speak the queens English". She was Jamaican, she would try and speak the queens English, and we would say to her "mummy, no mummy, don't bother it don't sound good".

Carol and Maisy: laughter

Carol: "Just talk how you talk, it sounds better".

Joanne: That's my mum, on the phone especially, who are you talking too, I don't even understand you.

Carol: No, "it's like no mummy, don't talk like that, you don't talk like that. It don't sound good".

Joanne: Yes, yes.

Carol: You know she'd go to the supermarket or the fish market, you know, she worked with a lot of white people.

Joanne: Yes.

Carol: But you know she worked at Dulwich hospital, and you know the nurses, and she, she, she spoke Jamaican but if she was shopping and she was asking for a piece of fish. "can I have that piece of fish please?" (posh voice sound). And it was like, "no mummy, it don't sound good, just talk how you talk".

Carol and Maisy: laughter

Carol: Because if it didn't sound right to us.

Joanne: Yes yes.

Carol: Because we know what she sounded like at home.

Joanne: Right. And she didn't … did she try and teach you that

Carol: No, no.

Joanne: when you out in public?

Maisy &Carol: No, no, no!

Maisy: We don't bombard our children

Carol: No

Maisy: Especially … if you want to speak it and you want to speak it properly especially like my children, they have, they know how to speak it, they know when to speak it

Carol: yeah

Maisy: And they just everyday life, they just get on with it. Because when I take my, eh, Teresa, hmm, my grandson and we take him to the speech therapist. The clincic at hmm (inaudible) road.

Joanne: Speech and language?

Maisy: Yes, the clinic and they say that, hmm, he take too long to talk and they did know now something did wrong with him. and the woman said, they woman ask Samantha (her daughter) (laughs) say… "does your mother speak two language?"

Joanne: Laughs

Maisy: That's what the girl say (laughs)

Carol: Thing is I, can I just butt in, let me just but in

Maisy: Yeah! Yeah,

Maisy: So Theresa say no and they say well the little boy talk just like your grandma, he talk just. Theresa say because him close in the home.

Carol: (inaudible) Jamaican yeah

Maisy: And we all talk the same thing instead of what you speak so nice for and then all of a sudden, he just gone to your mother language. So Theresa say … whatever language my mother speak just English like we laughs and she speaks….

Carol: but they automatically think because you come from one of the islands and you come here and you don't speak, you, it doesn't sound right then you're EAL.

Joanne: Yeah

Carol: Which is wrong.

Joanne: It's a diagnosis.

Carol: Is wrong, me personally I think it's wrong.

Joanne: hmmm and why do you think it's wrong?

Carol: Because Jamaica, Jamaicans, the patois isn't a language. Do you understand what I'm trying to say? Patois is not a language. Its not like they're speaking French or German.

Joanne: It's a dialect.

Carol: It's a dialect! But you know, to schools, it's a different language. But it's not. You know we have, hmmm, at the beginning of the year we sent out these letters to parents you know, where they come from and what language, you know, first language what they speak, you know we did it every year so we can put it on the children's file and somebody put patois. And I looked at it and I was like but patois is not a language.

Joanne&Maisy: Hmmm, hmmm (sounding sad)

Carol: and you know they think Jamaican is you know, broken English, or a dialect, as you say but in schools they automatically think it's a language and its not, well to me its not.

Joanne: No, no, no and I guess that's the difference to being an insider

Carol: hmm hmmm hmmmm

Joanne: And growing up with it and understanding it and being an outsider and thinking.

Coral: Yeah yeah

Joanne: because I, one of the ladies I spoke to (laughs), I don't know why I'm laughing. She used to work in mental health like myself and they had hmm, a Jamaican woman in the… had been sectioned, and so in the follow up, the white English nurse was confused and she said, I think the woman has a bleeding

problem, I think she is trying to tell me she has a bleeding problem. Laughs again. The woman kept telling her "you're bloodclat".

Maisy: laughs

Carol: Yeah, yeah.

Joanne: But she heard

Carol: Blood clot

Joanne: This woman has, and needs help, so then, the worker had to explain, she's telling you to go bout your business. She didn't understand, so for her it was another language. But what it did for the woman was that it kept her in the system.

Carol: Yep

Joanne: Longer than it needed to.

Maisy: That's right.

Joanne: Because she wasn't understood

Maisy: Understood, that's right.

Joanne: That's when its more dangerous

Carol: Of course, definitely

Maisy: Right, right

Carol: Definitely, hmmm

All participants - Pause

Joanne: Yes, (pause – silence). That's got me sombre and thinking (pause) ok, well, thank you very much. Is there anything else you want to say about how we speak and what we speak?

Maisy: Cause we born like that. We all grow up with it and we just live along with it and accept it.

Joanne: I just thought about one last thing I didn't ask you about, was racism. If you had racism when you came here.

Maisy: Yes racism was here but I mean

Joanne: Did YOU experience it?

Maisy: eh?

Carol: Did you experience it?

Joanne: Thank you.

Maisy: No, no

Joanne: Why do you think that is

Maisy: I don't know. I never have no racism. Nobody never tell me that you must go back to your country, or you must a dis dis dis, no no no.

Joanne: No, so you didn't have to speak to it at all?

Maisy: No, no, no I didn't have to speak to no one, anybody about it

Na

Joanne: Ok

Maisy: I see it

Joanne: uh hmm,

Maisy: But I never had to experience it for myself, I never experience myself

Joanne: Oh alright,

Carol: See the thing is when I was growing up because we were one of the first black families to live on Railton road,

Joanne: Ah Brixton

Carol: but not Brixton end, the top half, the posh end, and us growing up, we didn't see it. We were shielded from it. it's when we got older, teenagers and we heard old people talking, you know, our parents talking, we knew it was happening. You know mummy would come in and cuss one of the parents at work you know "that white bitch" or "blah blah blah" but then, know that's a lie, I did see one once and I was about 10. It wasn't us though, and we lived in at the Oval, in a block of flats and my younger brothers upset the little white boy next door and his dad came to fight my dad, and he's you know, cussing, you know and he's swearing at him you know "black bastard" blah blah blah blah blah, obviously my dad stood his own, you know but that was the first time we heard black bastard and I was 10.

Joanne: And you say it was a little boy from next door?

Carol: His dad,

Joanne: His dad

Carol: His dad came, because my brothers were playing with him and upset him so his dad came to fight my dad, but generally growing up as children we were shielded from it, my parents, the thing is we only knew it happened really as we got older. Like I said to you when we lived on Railton road, at the top end, and it was me my sister and my 2 cousins we lived in the house together, and we used to play outside, and we was called in. we used to be called in side "come inside, come inside, come inside" but we didn't know why. As we got older we were told, we listened to the old people talk and the white man next door used to throw stones at

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us. When he used to see us playing outside. He used to throw stones at us so you know. Mummy and aunty k used to call us in. Me growing up, I'm 52 this year and I've never been called a black bastard. I never heard it, they might have mumbled it, but I never heard someone call me that.

Joanne: hmmmmm

Silence

Carol: So

Silence

Maisy: That's the same thing with me

Coral: But us growing up, because I grow up in the 60s. it was there but we didn't see it. We only heard about it when we were older

Joanne: Right, And I'm curious how did your dad answer the men. What did he say to them?

Carol: My daddy cuss him and was going to fight him.

Maisy: laughs

Carol: Because he came to the house

Joanne: hmmm

Carol: Yep

Maisy: … when I'm at school and they say to me, you know how dem does say "oh, are you Turkish, are you Cypriot Turkish,

Joanne: Ah yes

Maisy: You come from Turkey. I said no I'm from Jamaica. But you don't talk Jamaican. You know how dem does. You don't and and I say, why. They say, ordinarily they say, "but you not black, you white" so meh say " black come from Jamaica you know"

Maisy: Plenty country, plenty colour ah dey in Jamaica ah no black alone dey dey but you know them ah say that to me. Well, they don't say it in ah rude way. they would say. Where you from miss. I come from Jamaica. But you're not black pause, meh say, but meh not black, is not only black people come from Jamaica you know. you know it's not everybody that understand the conversation.

Joanne: and is this the student or the staff.

Maisy: the likkle ones. The kids.

Carol: The students. I remember because we worked at the same school and one day we had a supply teacher come in and he came and we introduced him to the

children and he started to speak, pause, and they were astonished, black children and white children. Because he was Jamaican but he was a white man, and they were shocked.

Maisy: hm hm hm hm

Carol: At this white man speaking English and they saying to me "but miss he's a white man", but the thing is Jamaica is full of all different colours

Maisy: That's right, that's why me say it's not everybody black come from Jamaica (Nosie) – Carol and Maisy speaking together

Carol: They full of all different colours, Chinese, Germans.

Maisy: But you're white "you're white, you're white", laughs, "me say no I'm black" they say no "you're not black, you're white" me say "leave that at that". (Laughter)

Joanne: Laughter

Maisy: Leave that laughter.

Joanne: Amazing.

Carol: See my mum had an issue with her colour.

Joanne: What complexion is your mum. Fair?

Carol: She's fair. She was fair skin (pause) and my mum got into a lot of arguments. My mother was a Jamaican woman proud of her culture (pause) she was a black woman from Jamaica but she was this colour (pointing to fair complexion of her aunt) and one day she went to Peckham and she was buying something at the stall, and her and this lady got into a confrontation they were arguing and she was told to go back to Africa, my mother.

Maisy: laughs

Carol: And my mother looked at the woman and turned round and said, do I look like I come from Africa. (pause) because she's a black woman but she's a fair skin woman and she was proud of her colour, she was proud of her colour (pause)

Joanne: It separated her.

Carol: And my mother… because as far as my mother was concerned, not all black people came from Africa.

Silence

Maisy: It's like I said, its not everybody black come from Jamaica, dey from Jamaica

Carol: Yeah

Maisy: laughter

Carol: But that was my mum

Joanne: Fair enough, fair enough

Carol: and my mum had a saying "do not speak, do not trust anything blacker than yourself, do not sleep with anything blacker than yourself" and I, we, used to look at her. Me and my sister used to look at her and think, "but you're married to daddy and daddy is,

Joanne: A black man?

Carol: Dark, very dark. My father, he's about the same colour as me (dark skinned black woman).

Maisy: uh hmmm

Carol: Maybe a touch lighter.

Joanne: Ok, ok, roughly the same colour.

Carol: Yeah.

Joanne: And how did she get on with him?

Carol: Yeah, she was fine, oh yeah (blurred) yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. But the thing is, my mother loved my father. It was just her… it was just her way. She was a black woman, my mum she was racist.

Maisy: Laughter

Carol: She was (insistent tone). But we'd laugh at her you know but yeah, she was racist.

Joanne: Well, and many were and still are.

Carol: hmmm

Joanne: There is still a colour divide in the black community.

Maisy: That's right (more sombre voice).

Joanne: And I still here people saying things about blacker than black, all those kinds of things.

Maisy: Well, there is a saying say don't chose stone cause you must remember you're in a glass window.

Joanne: I love that one.

Maisy: You love that one? Don't chose stone cause you must remember say you're in a glass window

Carol: But the thing is colour issue is not just in, it's not a black and white thing you have the Asian thing as well.

Joanne: Asian.

Maisy: That's right.

Carol: I mean you get the dark skin Asians and the fair skin Asians and the fair skin Asians don't have nothing to do with the dark skin Asians. Can I just say one thing though?

Joanne: Yes.

Carol: I was at work, (deep breath) and there was a couple of us in the staff room. One was a white woman, and there was an Asian girl, and she kissed her teeth. We were talking and somebody, the Asian girl, she kissed her teeth and the white lady said to her "don't do that you're not black". And so we turn round and go "what you talking about" the majority of people who do it is black. She is ignorant. Anyway, and "she shouldn't do it because she's not black". So I said to her, the girl is a little bit lighter than me but darker than her, could be your colour (Joanne's colour).

Joanne: uh hmm

Carol: But could be a little bit lighter. And I said to her but what colour is she? Because the Asian girl kissed her teeth so the white woman said "don't do it because you're not a black woman". So I said to her, so what colour is she, she said to me she's Muslim, so I said to her, but Muslim is not a colour.

Maisy: hmmm

Joanne: It's not a colour.

Maisy: laughs

Carol: So the other lady turns to me and says "she's not Muslim, she Bangladeshi", I goes "but Bangladeshi is not a colour" and we carried on with this argument. I goes "yes, she's this, she's this but I didn't ask you that I asked you what colour is she cause Muslim is not a colour and Bangladeshi is not a colour". So she continued and I said, "alright then come back to me. When you thought about it come back to me". I couldn't say it in front of the Asian girl because she was there so I left. So later on she came to me and she said to me "Carol, what did you mean? And I said to her, "what colour is Miss B?" She goes to me "she's Asian", and I goes but Asian is not a colour. I said to her, "would you say she's"…, there was a mixed race girl there paler than her and I said to her "would you say she's nearer her colour or she's nearer my colour?" So she said, "she's nearer your colour" so I said "so what colour is she? … if I'm black, and she's half black and half white, what colour is the Asian girl? What colour is she?" (Pause), and she looked at me and I goes, "is she nearer my colour?" She goes "yeah she's nearer your colour" I goes but" I'm black

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so what colour is the Asian girl"? And she was shocked. She didn't say, she couldn't say a colour. I goes "she's more black than that girl, so what colour is she?"

Joanne: hmmm

Carol: So we had this conversation about what colour is Asian people and I goes the majority of them are black skinned.

Joanne: hmmm

Carol: They not brown, they are same colour as us. And that was our conversation at work.

Maisy: Yeah because when I used to work down there as well and Mrs S and hmmm heather and them in the office white and they say something to me I never know now say, what it mean pause, and … that I'm doing that and I used to "sound of kissing teeth" and walk out.

Joanne: Yes.

Maisy: And they call me back and say (in a shouting voice) "never you do that because you are insulting us". You are insulting us when you steups (kiss your teeth)

Joanne: Who said this to you?

Carol: The white ladies.

Maisy: The white ladies dem.

Joanne: The white teachers?

Carol: No no no they were office staff.

Maisy: Office staff.

Joanne: Office staff assumed that you insulted them?

Maisy: Insult them and "you nah have no manners, you not to do with that"

Joanne: Oh dear! What did…

Maisy: Cause they will say that now, they will say something to me cause they, and me never know, now that you insult them. Back home you talk now and just "steups" (sound of kissing teeth) and you walk out and you gone bout your business. And they (office staff at work) will call me back and say, don't do that, because "you are insulting us and you ain't have no manners and you're not to scrap your teeth like that."

Joanne: And what did you say?

Maisy: (In loud voice) " Me say I no mean nothing" and me ""steups steups steups and walk out (deomstrating walking out, stamping feet in her chair)

Carol: Cause it's a habit.

Maisy: It's a habit. Cause me just steups steups steups (moves around in her seat) and me walk out.

Joanne: Kissing your teeth as a way of?... (not finished my sentence)

Maisy: That's right.

Carol: The thing is it comes naturally,

Maisy: Naturally. (loud voice)

Carol: We do it naturally. The thing is we buck our toe, we kiss our teeth

Maisy: Alright.

(Loud and inaudible)

Carol: We drop the line and we do it.

(laughter from all)

Maisy: So, dem ah talk to me now and say something to me I gone "steups steups steups" me gone bout me business and they go, "you here em say you not supposed to do that, you you you you, insulting us, you don't have no manners you not supposed to steups (spoken) your teeth like that". Steups (sound). Me gone bout my business and me just steups my teeth like that again. (Laughs)

Joanne: hmmmm. Do you kiss your teeth?

Carol: (pause) Not often.

Maisy: Not that often.

Joanne: And how do people take it when you do it?

Carol: At work there is one lady, white lady, she don't like it, I don't care. I don't care.

Maisy: laughs

Carol: You know I probably do it to annoy her.

Maisy: laughs

Carol: So you know, I don't really care. (laughs)

Joanne: Now you know.

Carol: Yes.

Maisy: I used to get that too.

Carol: I mean she doesn't like it but I'm not bothered.

Maisy: But I never know say I'm insulting a person when I do that

Joanne: Nooo

Maisy: Cause I, it's an everyday thing, you did it, you know I just talk and steups

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: Cause … and when they finish talk to me and tell me say what it mean me just kiss my teeth and don't look round.

Joanne: Amazing.

Maisy: Yeah! Me just kiss my teeth and gone again (laughs)

Joanne: I have never thought, hmmmm.

Maisy: Uh hmm.

Joanne: I'm so glad I spoke with you.

Maisy: Thank you.

Joanne: I forgot, yeah. It's been really refreshing.

Maisy: (laughs) You never laugh so in your life. (laughs)

Joanne: Well its nice because its, speaking to you I speak to somebody who's not, (pause)…

Maisy: Not putting it on.

Joanne: Not let go of who you are.

Maisy: And, it make you feel more comfortable.

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: Because you're not scared to ask another question cause you don't know what the answer you're gonna get.

Joanne: Exactly.

Maisy: So you feel relaxed because you say, pause, "oh my God, maybe it's the first interview you ever get so relaxed"

Joanne: Yes.

Maisy: Even louder laughter

Joanne: Yes, you not wrong.

Maisy: More laughter

Joanne: You're not wrong. You're not wrong. It's amazing. (Silence) Well yes, so I can, thank very much. I can stop. Unless you have anything you want to add that you thought I was gonna ask that I didn't ask.

Maisy: Well if you want to pull me up and ask another question.

Carol: laughs loudly

Maisy: As you may think of something else, in the morning?

Joanne: No cause when I put this together I thought people were just gonna have one or two bits they remember.

Carol: Yeah

Maisy: uh hmm

Joanne: But not you've made me think about the people who talk, how they talk, all the time, then you're not gonna remember 1 or 2 bits as its all become integrated and natural into one.

Maisy: That's right, that's what you do, That's what …

Joanne: Thank you.

Maisy: We don't have to beat around the bush my dear child we say it as it goes. (laughs)

Joanne: That's another saying, beat around the bush.

Maisy: That's right, laughs, we don't beat around the bush

Carol: The thing is I think a lot of us, you know Jamaican's whatever islands you know, it's the same sayings over and over again, they use if over here. They might re-word it differently, but it's the same sayings. I think it's the same sayings.

Joanne: Yes. But I guess really what I'm curious about, partly what is the saying but also, who's not afraid to use it.

Maisy: hmmm

Joanne: Necause some people like you say they save that talk, maybe for family at best some don't even do that. And they'll correct you. They'll correct your English. To the point of putting it in good English for you. Teaching you how to talk.

Maisy: Yeah yeah.

Joanne: If you try and talk like that.

Carol: Yeah, the thing is my parents didn't do that for me Marcia (daughter) does it.

Joanne: She'll correct you?

Carol: She'll correct me, she'll correct Gemma (youngest child) because Gemma has got the street talk. My younger daughter has the street talk. She gets (inaudible) now if she needs to speak, she can write it.

Joanne: Yes

Carol: Queens English, but she is street talk.

Joanne: Yeah, she's a teenager.

Maisy: That's right.

Carol: And I'm corrected too sometimes and the thing is my accent aint' that good. (laughs). You know the thing is the Patois comes out and … correcting her sometimes

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Joanne: Yes, Now thank you very much. Interview ceased.

Maisy: it out so I'm training my, I'm telling my kids dem say my grandmother bring me up this way and they never understand what me ah mean you know so naturally/gradually when I'm starting to talk it to them it will come out of them mouth say "oh here comes grandma say you know, grandma say this, grandma say that." (Laugh)

Carol: See the thing is when I was growing up we didn't have that they just used to talk, and cuss you know it wasn't "my mother say this and my mother say that"

Maisy: My grandma used to tell me, she used to say "oh hear come Grandma say now" me say when you have children you gonna tell them that my mummy used to tell me this and tell me that. So meh say and so meh come now to hear my daughter ah tell for him too "mummy say this and mummy say that" but you're not my mummy laughs. She's not my mummy, you is my mummy laughs loud and lengthy.

Joanne: How old is your grandson?

Maisy: My grandson, one is 14 and one is 18

Joanne: wow, adult.

Maisy: Yes, that's it.

Joanne: Nice, I like that. Right we'll stop

Maisy: Yeah 2 boys

Started again recording as the conversation continued to be in vein oof my research topic

Maisy: The new broom sweep clean but the old broom know the corners. So you say you gonna pick up the new ting say it ah go treat you good the old one ah come back come gone back come pick up which part him start off. (Laughs)

Joanne: I like that.

Carol: So basically, the saying "the grass is always greener on the other side"

Maisy: And they off the glass they see pretty, one of these days when they wake up in the morning you be without…. (inaudible to me) (Laughs)

Joanne: My cousin had a…, my cousin's friend I should say, edited it to "the grass may be greener on the other side but it still needs looking after"

Maisy: Well yes, (laughs for some time).

Joanne: We can't get out of hard work (muffled sound with M)

Carol: That's true.

Joanne: I like that, the broom.

Maisy: uh hmm

Silence

Carol: I thought that was an old saying.

Joanne: It probably is you see that's the kind of thing that probably my grandmother would've known.

Maisy: That's right, yes, yes.

Joanne: I haven't heard that one. I heard things like 2 woman can't live in one house

Maisy: Oh yes, yes.

Joanne: When I get to my teenage years. Like you (Maisy)

Maisy: Hmmm, that's right.

Joanne: And you thought you could answer back.

Maisy: You cyah answer back but one slap you get in your mouth (loud laughter)

Silence

Joanne: Definitely, that was the classic.

Maisy: laughter

Joanne: And uhm, yeah and things about discipline that was the thing that we heard, but I guess being brought up in Trinidad, growing up as a younger child then maybe there was more things about discipline

Maisy: Discipline yeah and discipline in a way, that eh, we have to take it in, cause if you no take it in.

Carol: Yeah but some of us didn't take it in.

Maisy: Well that's (didn't finish her sentence).

Carol: See the thing is, coming from parents in Jamaica, first over here, we got beating

Joanne: hmmm

Maisy: Oh yes! (loud voice)

Carol: Hold on, hold on, wait a minute. And it wasn't a slap, silence, we were beaten. I work in a primary school, and kids will come and say to me, make a disclosure "I got beaten last night" and when you talk to them, they go back (sound of something, a slap?). I know beating.

Joanne: Yeah when you have to run.

Carol: I know beating.

Maisy: Where we grow up,

Joanne: Out of breath.

Maisy: We got the stick and carry it come go give them. You got to go get the stick and you can't come with no little magga one.

Joanne: With branches coming off.

Maisy: And when they done the leave come off of it (Laughs)

Carol: That's not a beating, that's a slap. I know beating. I remember when I went to Jamaica, not this time, the time before, a couple of years ago. And we was talking, me and my father was talking, and I turned round and I said, "you know what, if we were growing up now, you'd be in prison".

Maisy: That's right.

Carol: You would be in prison but I goes because you, we, it wasn't… to us it was a beating, but as you get older, you come to realise, physical abuse.

Maisy: That's right.

Carol: It wasn't (pause)… physical abuse

Maisy: uh hmm uh hmmm (emphasis)

Carol: But did we learn by it? No, cause I used to take the beating,

Joanne: You survived.

Carol: And a couple of weeks later, go and do the same thing.

Joanne: Go and do the same

Carol: Hmmm, oh I'll just go and get the beating, once I get the beating, even if I got into trouble and I came home and I knew I was going to get the beating, and I thought he'd forgotten and I went to my bed, he'd pull of the cover and I'd get the beating and fling back over the cover (laughing) and that was it (laughing) end of but you know I got the beating.

Joanne: Yes.

Carol: I waited couple of weeks and laughs loudly, you know, do whatever again.

Joanne: Yes.

Carol: So it's like yeah, we get the beating, but the thing is, did it better, stronger people.

Maisy: Yes.

Carol: No, no, I don't think it did

Maisy: Well it make me strong, I never get, I know

Carol: I don't think it did (loud voice) the thing is couple of weeks later I did the same thing again.

Maisy: No well, we talk about we talk about,

Carol: So was I scared.

Maisy: The thing is we learn from our mistakes.

Carol: No, you do learn from your mistakes.

Maisy: Well, I try to tell now my children about it and they say " oh hear comes grandma says"

Carol: The thing is you, no, cause I'd do the same thing again. I was a teenager. I'd do the same thing again. Get the beating, over and done with , you know 'happy family' couple of weeks later, I'd do the same… you understand what I'm saying.

Joanne: Conversation and yeah, yeah.

Carol: hmmm… because the thing is, they didn't sit down and talk to us. We get the beating you know DON'T-DO-THIS-AGAIN and that was it. But there was no conversation after, you got nothing.

Maisy: Why you beat and you not,

Joanne: hmmm (sad sounding).

Carol: There was none of that.

Maisy: Don't hit me and don't tell me what you are hittng me for. Hit me and tell me. Was the same thing in Jamaica, but with, my grandmother would tell me "because you go over there so and I tell you not to go over dey"

Carol: laugh

Maisy: laughs loudly

Carol: The thing is my father didn't do that, he'd beat us and that was it. There was no talk.

Joanne: hmmm

Carol: No talk, it was a beating. And that was it. No "why did you do it" "don't do it again"

Maisy: And it was a cupboard in the butchery and you go to school half and me ah hide out and come home. And, and me was yes mummy me go to school for the whole day "you never go to school for the whole day you know". Then she would put me in the butcher and she would lock the door. And then we would have to sit down

Joanne: Put you where?

Maisy: In the butchery, it's ah room, name butchery

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Joanne: Butchery

Maisy: Yeah butchery. Is a room.

Joanne: What's in the room?

Maisy: Nothing sort that they store things in there.

Joanne: Ah!

Maisy: Like a pantry.

Joanne: Ah!

Maisy: A pantry or whatever you ah call it over here.

Joanne: So it has food.

Maisy: Raw food, whatever, ah rice, gungo (peas)

Joanne: laughter

Maisy: Gungo and yam and potato and all that stored in there and banana. You take the head of the banana so it would ripe so when the banana ripe you pick and eat. (lots of laughter) and she came and give us some bread and wonder whether (pause) should be (pause) with me and she lock the door and I open the window and come out and get water and go back and clean the floor it shine so pretty think say so me ah do good. And then me take down the gungo, and me shell the whole gungo the whole bag of gungo me shell it (laughing) nobody ah say (pause) the gungo and (loud voice), the weeble eat the gungo (laughing hysterically)

Carol: (laughs) And you thought you were doing good.

Maisy: laughing hysterically

Words inaudible

Joanne: Oh dear, (laughing)

Maisy: laughing hysterically, (words inaudible)

Carol: laughing

Maisy: Me shed the bag, big bag you know, dry gungo. But you not supposed to shell the gungo cause if you shell the gungo,

Joanne: You can't plant it.

Maisy: You cant plant it because weeble get it

Carol: To a family member (yeah we finish)

Maisy: And gold bean said to the father, why did you eat my bean, he said cause I aint got a home (bursts into hysterical laughter)

Joanne: Your aunt is entertaining (Carol's daughter Marcia)

Marcia: You not speaking English no more?

Maisy: Me nah speak no English.

Carol: She doesn't speak English.

Joanne: You know trying to transcribe this is gonna be fun. How do I spell this word? How do I spell patois to the people?

Carol and Maisy: laughs

Joanne: sound it out

Laughter

Appendix 2

Carol and Maisy – Pen portrait

At the time of interviewing Carol and Maisy, Maisy was in her early 70s and Carol in her early 50's. They are related to each through marriage. Maisy is an aunt to Carol by marriage to Carol's uncle. They have a very close bond which Maisy would describe as closer than the bond she has with her own daughter. Carol and Maisy live on the same estate and visit with each other daily. Carol lives with her partner and 3 children aged 30 – 16. Carol's oldest child, Marcia, was familiar with my research and thought that her mother and Maisy would capture what I am looking for. She said "if that is what you are interested in then you want to meet my aunt". She joked about the fact that she speaks English so well that Maisy doesn't understand what she is saying to her and vice versa. Marcia also took part in my study but chose to be interviewed with her grandmother Monica. Carol works as the Head of Inclusion in a primary school in her local area. She is passionate about her work and committed to ideas about social justice when working with racial identities as part of her role. As part of the interview Carol shared her concern for children who are Caribbean, who journey to England as children meaning they have to engage the educational system here in England. She believed that these children are disadvantaged by a system who not only do not try to understand them but also actively shut down the voice of African Caribbean workers who offer their expertise in this area.

Maisy worked at her local primary school as a dinner lady for just over 30 years, until she formally retired. Carol continues to work in the local primary school and this seems to be one of the areas where these two are connected. They both live and work (worked) in the same locality and the same institution. In speaking there is a real shared understanding between them and a feel that these conversations. Maisy speaks joyously, with much laughter about her time and experience at the school. Maisy enjoyed the children's confusion and curiosity about her, where she was from, what language she spoke etc. Maisy seemed to take it as part of a playfulness and exploration that the children did. At times Carol, also with laughter, would speak

about how Maisy engaged the children, usually playfully but getting them to focus on tasks at hand.

Maisy is from Jamaica, she came to the UK in June 1977 and remembers it clearly because it was a week after her birthday. She was in her late 20's at the time and was sad to leave because it meant she had to leave her two young children in Jamaica. They were described as very young but they joined her in the UK aged 9 and 11 years of age.   Maisy has another son which she gave birth to in the UK. She and her husband live together and Maisy is an active grandparent with her grandchildren. She speaks about being a carer for her daughter's sons when they were younger. She continues to be supportive of the youngest son and speaks warmly of them all.

Maisy is a proud Jamaican woman. When asked about her use of stories and sayings in Jamaica she comments that there are lots. So much that she struggled to locate specific sayings. She brought me a booklet to the session with a variety of sayings that are used in Jamaica. She remember growing up and conversations being 'sayings led' e.g. "duppy know who to trouble" or singing nursery rhymes "hill and go the ride oh, hill and go li the…" she remembered "instead of speaking in the right, you know, we say "yeah man, come". Language, in terms of ways of speaking was a present and active ideal for Maisy which has had a real impact on her identity and the relationships that she maintains. For example, Maisy spoke about how her relationship with her older sister changed when she arrived in the UK because her sister no longer wanted to speak "in the Jamaican".

Maisy speaks about getting to work and the children at her workplace would be asking the teachers which language she was speaking. Some children felt comfortable enough to ask her what language she spoke. She was very attuned to the use of language, even in describing her job role at the school she said, "it was dinner lady but now it's meal supervisor (laughs)" in reference to the way that language is used to change the presentation of ideas. Same job, different title, the role has not changed. Maisy presented as warm and friendly, she even invited me to join her again to speak some more if I felt I needed further information from her. She kept checking with me throughout the interview, she would laugh, maintain eye

contact then, on occasion she said "I bet you never laugh so much in your life". Maisy offered herself as who she was felt like a form of activism and bringing hope as she is saying this is who I am. She laughs at the confusion, she laughs when she recalls challenging others, she laughs when she spoke about being beaten as a form of punishment. She felt "it didn't do me nothing". I got from Maisy that she was unashamed of her heritage and she wanted people to know that it was this that brings her joy.

Following the death of Carol's mother, Maisy and Carol became closer as they reminisced about life in Jamaica. Carol has not lived in Jamaica but she has heard many stories from her parents and her family. At this point she has travelled to Jamaica so she has a better understanding of her family's history as she is able to connect the stories and the location differently. Carol, as the second generation, is very clear that she is from South London. She does not try to be Jamaican but she is protective of the rights of Caribbean people. Carol recognises the way that they have tried to hide who they are to be accepted, she gave examples of encouraging her mother to speak in her natural accent, not feel she has to try to put on a different voice for the outside world. One of the functions of the bond that Carol and Maisy have is that it allows a connection to a time and a people who have passed away. What I was reminded of in this study is the place of grief in the lives of African Caribbean people and how grief can push us to reconnect with ourselves in different ways. There was much speak about how they both challenge behaviours in others especially behaviour that feels disingenuous. They spoke about colourism, class, family, interacting with the system without being afraid. They both presented and connected in the ways that they fight the system. There was also a playfulness between them with Carol tried to show understanding of Jamaica, Maisy would playfully mock her so that she doesn't relax in this knowledge.

In the interview Carol and Maisy shared views on many areas, specifically on interacting with others in England. They both felt you should be able to speak in your own voice. They both denied direct experiences of racism though they both gave examples of hearing of direct racism experienced by others, including family. The one area they disagreed is on the use of physical punishment. Carol felt it was unfair as it didn't usually come with an explanation. She was left confused and

scared that she would repeat the offence as she was not always sure what the offence was. Maisy felt that the use of physical punishment was helpful in her life. She recalled examples of this with the usual theme of joy and laughter that followed her through our time together.

Maisy recalled growing up in Jamaica. Though she did not meet Bob Marley, she knew some of the musicians and singers connected to his group. She fondly remembers times of them meeting, hanging out together and speaking a particular way. A way that welcomed being who you are. Rastafarianism was a big player in liberating the mentality of African Caribbean people. It was big at a time when Maisy was a young person growing up and I wonder about its influence in her unapologetic welcoming style of being.

Appendix 3

Analysis

Plot 1 – leaving home. The sad traveller

Maisy starts her story by speaking about her coming to the UK. She is able to give specific details as this transition is connected with a personal transition, her birthday. She goes on to describe sadness

Journey to the England

Joanne: And when did you come to the UK?

Maisy: The 26th June 1977.

Joanne: Amazing. You got the date, not just the year.

Maisy: That's right.

Joanne: Why do you remember which such detail you think?

Maisy: Because it was just after my birthday and my birthday was the 17th June.

Joanne: Ah!

Maisy: And I come up now the 17th June.

Joanne: A week after.

Maisy: A week after. And it was a lot of tears, and I leave my kids it was lots of tear. My two kids out there and they were very small.

Joanne: Yes.

Maisy: And it was just a very sad memory for me, so I keep it in my brain and I won't forget it.

She describes the sadness that she felt drawing you in to her position as a mother who has to leave two young children and go on a journey with no clear 'what happens next?'. Her journey to the UK begins with complex story of grief and what sounds like guilt with a promise to never forget her pain as a mother parting with her children, "I leave my kids".

At this point she focuses in on the size of her children. Size pointing to their age and readiness to be without a mother. She had to leave "small" interchangeable with vulnerable children and how does a mother do this – the dilemma. In this moment I hear the familiar story of a mother as an economic migrant who is travelling "for a better life, for her and her children" but as part of this is the untold story of the experience of the heartfelt reality of separation. The two kids "out there", where will they be, where will I be? When will I see them again, the distance, the unknown. This is a powerfully sad moment in time which gives understanding to the "internal tribute" that Maisy has dedicated to her children and herself. Like with other unspeakable pains Maisy has created a way of never forgetting the pain that she and her small children experienced in her taking this journey.

Plot 2 – Integration through work

Maisy begins to speak about her experience at her workplace where she was a Dinner lady at her local primary school. Interesting choice as I wonder how much her sadness in the previous plot about "small children" has led to her working in a primary school. Maisy continues to be jovial throughout the interview. She is responding to me asking about her changes she had to make to her way of speaking. She says "not much" acknowledging some change was necessary but somehow, wasn't excessive. It's interesting how her identity is being questioned

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Maisy: Not much, when I begin to talk (still laughing) cause I work at the school. The kids dem now would tell the teacher say, "is the Chinese lady outside" cause I speak Chinese. They can't understand because I speaking too fast. (laughs)

Joanne: Are you at the same school? (to Carol)

Carol: Was

Joanne: What do you do?

Maisy: Dinner lady, and work the dinner hall with the children dem.

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: That time it was dinner lady but now it's meal supervisor (Laughs). They mash it up. (Laughs loudly)

> **Joanne**: (laughs) Oh dear, I could just imagine at the school and the kids with their Jamaican accent as well.
>
> **Maisy**: Oh yes and they would come up and say "miss where are you from?" say "You no ha fi know where me come from, its none of your business…" and laugh
>
> **Joanne**: Talk yes
>
> **Maisy**: (loud laughter) They say "miss we don't understand you, what did you say". I say, "me no want you to know what me say" (laughter) (Coughs).

I am curious about the connection to children considering that sadly Maisy had to leave her children when she came to the UK. The children at the school, who Maisy speaks of usually with laughter, were curious about her. Maisy was not offended by their curiosity but she was aware that conversations were happening between the young students and their teachers. They were trying to understand "the language" that she spoke and made an interesting connection to China. Why China? Maisy understands the connection to do with the speed of how she speaks and laughs at this. I am curious though how it feels to not be recognized as Jamaican. What's beginning to happen to her identity in this context. What does being Chinese mean to and for Maisy? Apart from the children what were the views of the adults (the parents of the children, the staff) how much are students voice representing a bigger discourse that adults may not feel they have the same permission or entitlement to. I also notice the way Maisy is holding a boundary between her and the children. Its not unusual in Caribbean culture to have some distance between adult and child. Maisy is being playful whilst not losing the boundary.

This idea about who is Maisy is repeated later on in the interview where the question is now what language do you speak but where are you from in the world, physically, you look Turkish, Cypriot Turkish where she is being told that she is not black.

> **Maisy**: … when I'm at school and they say to me, you know how dem does say "oh, are you Turkish, are you Cypriot Turkish,

> **Joanne**: Ah yes
>
> **Maisy**: You come from Turkey. I said no I'm from Jamaica. But you don't talk Jamaican. You know how dem does. You don't and and I say, why. They say, ordinarily they say, "but you not black, you white" so meh say " black come from Jamaica you know"
>
> **Maisy**: Plenty country, plenty colour ah dey in Jamaica ah no black alone dey dey but you know them ah say that to me. Well, they don't say it in ah rude way. they would say. Where you from miss. I come from Jamaica. But you're not black pause, meh say, but meh not black, is not only black people come from Jamaica you know. you know it's not everybody that understand the conversation.
>
> **Joanne**: and is this the student or the staff.
>
> **Maisy**: the likkle ones. The kids.

Her very presence challenges the idea about what Jamaicans look like and what "can they" look like. Again these questions come from the children but I wonder how many adults had similar questions. She understands it as a curiosity that is not intended to be rude. She connects again with "the likkle ones" and has compassion for them. She is also engaging in a conversation about color which doesn't acknowledge socio-political factors. Black is being used as a specific description as opposed to thinking about a race of people and the range of presentations they have. As a fair skinned black person what privileges did this allow her in the integration process. In the Caribbean her skin tone, looking Chinese or Turkish Cypriot would have positioned her with a certain authority and favor in the community.

Again, Maisy is being constantly reminded of her difference but it sounds like a genuine curiosity. 'where are you from' and her response is interesting as it echoes the response of the Caribbean. Children are not allowed to question adults and in an educational setting child are especially meant to be "seen and not heard". Maisy continues to adapt her position in the new land and she responds in the usual jovial manner. I wonder what being jovial allows this woman who had to leave her "2 small children" whilst she works in a primary school. Interesting she responds clearly "none of your business" and laughs. Laughter in some ways encourages

relationship in the way that getting angry wouldn't. Her laughter communicates a sense of safety

"If I want to I can" – agency and loyalty are central to idenity

In this excerpt we see the difference to how Maisy was greeted by her sister, who is Jamaican. She is responding to my curiosity on if she felt pressure to change her style of speaking.

Joanne: And did you ever feel any pressure to change how you were talking?

Maisy: Not really, if I want to I can speak properly "here there and where" but with she (Carol), she know more than me. But with my sister now, because she is over here longer than me. She come over here way long, long, longer than me, so when I'm talking to her now I find it difficult because she so "sch zzz sch" (posh voice mocking sister's poshness). And I'm trying to give her a joke now,

Joanne: Yes

Maisy: in the Jamaican joke now, and she don't want to understand. She "eh?". So when she was trying to give me one in English, here me, "me no understand what you are say? Your joke don't make no sense"

Carol: Laughs

Maisy: "You too push for me, you too stush" (Laughs)

Maisy is presenting as someone who is using agency. She is making a decision about how she wants to use language, who she wants to be understood by and how she engages with the world. She powerfully asserts that she can speak "properly" if she wants suggesting that she is presenting "improperly". She is rebelling/choosing not to engage with dominant ways of speaking being and choosing what. Interesting Maisy goes on to tell the story that emphasizes a sense of agency and loyalty. There is a sadness in this story as Maisy describes trying to bond with her sister. Sister has been here longer and should understand the need to make connections to "home" and speak in "the Jamaican" however her sister choses to be confused. This causes a distance between the sisters. Her sister has become "posh" in her speech which speaks to a difference in class and how they have

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chosen to position themselves. When sister then tries to bond in the local language Maisy refuses the opportunity leaving the sister to feel alienated. This dynamic is summed up later in the conversation with Maisy says succinctly

> *Maisy:* me nah understand.   You don't understand me, you don't understand me

This speaks to the sense of intention that Maisy is understanding in her sister and others who don't understand. Maisy is also confused and she is not trying to understand. She said it with a tone of acceptance, 'this is me, that is you'. In this she is choosing her inner circle.

This sentiment is repeated throughout the interview. Another example is below but with the additional information about her loyalty but also the extent to which she is reminded that she is a foreigner. Maisy is speaking English with patois being a form of broken English. This seems to promote Maisy's sense of where she is from

> anywhere I go they ask me "why don't you speak English". Here me. "did I born in England". Me say "I born Jamaica!".

Maisy is using opportunities of confusion to tell people who she is. She is claiming a Jamaican identity with pride.

In the following excerpt Maisy demonstrates agency and a sense that she doesn't really believe that she can't be understood. She challenges what she experiences by magnifying the behaviour.

> **Maisy**: Me no speak English. Me ah talk, me ah talk, if you cyah understand. Good luck to you".(Joanne: laughs) that's your problem. You don't want to understand. I talking. … say "I talking to fast, I say how fast you want me to talk. You want me to talk faster". (Loud laughter)

In this context Maisy is speaking to the idea of "speaking properly". Maisy takes the position that if you don't understand you are the one that misses out. She will continue speaking but she will not change how she is speaking as there is a connection between how she speaks and who she is. Any comments about the speed at which she is speaking means that she will speak faster and show you that actually, she was making an effort before which you did not notice. As usual the theme of laughter is throughout which speaks to a bigger message of a key way of managing the situation as well as it being part of Maisy's way of being. Maisy's "you want me to talk faster" feels like a response to those she sees as not making enough effort, you not wanting to answer me, I can make this harder for you, you decide. In the same way that Maisy is actively using her agency she believes that others are.

Maisy goes to think about founder memories at her work place. Possible signs of integration when I asked her about her colleagues being able to understand her at her workplace. She states, with certainty that after 32 years there was an understanding. Even the "little English" (white British born is the assumption) would seek her out to listen to her. There was finally acceptance and even pleasure in hearing her speak though still confusion about what she is saying. Maisy has stood her ground and relates on her terms. Again she laughs, was it all worth it?

> **Maisy**: Oh yes! they understand they understand. 32 years me work there for. So they understand, it comes and goes. Even the little English they come to hear me talk cause they love to hear me talk. They say "it sound nice miss" "it sounds nice, but what did you say?" (laughter).

Embodied expression (Kissing her teeth).

However, in the next excerpt Maisy gives an example where standing her ground caused some difficulty at work.

Maisy: Yeah because when I used to work down there as well and Mrs S and hmmm heather and them in the office white and they say something to me I never know now say, what it mean pause, and … that I'm doing that and I used to "sound of kissing teeth" and walk out.

Joanne: Yes.

Maisy: And they call me back and say (in a shouting voice) "never you do that because you are insulting us". You are insulting us when you steups (kiss your teeth)

Joanne: Who said this to you?

Carol: The white ladies.

Maisy: The white ladies dem.

Joanne: The white teachers?

Carol: No no no they were office staff.

Maisy: Office staff.

Joanne: Office staff assumed that you insulted them?

Maisy: Insult them and "you nah have no manners, you not to do with that"

Joanne: Oh dear! What did…

Maisy: Cause they will say that now, they will say something to me cause they, and me never know, now that you insult them. Back home you talk now and just "steups" (sound of kissing teeth) and you walk out and you gone bout your business. And they (office staff at work) will call me back and say, don't do that, because "you are insulting us and you ain't have no manners and you're not to scrap your teeth like that."

Joanne: And what did you say?

Maisy: (In loud voice) " Me say I no mean nothing" and me ""steups steups steups and walk out (deomstrating walking out, stamping feet in her chair)

In this excerpt the class and power differences feel evident but I am also aware of my connection with Maisy. Maisy speaks of her experience of being "called in" by the office staff. She felt she was being summoned and is curious and cautious about why. On arrival she is told that her culturally specific embodied form of expression (kissing her teeth) is being understood as an insult.   She describes "the white ladies" as the ones who sent for her and this makes me wonder about a racialised

dynamic as well as how many women were present. Maisy tries to understand what's going on but I don't know how this was received by the other women. I wonder if part of the confusion in this story for Maisy is a culturally specific embodied response, which is so natural to her, creates a moment of conflict. The paradox is they have become hurtful to her as they believe that she is being rude. What are the stories that these "white ladies" are being influenced by? What might they have been trying to communicate?

At this point I find myself feeling protective of Maisy. As a young person raised by my grandmother, I sit with a woman in her 70s who is amongst the forerunners of Caribbean migrants to this country. I am aware of discourses about black women being 'rude', 'aggressive', 'unprofessional' and I wonder if they are in operation here contributing to frustrations and anger. For some these discourses fit to a colonial discourse about 'taming the savage'. My need to protect Maisy is unwarranted, she performs nothing but strength.

Maisy has claimed the identity of being 'heroine? Fearless? One who fights back? Demonstrating how identity can be performed in this context, how Maisy responded to not being understood by the "white ladies". Maisy does not understand this as a racist encounter, and when asked earlier, explicitly denies an experience of racism yet I believe race/racism/power are felt in the conversation and are being communicated. Class is also in operation as you have 'office' workers calling the 'dinner lady' in to challenge her behaviour.

What is the impact of discussing this with me? If the "white ladies" had attended this research how would the story be different, if at all? Her employment with the school would have been (40 years ago), 1970's recruiting and working with black staff. What is different in current times?

What are the meanings these stories hold for the next generation?

In this section of the interview I am interested in the way identities are created between the two participants. In this section of the interview Maisy and Carol are

demonstrating the strength of their bond and the way they have developed a traditional 'mother/daughter bond' through conversations.

Maisy: I even tell her things I wouldn't tell my daughter. That's how open I be with her.

Joanne: Very close.

Maisy: Very close, very close.

Carol: We are very close and the thing is I sit down and the same way I used to listen to my parents talk about they growing up and talk about the old people and the old people they knew, I sit down and listen to her, talk about her people and the people that she knew. Because that's how, when my mother was alive … and we meet up here, her and my mum use to talk about the old people and then argue about the old people

Maisy: laughter

Carol: You know about this person came from there that side, no this one was that side and how this one was somebody daddy no, his daddy was somebody else (laugter). You know and they used to end up arguing.

Maisy: Not arguing, arguing.

Joanne: Discussion.

Carol: Not fighting arguing.

Maisy: Discussion.

Carol: No that was his daddy no this one was his daddy. You understand what I'm saying

Joanne: Yes

Carol: So I used to sit down and listen to them have this conversation and we have this conversation now you since, you know, I've been to Jamaica a few times now so I know where everybody is so I could turn round and say to her, "oh I know what you're talking about" now, hmmmm.

Maisy: Laugh

Carol: So the relationship she had with my mum, we've got it now

Joanne: Yes. And its lovely to watch, I have to say. And so, do you feel, cause I notice like with Marcia. Clear English, well spoken.

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Maisy is able to talk to her and be more open than with her daughter (there could be other complexities to this dynamic) and Carol thinks about how she observed her parents speak and has chosen to honour that tradition recognizing the power it has for creating stability/bonding as well as informing genealogy and other historical information about the families. Carol works to create and offer not only the closeness but a cultural way of being. She recognises that these conversations did something for her mother and now she gifts it to her aunt. Arguably, Carol also gets something from the conversation she gets to claim a cultural and familial identity, she gets to put the pieces together about family as she relates "now she's been to Jamaican a few times…" Carol feels like she can contribute to the conversation in a different way, a more entitled way "now I know". "Now I know me and I know you better". Both individuals are in the UK but their bonding is clearly based on a journey back to Jamaica and this was strengthened when Carol was able to do that journey herself. Additionally, Carol has been able to recreate a relationship that she had with her mother, where they can talk, openly, in their own language. This feels incredibly healing.

Part of the context in this relationship is migration, integration which includes issues of racism and classism. For some in the integration process they made decisions about what they were going to privilege in the new context. What was privileged was connected to discourses about "fitting in", "selling out" and "staying true" amongst others. In this interaction 'staying true' is being acted out confirming identities of race and culture.

As an immigrant I felt moved listening to Maisy and Carol speak. Moved by the openness, the stories shared, the observance of the bond and the way the cultural legacy has been handed down. This is in contrast that Maisy references when she speaks about the relationship with her sister. This demonstrates one of the ways in which families reconfigure when they travel to the UK. They find those allied with how they understand the experience they are having.

Carol as an adult embarks on a journey to Jamaica and connect to the characters that she learnt about growing up. She wanted to connect characters and locations to create a personal narrative about family life/ancestry in Jamaica. This narrative

allows her to have a sense of identity and make identity claims for her life. She is speaking of the difficulty the family had in recalling different members and where they were from. In this moment Maisy laughs and throughout the laughter feels supportive, engaging and encouraging. In this moment it feels like a shared understanding of the complication of memory and who's memory do you work with, what gets lost with these memory problems, who's story gets honoured/privileged a more coherent narrative is eventually co-created between the two of them.

In this section of the interview I am aware that I am speaking more than other parts. I have connected with the story of class, language and presentation to the public. This resonates with me as I have witnessed elders in my community try to sound 'like they belong here' like they are 'just as good' as the locals and recall my peers when I was in college laugh at their parents attempt to fit in. Interesting response from daughter continues to support this story that demonstrates how that generation tried to fit in and be recognised as able.

Carol: See the thing is my mother was different, like I said, she's in the generation before her (before Maisy) and when we were growing up, if I went shopping with my mother, she would try "speak the queens English". She was Jamaican, she would try and speak the queens English, and we would say to her "mummy, no mummy, don't bother it don't sound good".

Carol and Maisy: laughter

Carol: "Just talk how you talk, it sounds better".

Joanne: That's my mum, on the phone especially, who are you talking too, I don't even understand you.

Carol: No, "it's like no mummy, don't talk like that, you don't talk like that. It don't sound good".

Joanne: Yes, yes.

Carol: You know she'd go to the supermarket or the fish market, you know, she worked with a lot of white people.

Joanne: Yes.

Carol: But you know she worked at Dulwich hospital, and you know the nurses, and she, she, she spoke Jamaican but if she was shopping and she was asking for

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> a piece of fish. "can I have that piece of fish please?" (posh voice sound). And it
> was like, "no mummy, it don't sound good, just talk how you talk".
> **Carol and Maisy:** laughter

Daughter, continues to laugh at this in mother and says she knows how she "should
sound". In mother's story I wonder what identity she thinks she is calling forth. It
sounds like she is trying to engage a different class which may be magnified
because she is shopping. At her best, daughter is saying to mother "be yourself"
possibly saying "fight back". She makes reference to her mother working with the
nurses and she spoke "Jamaican". This is interesting as later in the interview
daughter is upset with Patwa is put on the school form as an additional language that
may require additional support. On one level she can see the danger for the
Jamaican immigrant where 'being themselves' means they get guided towards a
needs, deficiency based intervention from the system. She is also saying something
is different enough for her mother at work where she can claim an identity more
genuinely Jamaican but when she left this environment and was in the market place
(class association of market place) she chose to stand out and present as someone
from a different class. When she is spending money, how much do discourses about
class influence behaviour and expectations? I understand shame as a strong part of
this discourse.

In the following excerpt we see how Carol is impacted at work when working with
first generation Caribbean migrants. She gets into how language positions you but
this being fueled by a "not-knowing" of professionals who confuse dialect and style
as language that needs something different. There is some understanding that can
be had as dialects, style and accents can impact conversation in a recursive way.

> **Carol**: I had a child a few years ago, he came from Jamaica and they they in
> schools they have a habit of children who don't speak English fist language is not
> English, they EAL, so they are seen by the EAL Coordinator, to learn how to sound
> out words
> **Joanne**: Right
> **Carol**: Patois is not a language.

> **Joanne**: No
>
> **Carol**: (Pause) and when you work in a school they automatically think that cause you're Jamaican or whatever,
>
> **Maisy**: They think say its Patois.
>
> **Carol**: It's a different language or something.
>
> **Maisy**: Right
>
> **Carol**: So you're classed as EAL,
>
> **Joanne**: Right
>
> **Carol**: But you're not, :if they speak to the right people… We have a little boy that came in from Jamaica and because the class teacher did not understand what he was saying she put him, they put him under speech and language so he was down in speech and language therapy and the black staff was like, "no, we can understand him", so you know we will work with him because we can understand him. And they be like "no no no no he's speech and language because he's speaking a different language" and we're like "no, just because his first language is not English it does not mean that he comes under EAL"
>
> **Joanne**: hmmmm
>
> **Carol**: Because you know, patois isn't a language.
>
> **Joanne**: It's a way of speaking.
>
> **Carol**: Its broken English. And you know, that's some of the mistakes schools make. Because you have a Jamaican child or a Bajan child who comes in speaking broken English its not English to them. That's where they make their mistake.

Carol goes on to the idea of "speak with the right people". This is a powerful statement that that acknowledges that the expertise of the people who are connected to the dialect are not part of the decision-making process which they should be. The power of professionals who get to create a particular type of world with a particular type of people. Who are the people deciding whether you have additional learning needs? There is a potential dominant story unfolding here about competence and expertise. Whose voice gets heard? How do the second generation get taken seriously, especially considering her job role within the organisation that would assume she had some influence? What's being said? The boy's ability to learn is being questioned and is there any further evidence apart from

his voice? This was a sad and frustrating moment as it echoes with stories about competence in my own life. There is an assumption of you being "less than" because you are not speaking exactly the same as the people from the locality. It has also informed my curiosity into this research project.

In Carol's story she sees the potential of young people being limited and children being sent down different paths. She is worried and fed up by it. She describes the fight between black staff and the 'other professionals' who are not. Carol says "it's not English to them".   These 'others' have made a decision about worth/merit and it feels like this is what is being fought against. The second generation are saying "we are also trained professionals and feel able to work with what we have in front of us"; they are pointing out the cultural competence/resource available to the school but the 'powerful other' decides against us, "that's where they make their mistake" is a direct response to the positioning of Carol and her colleagues. The mistake is in overlooking staff who understand and can help.

It is worth thinking here about identities being formed and being claimed, and ideas of recognition that the workers are battling with. Language and experience aren't recognized. What type of identity does a black worker need to perform to speak on their own people?

In the next excerpt Maisy speaks on the experience her daughter and grandson had recently.

Maisy: Especially … if you want to speak it and you want to speak it properly especially like my children, they have, they know how to speak it, they know when to speak it **Carol**: yeah **Maisy**: And they just everyday life, they just get on with it. Because when I take my, eh, Teresa, hmm, my grandson and we take him to the speech therapist. The clincic at hmm (inaudible) road. **Joanne**: Speech and language?

> **Maisy**: Yes, the clinic and they say that, hmm, he take too long to talk and they did know now something did wrong with him. and the woman said, they woman ask Samantha (her daughter) (laughs) say… "does your mother speak two language?"
>
> **Joanne**: Laughs
>
> **Maisy**: That's what the girl say (laughs)

Maisy then connects to this powerful story where her own grandson is now being seen in a speech and language clinic. This comes on the back of Carol's "that's where they make their mistake". She speaks about her daughter having to say the boy speaks like grandma. Which can be heard in multiple ways. Her daughter is acknowledging a potential source for why he speaks differently, she is also saying she understands him. She is caught in the negotiation on behalf of her son in thinking about the impact of language/patois on him.

In the following excerpt we continue to see a shared discourse between Maisy and Carol about communication. Maisy makes reference to an 'kissing her teeth' which is an embodied response. They have bonded in their resistance of being labelled as 'having a problem' or 'doing something wrong'.

> **Joanne**: hmmmm. Do you kiss your teeth?
>
> **Carol**: (pause) Not often.
>
> **Maisy**: Not that often.
>
> **Joanne**: And how do people take it when you do it?
>
> **Carol**: At work there is one lady, white lady, she don't like it, I don't care. I don't care.
>
> **Maisy**: laughs
>
> **Carol**: You know I probably do it to annoy her.
>
> **Maisy**: laughs
>
> **Carol**: So you know, I don't really care. (laughs)
>
> **Joanne**: Now you know.
>
> **Carol**: Yes.
>
> **Maisy**: I used to get that too.

Carol: I mean she doesn't like it but I'm not bothered.

Maisy: But I never know say I'm insulting a person when I do that

Joanne: Nooo

Maisy: Cause I, it's an everyday thing, you did it, you know I just talk and steups

This excerpt follows on from an earlier conversation when Maisy was describing an experience which sounds dejecting and rejecting. She was accused of being insulting, she is called and spoken to by office staff who tell her she is being rude. They tell her what she means and they have assumed the worse about her in doing this. I am intrigued by Carol's response as I understand it as supportive to her aunt. She speaks of the "one white lady" and (in another transcript for this case) Maisy references it's 'the white women them' who call her and challenge her. Carol's response continues to support her aunt and continues her fight for 'allowing people to be different', she is also challenging negative assumptions people make (though at times she does this paradoxically). She is aware that is "one white lady" who dislikes it and she is aware that "she does it to annoy her". She does it to teach her, teach her that other ways of being are also ok and the worse doesn't need to be assumed.

Interesting that Carol's daughter is keen on the use of language and seems to have chosen a different way to fight. Her daughter does not allow family members to speak

> **Carol**: The thing is my parents didn't do that for me but Marcia (daughter) does it.
>
> **Joanne**: She'll correct you?
>
> **Carol**: She'll correct me, she'll correct Lisa (youngest child) because Lisa has got the street talk. My younger daughter (aged 14) has the street talk. She gets (inaudible) now if she needs to speak, she can write it, queens English, but she is street talk.

A different meaning is being made by the third generation person Marcia who is not permitting the family to engage in a particular way of speaking. Marcia was interviewed with her grandmother as interview 4 so we hear more there. She believes you should sound like where you are from. Interestingly here her mother is not offended by her daughter's corrections.

Reason for my study – answer I was looking for – 'Grandma says'

> **Maisy**: it out so I'm training my, I'm telling my kids dem say my grandmother bring me up this way and they never understand what me ah mean you know so naturally/gradually when I'm starting to talk it to them it will come out of them mouth say "oh here comes grandma say you know, grandma say this, grandma say that." (Laughs)
>
> **Carol**: See the thing is when I was growing up we didn't have that. They just used to talk, and cuss you know, it wasn't "my mother say this and my mother say that"
>
> **Maisy**: My grandma used to tell me, she used to say "oh hear come Grandma say now" me say when you have children you gonna tell them that my mummy used to tell me this and tell me that. So meh say and so meh come now to hear my daughter ah tell for him too "mummy say this and mummy say that" but you're not my mummy (laughs). She's not my mummy, you is my mummy (laughs loud and lengthy.)

It is interesting how much the experience of Maisy resonated with me. In this moment she somehow connected directly to a voice I always seem to look for. This familiar sound where the person repeats the voice of the grandparents. Also interesting her grandchildren anticipate that this the voice that is coming, it's a well-worn voice in the family and a voice attached to teaching, sometimes to discipline.

Painful discussion about physical abuse, connected from the story of the old ways and grandma says. Carol very clearly not seeing the point to physical beating without a conversation. In ways she is privileging engaging your children in conversation as just beating a child does not tell them what they've done wrong. Without the conversation or 'being taught' Carol doesn't see what a beating teaches. Maisy on the other hand was a supporter of handing down all that she learnt. Carol admitted to being scared and this was upsetting to hear. The darker side of honouring tradition is when we hand down the pain of our ancestors. She is speaking of fear, trauma, upset and the pain of not being understood by her parents. Were these experiences happening to her peers. Maisy on the other hand speaks about it being helpful to her. What is difficult to capture in this conversation is the pain in Carol's voice. During the interview Carol had laughed, she was firm talking about her experiences as a professional, this was the first time she was sad, speaking of the pain of physical punishment.

Reflexivity/analysis timeline

Using my insider/outsider experience as an African Caribbean migrant I reflect on where my experiences are reflected in my professional world.

I engage a process of refining my thinking into a research area which is located in my interests as a practitioner which led to my research questions.

I convene pilot interview.

Following the pilot interview, I discussed with my tutor, and used the group discussion spaces provided on the training to think about how I could introduce feedback learned into ongoing interviews.

This information is used in ongoing interviews and analysis showed that participants were connected to their personal stories as well as some cultural sayings. I feel grief most intensely at this stage of interview. I use external supervision to discuss.

On discussion with my second supervisor what transpires is that the grief I am seeing in the analysis is my own. I start personal therapy at this point in my analysis.

Analysis takes on a new context. This meant separating my story from the participants' story. I begin to see the use of personal agency in participants whilst also facing my own grief. This agency is what they use to navigate power differences.

I consider and review the ideas that I have developed through the course of the research, and what continued research may look like.

Genogram Key
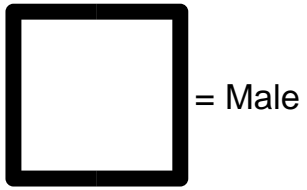
☐ = Male
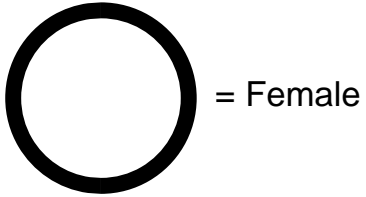
○ = Female
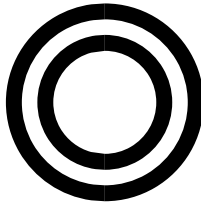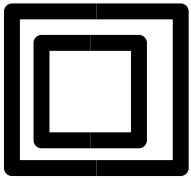
⧈ ◎ = Double line is those present at interview

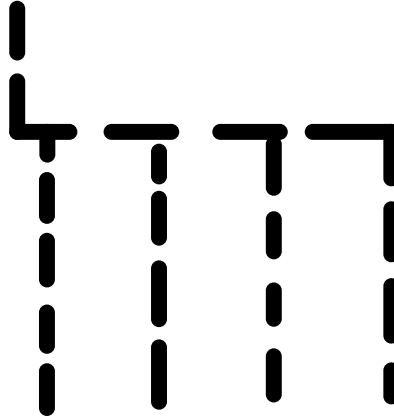✦ Ð - - - - = Died and year

⌐ = Foster children

▬▬▬ = Married

▬▬▬ = Together/couple

╱ = Separated (this goes across together or married line
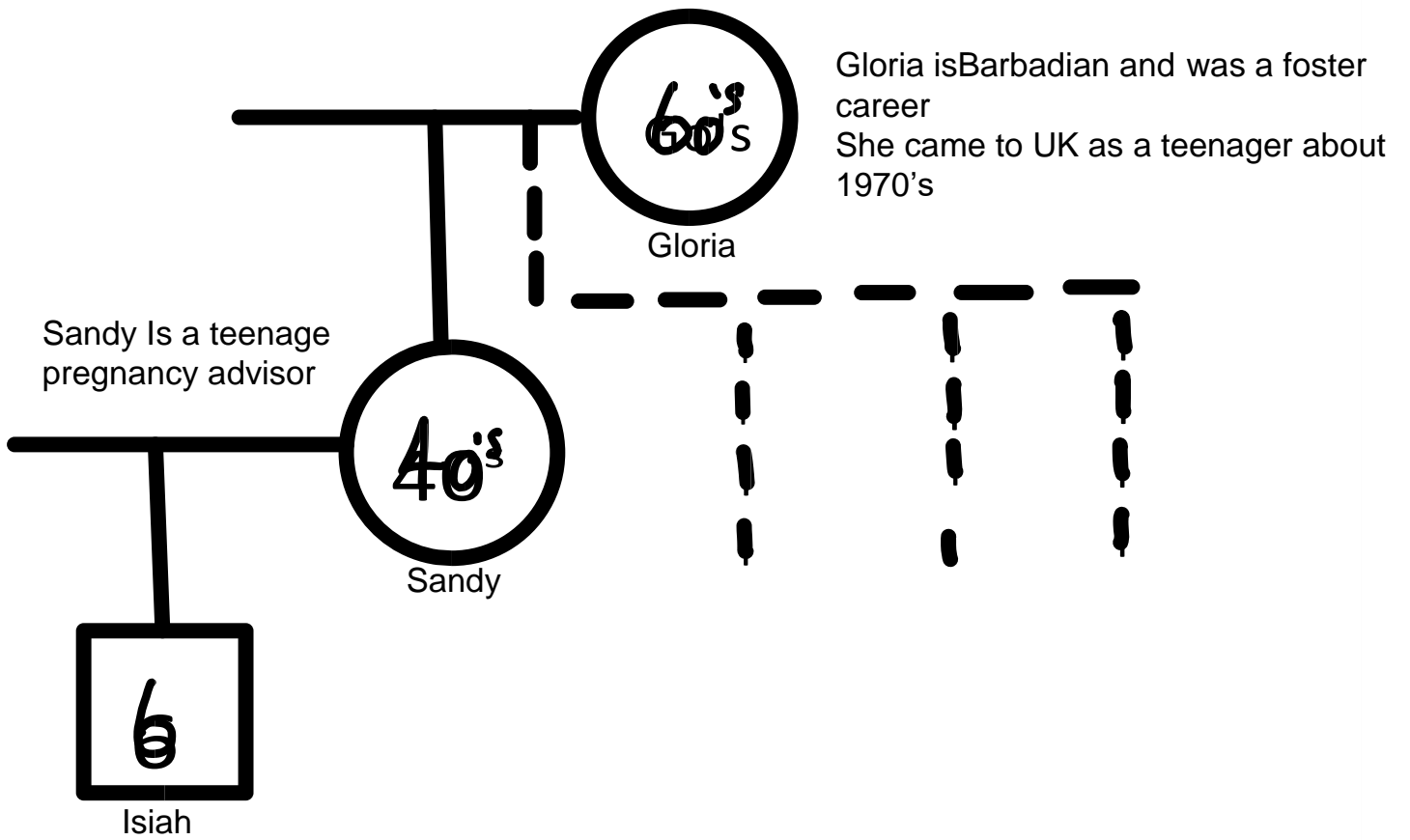
╱╱ = Divorced (this goes across together or married line

Interview 1
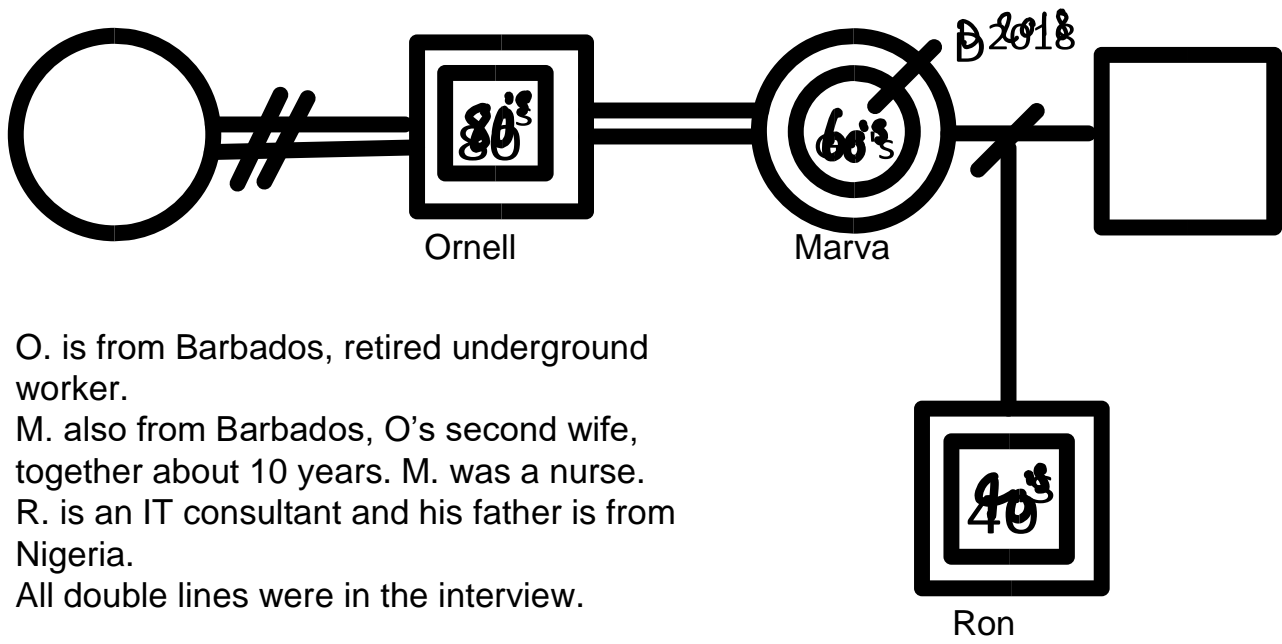
Gloria isBarbadian and was a foster career
She came to UK as a teenager about 1970's

Gloria

Sandy Is a teenage pregnancy advisor

Sandy

Isiah

Interview 2

- O. is from Barbados, retired underground worker.
- M. also from Barbados, O's second wife, together about 10 years. M. was a nurse.
- R. is an IT consultant and his father is from Nigeria.
- All double lines were in the interview.

Interview 3
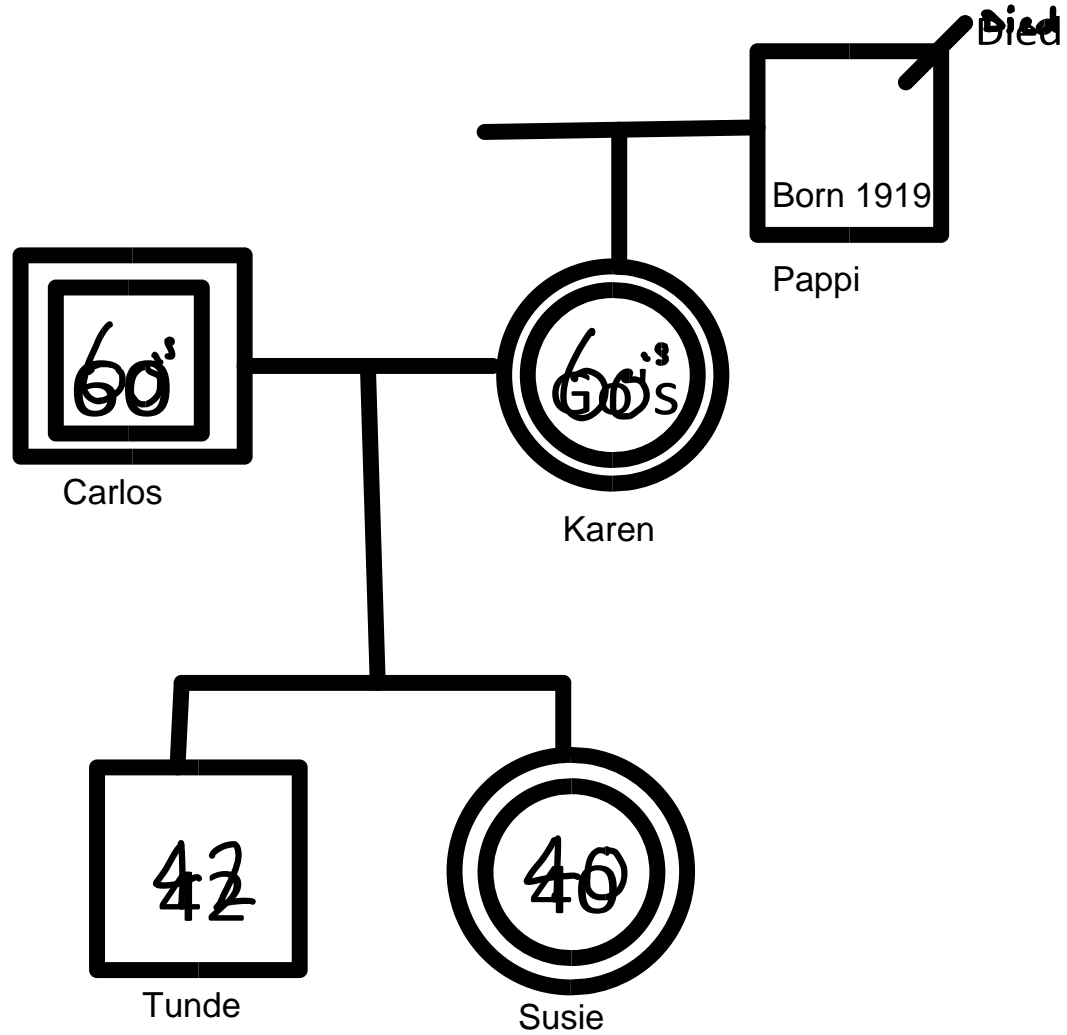
- Susie was born in Luton and she is an Events manager and her brother works in construction.
- The parents Karen and Carlos. Karen is a retired nurse from Trinidad. Carlos came from Barbados to work on the buses 45 years ago, Karen came at a similar time.
- Pappi was from Trinidad and worked Canal in Panama. Born roughly in 1919 and not sure when he died.

Interview 4
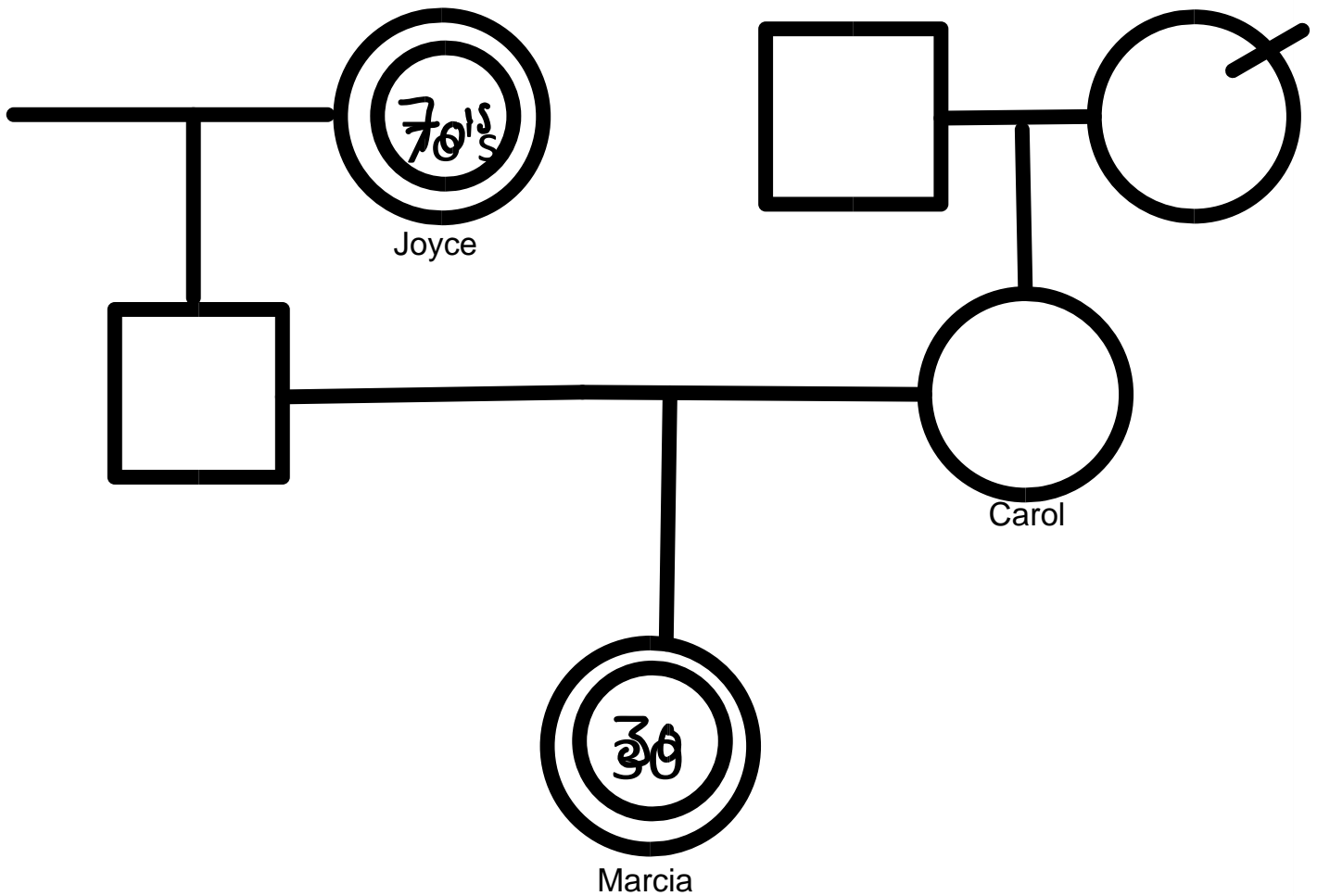
- Joyce is from Jamaica and is the paternal grandmother to Marcia. Joyce came to the England in 1959 and she worked as a seamstress here.
- Marcia's Mother was born in England to Jamaican parents.
- Marcia was born in the England and is a family support worker. Marcia is 3rd generation.
- Marcia's Mother is Carol , she is in interview 5. The maternal grandmother is deceased and the maternal grandfather lives in Jamaica.
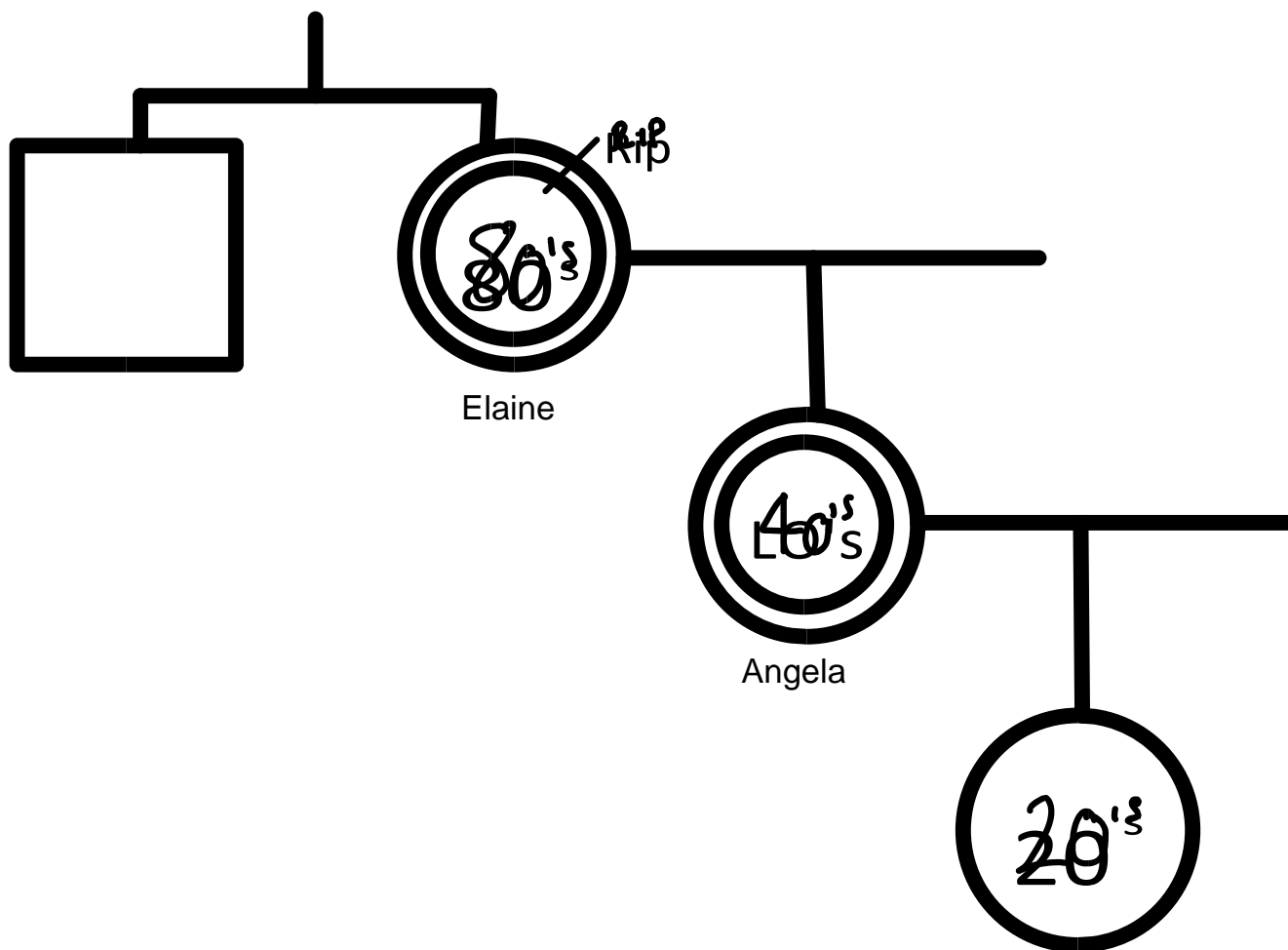
Interview 5

Joyce
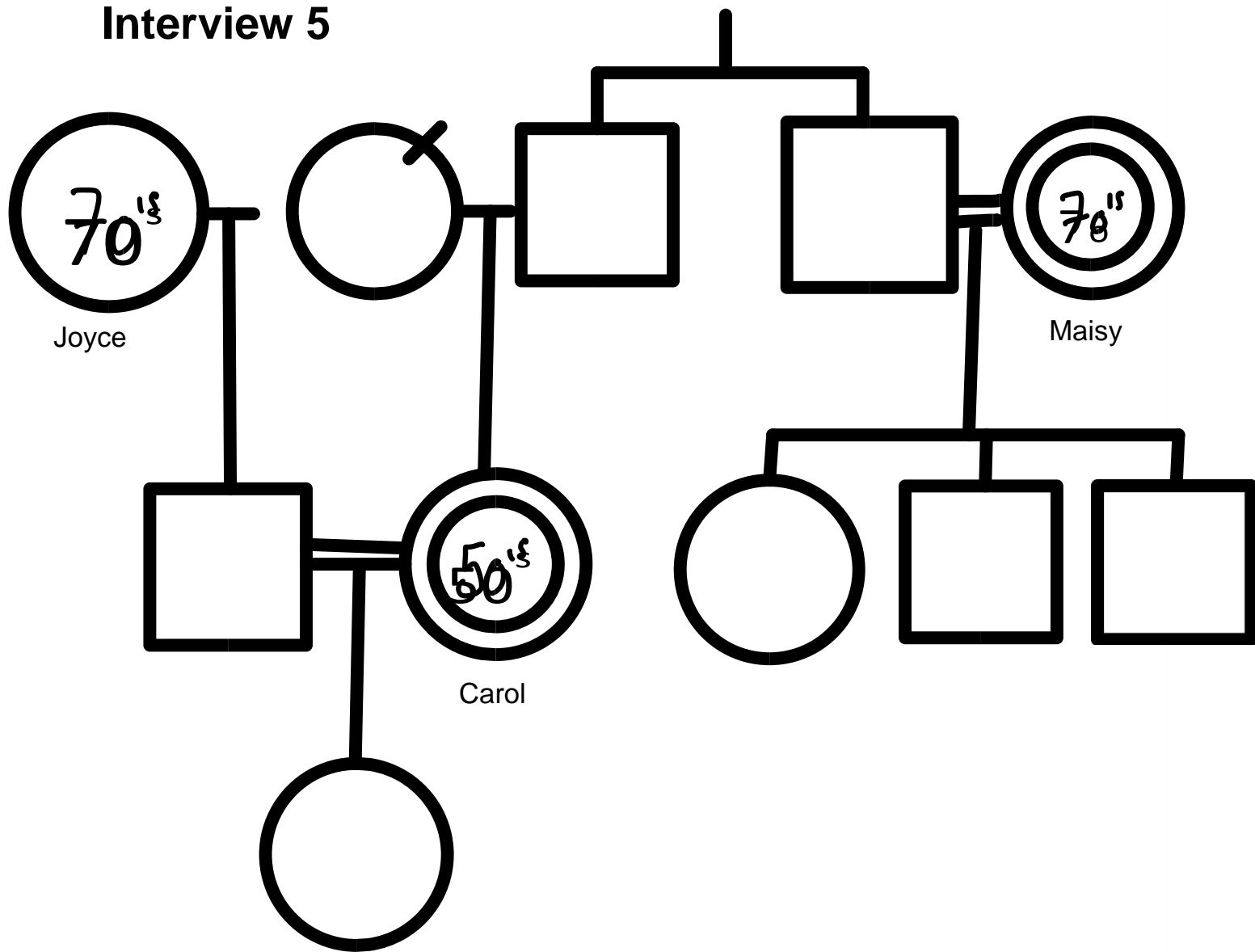
Maisy

Carol

- Carol and Maisy
- Maisy is from Jamaica she came to England in 1977.
  Carol is the head of inclusion of a local primary school.
- Maisy is a retired dinner lady and has 3 children, the youngest born in England
- She is married to Carol's uncle , I think from her fathers side.
- Carroll's uncle is deceased and her father lives in Jamaica.
- Carol is the mother of Marcia in interview 4.
- Joyce is Carols mother in law.

Interview 6
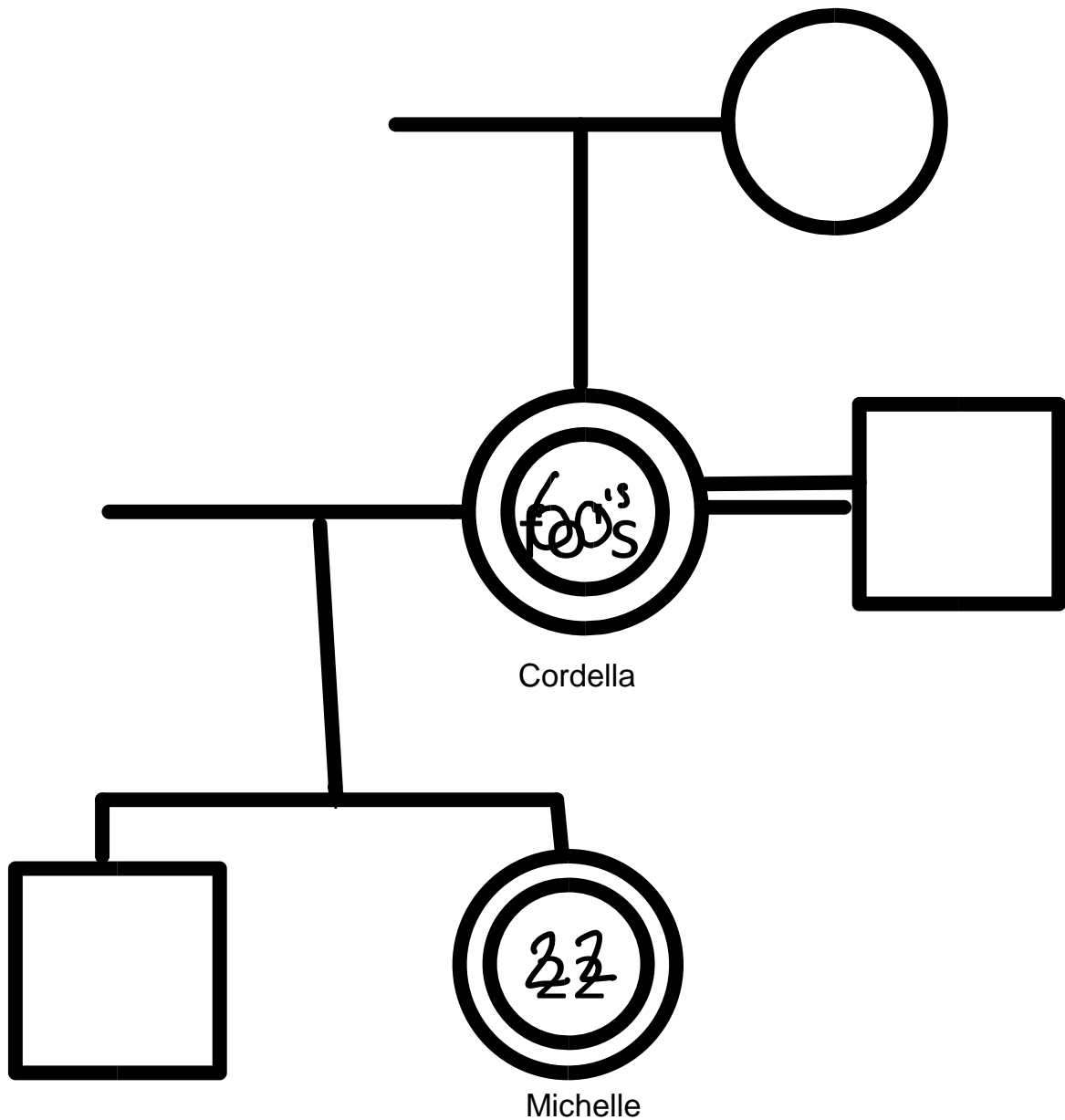
- Cordella is from St Vincent and has been in England over 40 years. I am guessing is in her early 60's. She does community work and I believe has a qualification in psychology.
- Michelle has recently completed her first degree. I am guessing she is about 22.
- The family are a Christian Family.
- Cordella is married to a Nigerian man.
- Maternal grandmother is referred to in the study. she is deceased, I'm not sure how long.

Interview 7

RIP

80's (Elaine)

Elaine

40's LO's (Angela)

Angela

20's

- Elaine and Angela.
- Elaine is from Antigua and came to to England in the 1960's. She was an active community worker with her Church and community.
- Elaine joined her brother when she came to England.
- Sadly Angela has died since this interview.
- Angela is a youth worker at a local college. She is a mother of one daughter who is in her late 20's.
- The family are a born-again Christian family.