Portfolio Volume 1: Major Research Project

Children of the Windrush Generation: Exploring the Psychological Consequences of Serial Migration through the Narratives of Older-Adult Caribbean “Left Behind” Children

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I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me (Philippians 4:13).

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents: **John**, **Theresa**, **Rennick**, **Norma** and **Cecelia** who travelled over during the Windrush Generation. Your courage, determination, sacrifices and strength have enriched our community. Thank you for being an inspiration to the younger generation of Black-Caribbean people in the UK.

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ABSTRACT

Background: Black-Caribbean older-adults in the UK statistically have poorer mental health outcomes and are unlikely to seek help from mental health services, than their racial counterparts. Childhood serial migration, including children who were left-behind in the Windrush migration, is a key context that shapes the identity of some Black-Caribbean older-adults in the UK. Critical Race Theory (CRT) provides a useful framework to explore the broader historical, social and cultural contexts of serial migration. The study aimed to explore how left-behind Children of the Windrush Generation (CoWG) understand their identity in relation to serial migration, and whether or how this influences the navigation of psychological challenges and help-seeking behaviours.

Methodology: The study employed a qualitative design using Narrative Analysis (NA), and is underpinned by a social constructionist epistemological stance, to explore the stories of serial migration. Eight left-behind CoWG were recruited through purposive and snowball sampling from local Black-Caribbean community spaces and charities. All participants underwent an open-style, semi-structured interview to address the research questions.

Analysis: Interviews were analysed through Riessman’s (2008) framework, which looked at the content, structure and dialogical/performance aspects of participants’ narratives. Links to broader historical, social and cultural contexts, CRT and empirical literature were made. Individual narratives are presented for each participant, to honour their individual stories.

Discussion and conclusions: Convergences and divergences across the individual narratives are presented, which highlighted three stories in relation to identity: stories of separation/left-behind, surrogate-care and racism as key contexts. Four main stories

highlighted psychological coping and help-seeking: stories of strength, self-sufficiency and survival, stories of silence, stories of perseverance, stories of assimilation and proving capability. The findings have important implications across the individual, family, community and institutional and structural levels, in considering practices outside of a Eurocentric framework. Directions for future research are suggested.

Keywords: Serial migration, left-behind children, Black-Caribbean, narratives, mental health, barrel children

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I position myself within the research, discuss my reasons for choosing the topic, my epistemological and ontological perspectives and the key terminology. I then outline the relevant empirical literature and broader historical, social and cultural contexts around serial migration. Using Critical Race Theory, I demonstrate that understanding these broader contexts is essential for grasping how 'left-behind' Children of the Windrush Generation (CoWG) construct their identity, navigate the psychological consequences of serial migration and/or psychological challenges, and seek help.

1.2 Positionality

1.2.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a hallmark within qualitative research (Probst & Berenson, 2014). It considers how the researcher's own interests, experiences, beliefs and values can shape aspects of the research process (Finlay, 2002). Thus, it is important that researchers critically reflect and are transparent about their own subjectivities in co-constructing what is presented as 'knowledge' (Corlett & Mavin, 2018). Throughout this research, I have used a reflective journal to this effect. This has helped me to become aware of my own subjectivities, understand my decision-making and note points of similarities and differences with my

research team. I incorporated some of my reflections by capturing first-person perspective in italics and in the appendices.

1.2.2 My relationship to the research

I am a Black[1]*-British female of Caribbean heritage, born and raised in Britain. My grandparents migrated from the Caribbean to Britain in the 1950s, temporarily leaving their children behind, until they could bring them over. This had many psychological consequences for both them and their children. Their stories of strength, sacrifice, achievement, trauma, and loss have profoundly shaped me personally and professionally as a trainee clinical psychologist.*

Upon looking into this topic further, I discovered that many other Caribbean families shared this migration experience, though it was rarely discussed. Curious about how these stories inform Black-Caribbean people's identity in England, I pursued this research. As a trainee clinical psychologist, I have always valued opportunities to understand how wider social, cultural and historical contexts shape people psychologically and construct their worldview. Thus, working within a diverse National Health Service (NHS), I believe it is essential to contribute to the creation and development of equitable[2] *services, that address the psychological needs of all. Historically and currently, Black-Caribbean people in the UK have lacked such support (section 1.6); thus, as a Black-Caribbean trainee clinical psychologist,*

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[1] 'Black' is a term that has been used to classify people based on their skin colour, regardless of their social and cultural differences (Davidson & Patel, 2008). It is a social-cultural construct that has been used to describe people from African and/or Caribbean descent and in anti-racist literature, been used to describe people who are oppressed due to the colour of their skin (Patel et al., 2000).

[2] Equity recognises that each person has different contexts and thus, circumstances and allocates the specific resources and opportunities required to reach an equal outcome (Francis & Scott, 2023).

I aim to give a voice to this often-silenced population, so that they can feel heard and understood (see Appendix A1 for further reflections).

1.2.3 Insider/outsider researcher

'Insider-researchers' are those who share similar characteristics, traits or experiences with the participants that are being studied (Griffith, 1998). This can have several advantages for the research process (especially in qualitative designs) including: easier access to participants and topic familiarity, which help build trust between the researcher and participants (Adler & Adler, 1987).

However, there are also aspects of identity that I do not share with my participants, which give me an 'outsider' perspective. I am in my 30's, born, raised and educated in Britain and working in clinical psychology. I am aware that these identities hold power and can impact the stories that my participants share with me, how much they share and why. For example, based on my personal experiences, I have recognised how older-adult Black-Caribbean people have often shared stories with me to pass on their wisdom, especially if they feel I have not had similar experiences. Thus, my understanding of the participants' wider contexts and their constructions of their reality may be limited. I recognise that the new knowledge generated from this thesis is co-constructed between myself and my participants, bringing our own assumptions and realities into the research process, which shapes the outcome.

1.2.4 Epistemological and Ontological position

Epistemology can be defined as "the study of knowledge and methods of obtaining it" (Burr, 2003, p.202) - how we *know* what we *know* (Crotty, 1998). It is concerned with what

constitutes knowledge and how knowledge can be gathered and communicated (Harper & Thomson, 2012). Ontology can be defined as the study of being, existence and reality (Burr, 2004). These two concepts are often discussed together, as to talk about how we know what we know, is to talk about ‘what is’ (Crotty, 1998). This will be reflected on throughout the thesis.

Social science research, particularly Eurocentric clinical psychology, often operates within a positivist paradigm, aiming to establish general laws through empirical observation and objective measurement (Rhodes & Conti, 2016). This approach has shaped the classification and diagnosis of mental health disorders and endorsed specific psychological therapies as effective, although their effectiveness can vary when applied beyond their original context (Henrich et al., 2010). I felt a positivist approach would not adequately capture the complex and nuanced contexts of Black-Caribbean people’s experiences of serial migration, as it requires addressing multiple social categories such as race, class, and gender (Gunaratnam, 2003). Instead, methodologies that prioritise in-depth, subjective experiences are better suited.

This research uses a critical realist ontology and a social constructionist epistemology, also known as ‘moderate social constructionism’ (Harper, 2011). A critical realist ontology posits that the stories gathered from my participants can tell us something about reality, but they do not directly mirror an objective ‘reality’ (Harper, 2012). For example, for my participants who have discussed experiences of racism within this research, I take the position that racism is a real experience for them, but how it is recognised, experienced and recounted will vary between people over time and space. Nonetheless, each story is legitimate within its own right, because the stories that people tell are rooted through their own personal contexts, experiences and biases, which influences what can be ‘known’ in wider society.

Aligning with this, a social constructionist epistemology recognises that a reality exists, but cannot be accessed without social processes (Gergen, 1985). Reality can be accessed through the language and narratives that are available within social, cultural and historical contexts (Burr, 2015), which provides shared understandings or meanings of experiences. This stance is suitable, as it focuses on idiosyncratic Black-Caribbean older-adults' narratives of serial migration. Furthermore, it considers wider understandings of distress and displays of psychological experiences that may fit outside of current Eurocentric understandings. Therefore, my positionality has shaped my choice of language in the research - relative to the time and context in which I conducted the research, and in which I am situated.

1.3 Language and key terms

Aligning with social constructionism, how we come to understand or 'know' the world is produced through language and this can change depending on the context or time (Burr & Dick, 2017). The key terms for this thesis are split into the Caribbean context (section 1.3.1) and wider contexts related to the thesis (see Table 1), which are expanded upon in the empirical and theoretical literature review.

1.3.1 Key terminology related to the Caribbean context

1.3.1.1 Caribbean

This thesis uses the Commonwealth definition of the Caribbean, as ‘countries in the Caribbean region that share a history of colonisation[3] by the British’ (Marrett, 2009, p. 20). The Commonwealth is an establishment that evolved following the British Empire (who colonised around 65 countries), and includes many of the now English-speaking Caribbean islands. Ergo, it speaks to the various historical, cultural, social and geographical contexts that are key to understanding how Black-Caribbean people construct themselves, which may inform how they understand and respond to the psychological consequences related to serial migration.

The British Empire was involved in the Transatlantic slave trade in the late 15th century to 19th century, where approximately 12-15 million people from West Africa were forcibly enslaved and transported, under inhumane conditions, across the Middle Passage (Atlantic Ocean). They were then forced into labour on Caribbean, North, Central and South American plantations (or land that had rich agriculture and natural resource) through dehumanising practices and torture (Murdoch, 2009). This included the separation of Black-Caribbean families, which spanned generations (Pargas, 2009), and the systematic replacing of their indigenous knowledge and identities with British ideals (Longman-Mills et al., 2019). Black-Caribbean people were often diagnosed as having ‘drapetomania’ (running away from enslavement); marking the beginning of a long history of unfair treatment (Fernando, 2017).

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[3] Colonisation refers to the ‘subjugation of communities by external and powerful groups’; whereby indigenous communities in the Caribbean region were displaced by European colonisers (Alang et al., 2023).

These contexts have led to economic wealth, power and influence of Britain, North America and some of Europe, as we know it today.

Nearly a century after slavery's abolition in 1838, the Commonwealth was formed in 1931, which acknowledged the British monarchy as the head of state. The majority of these countries continued to be ‘ruled’ by Britain up until their independence in the 1960’s (Nilsen, 1980); hence, Caribbean societies and institutions were shaped by British systems. For example, Black-Caribbean children were taught a British curriculum and spoke English. Therefore, Black-Caribbean people identified as British and they looked to Britain as their ‘mother country’. These contexts are crucial for understanding the historical, social and cultural contexts of the Caribbean, which influences Black-Caribbean people’s identity, and their ways of navigating the world.

1.3.1.2 Windrush Generation and Children of the Windrush

The ‘Windrush Generation’ (WG) is a term that refers to one of the largest, longstanding Black-Caribbean communities in Britain. After World War II (WW2), Britain reached out to its colonies to help to rebuild Britain, by filling the severe labour shortages that were required. In 1948, the HMT Empire Windrush ship made its first voyage to Britain from Jamaica, docking on the 22nd June 1948 in Tilbury, Essex. This voyage was the precursor to thousands of Caribbean people who travelled over to Britain until 1971, who are classified as the first-generation of the WG; although this is a contested term (see reflection below). ‘Children of the Windrush Generation’ (CoWG) refers to their descendants. In this study, ‘children’ are classed as anyone under the age of 18, as they would have been considered as a ‘minor’ under the British Nationality Act 1948 (The National Archives, 2024).

When advertising for this study, a scholar challenged my use of the term 'Windrush'. I chose it due to its familiarity from my Caribbean heritage and its relevance to the demographic I am studying. However, they believed that it excludes those who did not travel on the "Windrush" ship and is only influenced by the recent "Windrush Scandal[4] (2018)." To address this, I asked participants how they preferred to be identified. Most expressed that the "WG" accurately represented their parents' migration context.

1.3.2 Wider terminology

Table 1: Wider terminology

Key term	**Definition**
Older-Adult	The term 'older-adult' refers to the definition outlined by the NHS; namely someone aged 65 and older (NHS England, 2024).
Parental Migration	Parental migration is a key socio-cultural context that is associated with the CoWG. Parental migration was typical for many working-class Caribbean families and speaks to a family separation process, by which parents migrate to a new country, leaving behind their children in their home country (Dillon & Walsh, 2012). Research on parental migration mainly focuses on the process of separation (some parents and children are never reunited again), which has psychological consequences for both (Dillon & Walsh, 2012). In this study, the term 'parent' relates to the biological caregiver, who has the main responsibility for nurturing and bonding with the child (Jokhan, 2008); however, this role will also be shaped by socio-cultural contexts and migration dynamics.
Serial Migration and the 'Left-Behind' Children of the Windrush Generation (CoWG)	Serial migration refers to a common migratory patten of the WG, where the children who were 'left-behind' by parents when they initially migrated, later reunited with their parents (and sometimes,

[4] The 'Windrush Scandal' emerged in 2018 in the UK involving the individuals from the WG and CoWG who were wrongly denied legal rights, mistreated and for some, even deported, due to changes in immigration laws and inadequate documentation. It exposed systemic failures in the UK's immigration system (Gentleman, 2022).

	new families) in Britain (Smith et al., 2004; Phoenix, 2011); thus, has a greater focus on reunification and settlement. Serial migration may follow various patterns; for example, in single-parent homes, the single parent may arrive first, followed by the child. In two parent-families, both parents may migrate together and then send for the child, or one parent may migrate first, and then the spouse, and then the children.
Barrel Children	The children who were separated from their parents in the Caribbean through the process of serial migration are also known within the literature as 'barrel children' (Crawford-Brown, 1994). It was common for these children to receive material resources sent in barrels by their parents from England such as food and clothing.
Britain and the United Kingdom	Both the terms 'Britain' and 'United Kingdom' are utilised. 'Britain' speaks to the wider historical, political, social and cultural contexts that surround the British Empire and Commonwealth (as discussed in 1.3.1.1). The 'UK' is discussed as the current geographical context that incorporates England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
Global North and Global South	The terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' are ways of grouping countries based on socio-economic and political attributes, rather than their geographical location. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2024) define the Global North as United States of America (USA), Europe, Israel, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand. On the other hand, the Global South can be comprised of the Caribbean, Africa, Latin America, Asia and Oceania. The countries in the Global North tend to be those defined as 'developed' and represent huge amounts of wealth and power, whereas the Global South, tend to be conceptualised as 'developing' countries, characterised by lower economic wealth and power.
Psychological consequences/psychological challenges	Any psychological (i.e., emotional, behavioural, cognitive, physical or spiritual) distress that arises for individuals, shaped by their social realities or interactions. These consequences and challenges are not seen as inherent or objective truths, but are shaped by a response to broader contexts.
Identity	In line with social constructionism, an 'identity' or sense of self, is co-constructed and fluid. It is constantly being negotiated and re-defined through our historical, socio-cultural, political and intersectional contexts, rather than being a fixed and inherent entity (Lobo, 2023). These contexts may provide the frameworks and norms through which identities are constructed and understood, and maintained through stories, language and discourse (Mishler, 2004). Therefore, identity is something that is constructed *between* people rather than

	within individuals, which can influence behaviour and navigation of the world. The role of power is also considered in identity. Dominant social groups tend to shape the norms of society, which leads to those with other identities being marginalised and subject to discrimination. This can have an impact on individuals’ access to resources and opportunities, which can influence the constructions of themselves (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

1.4 Theoretical lens:

1.4.1 Critical Race Theory:

Critical Race Theory (CRT) has been chosen as the theoretical lens for this research. CRT was initially developed in the 1970’s by legal scholars in the USA, and is also applicable to the context of the UK, given the longstanding effects of colonialism in society, which continues racial disparities (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998; Gale & Thomas, 2017). CRT posits that race and racism are socially constructed (i.e., there are no biological differences between races, and racial differences exist, due to social creation and manipulation), and works to address the endemic and ordinariness of racist structures, actions and treatments (see Table 2 for definitions). CRT also highlights the need to amplify the voices of racially-minoritised people, to create space for social justice (Brown, 2003). The core tenets of CRT are:

1. Racism is ordinary (normal) and endemic, not aberrational: racism is entrenched within society, making it difficult to recognise and challenge. Thus, it becomes an ordinary or common experience for Black people.

2. Whiteness and interest convergence: ‘Whiteness’ refers to the idea that ‘White culture, norms and values are normative and natural. They become the standard by which all other cultures, groups and individuals are measured and, in turn, are usually

found as inferior' (Alberta Civil Liberties Research Centre [ACLRC], 2024). It has also been linked to the idea of 'interest convergence', which posits that social change for racially-minoritised groups, usually occurs when their interests align with those of the dominant groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998).

3. Counter-storytelling: relates to "a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p.26). It is used as a way of challenging dominant stories that may reinforce racial hegemony in relation to Whiteness, and so, sharing stories are important for the healing and liberation of Black people (Delgado, 1989).

4. Social justice and social action: the effects of racism in our society should not only be theorised and studied, but also challenged, in order to make societal changes.

5. Intersectionality: relates to social categorisations of identity such as race and gender, which can produce varying levels of privilege and oppression (Crenshaw, 1991).

Although there is a reference to 'theory' in its title, CRT is as an iterative methodology or lens for researchers to remain attentive to, and seek to transform the constructs of race and racism, to improve racial equity systemically (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010). In line with a social constructionist epistemology and CRT lens, this thesis posits that race is socially constructed and racism continues to be experienced as 'ordinary' and endemic for Black-Caribbean people living in Britain, stemming from its colonial and post-colonial ideologies.

Additionally, the level of privilege or oppression of this racial construct will intersect with other held identities (e.g. gender, class, etc), which can create varying social realities and lived experiences (Crenshaw, 1991). Finally, CRT's emphasis on social justice and action is essential to address the various challenges of serial migration, racial inequalities in the NHS and the psychological needs of Black-Caribbean people in Britain. Table 2 outlines the terminology related to race and racism.

Table 2: Terminology related to race and racism

Terminology related to Racism	**Definition**
Whiteness	"Systemic rules, norms and discourses that produce and reproduce the dominance of those socially racialised as white" (DiAngelo, 2018; as cited in Ahsan, 2018, p.45). Those who are closer to having 'White' or lighter skin tones, may experience more privilege and access to resources and opportunities in society.
Race	Race has for a long time been used to classify human beings on the basis of biological and physical characteristics, despite the fact that there are no biological differences between people. Race is a social construct that has been used by White societies to establish and justify oppression, power and privilege, which has consequences for those racially-minoritised, including limited resources and opportunities (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). Having a perception of one's race, has implications for how one constructs their identity, which has further consequences on their lived experiences of the world. The word 'race' will therefore be used in this study, as it has wider connotations for systems of power, which will impact how one experiences themselves in the world.
Power	Power refers to the ability to influence and make decisions of one's will over others (Weber, 1978) and is present in all societies. Power structures are embedded within the concept of race, creating racial hierarchies that position Whiteness as superior, granting power and privilege to those socially constructed as White-skinned (DiAngelo, 2018).
Racially-minoritised	In line with social constructionism and CRT, 'racially-minoritised' pertains to positions of power and describes 'the active processes of racialisation that are at work in designating certain attributes of groups in particular contexts as being in a minority, rather than actually being the minority' (Gunaratnam, 2003, p.17). This helps to decentre Whiteness as the norm (Milner & Jumbe, 2020).

Racism	Racism is defined as a form of oppression whereby individuals face discrimination, exclusion and degradation based on their race (Tuntimo, 2022). The literature considers 3 elements: firstly, the understanding that there are racial differences in character and intelligence. Secondly, that some races are more inferior than others. Thirdly, racism is maintained through complex systems of beliefs, behaviours, language and policies (Minnesota Education Equity Partnership, 2022).
Interpersonal Racism	Interpersonal racism is defined as racist behaviours shown towards others. Behaviour could be ‘overt’ or explicit; for example, the use of ‘No Blacks, No Dogs, No Irish’ in the windows of houses that were advertising for people to rent (The Guardian, 2015), or ‘covert’, which tend to be endemic within structures and institutions and have detrimental accumulative effects (Coates, 2011).
Institutional (Systemic) Racism	The ways that systems, organisations and institutions are formed upon Whiteness, which lead to advantages for White people and oppression towards non-White people. Racist behaviour can become embedded as ‘normal behaviour’ within institutions and society (Dismantling Racism Works, 2016).
Structural Racism	Relating to the ways in which “societies foster racial discrimination through mutually reinforcing systems of housing, education, employment, earnings, benefits, credit, media, health care and criminal justice” (American Medical Association [AMA], 2021; cited in Bailey et al, 2017, p. 1454).

1.5 Empirical and theoretical literature

1.5.1 Older-adults’ mental health in the UK

Our worldwide population is living longer than ever before (World Health Organisation [WHO]; 2022). By 2030, every country will experience an exponential growth in their proportion of older people, as approximately 1 in 6 people will become aged 60 years and over (WHO, 2022). In the UK, the latest Census (2021) has also reflected this steady rise (Office for National Statistics, 2022), indicating the need for public services, such as the NHS to be fit for purpose, to best meet the needs and demands of a growing older-adult population.

This demographic shift is important for services, given that the latest statistics indicate that around 1 in 4 older-adults may struggle with psychological challenges and fewer than 1 in 6 seek help (Mental Health Foundation [MHF], 2022). As a result, the National Institute for

Health and Care Excellence (NICE; 2015) guidelines recommend 'understanding the factors or processes that influence mental wellbeing [in order to] design more effective interventions' (NICE, 2015), as a priority area of research for older-adults. Furthermore, NHS England (NHSE) recommend that older-people's mental health care is 'personalised' and that services should be 'trauma-informed' (i.e., working with people's traumatic experiences) (NSHE, 2023). Given that the UK is also 'now more diverse than ever' (Gov.UK, 2023), it is important that mental health services and clinical psychologists, are able to work with an increasingly 'racially' diverse population (Gov.UK, 2023). This highlights the need to provide services that are equitable and culturally competent (Care Quality Commission, 2024); paying attention to the broader contexts that shape older-people's identities and lives.

1.5.2 Black-Caribbean older-adults' mental health in the UK

When the prevalence of psychological challenges is evaluated further by racial groups, the outcomes for Black-Caribbean older-adults are significantly poorer. Research shows that depression 'symptoms' are almost doubled in the older-adult Black-Caribbean population, compared to their White counterparts (Williams et al., 2015). Furthermore, other research indicates that Black-Caribbean older-adults' perception and experiences of coping with psychological challenges may be informed by their migratory histories and cultural and religious views, which influences whether and/or how they seek help (Bailey & Tribe, 2021). These findings are particularly relevant for this research, given that approximately 42% of all people from a Black-Caribbean background are approaching later-life (Centre for Aging Better, 2023), including many of the left-behind CoWG as in this study. This points to the need

to understand more about the links between identity, race, culture and mental health (Vernon, 2020), in order to provide equitable and culturally competent support.

1.6 Societal context of the Windrush Generation

To understand the psychological consequences of serial migration for left-behind CoWG, it is imperative to outline the societal and cultural context of Britain, where their parents settled. The Windrush migration was marked by the passing of the British Nationality Act (1948), which conferred individuals from the Commonwealth with British citizenship and the right to work and live in Britain. Many made the journey to Britain in the hope of better employment and financial opportunities, to support their families in the Caribbean; thus, they thought the move would be short-term (Reading Museum, 2024). Generally, migration processes involve a lack of preparedness, a new environment, new social and cultural norms, assimilation and family separation (Nirmala et al., 2014); thus, it can be psychologically challenging.

However, in addition to these challenges, the WG were also subjected to a hostile and unwelcoming working and living environment due to racism (The King’s Fund, 2023) across every level upon arrival in Britain (Table 2). For example, many of the WG were refused jobs that they were over-qualified for and encountered ‘colour-bars’ on rental properties, resulting in low incomes and poor living standards (Donnelly, 2024). This made it difficult for them to return back to the Caribbean and send for family members who were left behind, prolonging the separation between parents and children. These structures made the chances of immediate and full family reunification almost impossible, subsequently leading to many Black-Caribbean children having to grow up without the presence and support of their parents in the Caribbean. These restrictions were further accompanied by violence and racial

aggression, leading to clear segregation in British society (Donnelly, 2024), putting pressure on families.

These conditions led to the Race Relations Act (1965), the first legislation to address racial discrimination, outlawing it based on color, race, or ethnic origins in public places. The Race Relations Act (1968) further made it illegal to refuse housing, employment, and public services on these grounds. However, many of the WG saw little change and their notion of being ‘British’ was quickly being reconstructed by a lack of belonging (Donnelly, 2024). From a CRT perspective, one could infer that although the abolishment of slavery occurred over a century before the WG, the migration could be viewed as a form of ‘interest convergence’ (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). That is, despite Black-Caribbean people not being in physical chains, due to the dominant economic power differentials of Britain over the Caribbean, the WG were forced into the mental chains of subjugation and oppression, accompanied by poor treatment and conditions.

Racism has psychological consequences, and creates race-based stress (Comas-Díaz et al., 2019). Race-based stress arises from “events of danger related to real or perceived experience of racial discrimination. These include threats of harm and injury, humiliating and shaming events, and witnessing harm to others due to real or perceived racism” (Carter, 2007; cited in Comas-Díaz et al., 2019, p. 1). Research indicates that racism may shape individual’s self-perceptions over time, as individuals may feel over-scrutinised, undervalued, underappreciated, inferior, misunderstood and disrespected (Williams, 2018). This highlights the potential psychological consequences of racism on CoWG’s parents (Sullivan, 2018); their negative self-concepts are not inherent, but are shaped by ongoing social interactions and the interpersonal, institutional, and structural racism they faced.

1.7 Parental migration

1.7.1 Caribbean family context and surrogate-carers

The practice of 'child-shifting' and familial 'kinship' is an integral part of working-class families in the Caribbean (Thomas-Hope, 2002). Child-shifting refers to "the practice of placing one's children in the care of relatives or friends" (Gibbison & Paul, 2005, p. 107) while parents work in locations away from the home. As such, relatives or friends become 'surrogate-carers' for Caribbean children (Arnold, 2006). This fits in with the notion of 'it takes a village to raise a child', which is a commonly held belief in the Caribbean and Africa (Sutherland, 2011). Furthermore, being able to have a social network or 'kinship' that extends further than the biological family, is essential for sharing resources and reciprocal obligations (Chamberlain, 2004; Sutherland, 2011). These contexts have historical roots in slavery, where children born into slavery were taken from their mothers and sold to other plantations, relying on other women to raise them (Collins, 1990). Thus, in the context of serial migration, this practice made parental migration to Britain possible, without it being viewed as deviant practice (Thomas-Hope, 2002) and played an integral role for the upbringing of left-behind CoWG while parents had migrated.

1.7.2 Psychological consequences of separation

Although these practices are intrinsic to Black-Caribbean families, they became more imperative, due to the poor economic conditions of post-WW2 in the Caribbean (Never Such Innocence, 2024); hence, there was significant pressure on surrogate-carers to step-in and provide care to the left-behind CoWG. While some had positive experiences of surrogate-care

(Arnold, 2006), others may have experienced limited resources, poor supervision, a lack of protection, harsh discipline (Pottinger, 2005) and neglect (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995). Additionally, a systematic review found that many experienced emotional, sexual and physical abuse, educational challenges, challenges to emotional and behavioural wellbeing (i.e., feelings of abandonment, anger and loneliness and 'low self-esteem'; Dillon & Walsh, 2012). For others, the parent-child separation processes alone (shaped by restrictive migration policies and economic pressures) may have influenced children's psychological responses. These responses may have been labelled as 'acting out', deviance and withdrawal (Rousseau et al., 2008), leading to some Black-Caribbean children being diagnosed with conduct disorders and other mental health diagnoses (Rousseau et al., 2008), which they may have found stigmatising, given their historical context of psychology (Fernando, 2017; section 1.3.1.1).

1.7.3 Alternative lenses

Table 3: Attachment theory

Theory	**Definition**
Attachment theory	Post-WW2 in Britain, theories around attachment began to form, due to the many children who had experienced wartime violence and family separation (Bowlby, 1969; Ainsworth, 1970). In Eurocentric psychology, Bowlby (1969) discussed the idea that mothers, act as a 'secure base' for infants. This refers to the idea that as infants begin to develop and explore the world from the age of 6 months, they rely on the strength of their bond with their mother and begin to show attachment behaviours. They can seek support, protection and comfort from their mother when distressed or temporarily separated (Bowlby, 1969). Bowlby discussed that secure attachments with caregivers are typically marked by trust, and this can form an 'internal working model', serving as a template for infants' sense of self and their relationships with others (Bowlby, 1969).

Attachment theory (above in Table 3) has predominately been used to understand psychological responses to parental separation (Dillon and Walsh, 2012). However, in the context of this thesis, it became difficult to apply this theory to serial migration, given the structure of Black-Caribbean families and lack of consideration to the systemic and structural contexts around migration and racism. Discussions in supervision helped me to see these contexts as necessary considerations of a CoWG's psychological functioning, identity and 'attachment' (Appendix A2). Attachment theories tend to locate the psychological challenges related to having a 'poor attachment' in the individual, which neglects the consideration of wider contexts. I am also aware of societal discourses around 'mother-blaming', where mothers hold the main responsibility for the wellbeing of the child, despite having their own adverse circumstances (Strega et al., 2008). Therefore, from a moderate social constructionist perspective, it is important not to view the behaviours of Black-Caribbean children (section 1.7.2) and parents as inherent pathologies, but instead, as adaptive psychological responses to systemic oppression. This will be further explored in the systematic literature review (SLR) in chapter two.

1.8 Serial migration: further challenges of settling into Britain

When the WG were finally able to 'send for' their children (The National Archives, 2024), in addition to the psychological consequences of separation, many left-behind CoWG reunified with their biological parents and new families, and had to settle in an environment that was hostile and racist. They, too, faced a number of disadvantages across several systems; some of which are still present today.

Dominant narratives shape the understanding and treatment of Black people in society. For example, the "strong Black woman" stereotype portrays Black women as resilient and independent (Graham & Clarke, 2021), while Black men are often stereotyped as aggressive and dangerous (Trawalter et al., 2008). These constructs may point to reasons why Black women are four times more likely to die in childbirth (UK Parliament, 2023) and Black men, are over-represented across every facet of the criminal justice system (Home Office, 2023) and secure mental health provision (Fernando, 2017). Furthermore, in education, children from a Black-Caribbean background are four times more likely to be permanently excluded from school (Race Equality Foundation, 2022). In housing, families from a Black-Caribbean background are more likely to experience homelessness compared to their White counterparts (Bramley et al., 2022). In employment, the Black-British Voices report (2023) found that 88% of the Black participants have experienced racial discrimination at work. Furthermore, various reports from the criminal justice system (e.g. the Macpherson Report in 1999 and Casey Review in 2023) found the police to be institutionally racist (House of Commons, 2020). Even more pertinent to this study, the early passing of Anthony Williams (2024; a CoWG and Windrush Scandal survivor and campaigner) has begged the question of the many ways the Windrush migration has psychologically affected the descendants of the WG (Jaidev, 2024). This may indicate how dominant narratives shape the societal and structural perceptions of Black-Caribbean people, which continue to influence their psychological responses.

1.9. Conclusions

This chapter highlighted the social, cultural and historical contexts of serial migration. Clinical psychologists play a key role in supporting people with their psychological wellbeing

by using individual and systemic assessments, formulation, and intervention methods (Health and Care Professions Council [HCPC] 2023). They are also increasingly involved in public policy, shaping social and political landscapes in the UK (Browne et al., 2020), impacting the CoWG. Thus, a moderate social constructionism approach and CRT lens is essential for identifying areas of change at various levels.

This chapter also emphasised the importance of understanding the needs of older-adult Black-Caribbean communities in the UK (NICE; 2015; NSHE, 2024), according to their specific contexts (Vernon, 2020). Although serial migration affects parents and children (both now classed as the ‘older-adult Black-Caribbean’ community), this research focuses on the narratives of the ‘left-behind’ children, as their voices have often been under-represented within the literature (Dillon & Walsh, 2012). Additionally, research that focuses specifically on the process of serial migration (including processes of reunification) and its psychological consequences is limited, and has not yet been thematically synthesized. Therefore, this provides the current rationale for the SLR and empirical study. My aim is to explore the psychological consequences of serial migration, to better understand the needs of the older-adult Black-Caribbean community in the UK.

CHAPTER TWO: SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW (SLR)

2.1 Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I outline the SLR that was completed, including the aims, search strategy, methodology and quality appraisal. I discuss the main themes using a thematic synthesis and highlight the main conclusions and implications. Finally, the rationale, aims and research questions for the empirical study are presented.

2.2 Aims and review question:

An SLR is a way of gathering, evaluating and synthesising information on a particular research question, using pre-specified inclusion criteria, to consider what is currently understood on a topic and the gaps in the literature (Davis et al., 2014). This explains the current aim of this SLR, particularly as serial migration is under-researched. The following question was considered:

What are the psychological consequences of serial migration for Black-Caribbean children?

2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 Preliminary scoping

An initial scoping review on the experiences of serial migration in the Black-Caribbean community was completed, to provide an overview of the extent, variety and nature of the

literature available for synthesis relating to the research question. Additionally, bibliographical databases (including PROSPERO and The Cochrane Library) were used on 3rd July 2023 (using the search term of ‘serial migration’), which confirmed that there were no previous SLR’s recorded. Findings from Dillon and Walsh’s (2012) SLR on parental migration in the Black-Caribbean community identified that moderating contextual factors of parental migration (i.e. age at which parents and children were separated, and duration of the separation), have psychological consequences for the Black-Caribbean community. Thus, this SLR posits that, by its very nature, the serial migration process is an important contextual factor that needs to be understood further, providing a rationale for the current SLR. The review was registered onto PROSPERO (number: CRD42023481840).

The Patient Interest Context (PICo) tool (Table 4; Joanna Briggs Institute, 2011), which is a qualitative adaptation of the Population, Intervention, Comparison, Outcomes and Study Design (PICOS) tool (used for quantitative data; Miller & Forrest, 2001), was used to define aspects of the research question and planning for the SLR.

Table 4: PICo tool

PICo	
Population	Black-Caribbean heritage, left-behind as children
Interest	Serial migration to the Global North
Context	Psychological consequences/impact/challenges/mental health experiences

2.3.2 Review strategy

The SLR used a thematic approach, with the aim of integrating findings across multiple studies to produce overarching themes. The review only considered studies that used qualitative data, due to the context of serial migration being a complex and multi-layered process, affecting individuals in several ways. Qualitative research seeks to understand unique and idiosyncratic perspectives (Grossoehme, 2014), which may tell us something about people's social realities in relation to broader contexts (Moriarty, 2011). This is in contrast to quantitative research, where experiences are measured within an established framework (Willig, 2008). These methodologies then, also align with a social constructionist epistemology, which posits that understandings of the world are context-dependent (Phillips, 2023).

2.3.2 Search strategy

SCOPUS, Sage Journals and EBSCOhost (MEDLINE and CINAHL PLUS) were used to search for appropriate papers (searches conducted in October 2023). Google Scholar was also used to supplement the search (November 2023). These databases were chosen to acknowledge the evidence-base relevant to the topic across a range of disciplines. Alerts for all databases were created at the time of the search, to capture any new studies up to the point of analysis. Table 5 shows the search parameters that were used for each database and Table 6 is a summary of search terms. Medical Subject Heading (MeSH) terms were checked for each key term to check the variety of terms and to ensure that the searches were flexible enough; especially as the concept of 'serial migration' has been described in multiple ways. This SLR specifically focused on papers that captured the main premise of the experience

being around separation and reunification between parents and children. Titles and key terms arising from the literature were also checked. Finally, given that the Windrush migration began in 1948, this formed the upper limit of the search. There was no lower limit imposed, but the final search was completed in November 2023.

Table 5: Database search parameters

Database search parameters	
SCOPUS	Title/Abstract/Keywords
Sage Journals	All content
MEDLINE	All content
CINAHL PLUS	All content

Table 6: Summary of search terms

Patient/**P**opulation	AND	**I**nterest	AND	**Co**ntext
"Caribbean" OR		"Serial migration" OR		Depress* OR
"West Indian" OR		"Barrel child*" OR		Distress OR
"Afro-Caribbean" OR		"Parental migration" OR		"Mental health" OR
"African-Caribbean" OR		"Child shifting" OR		Emotion* OR
"Windrush" OR		"Migratory separation" OR		Anxiety OR
"Black Caribbean"		"Left behind" OR		Psychiatr* OR
		"Parent-child separation and reuni*"		Conduct* OR
				Trauma* OR
				Psyc*

Note. Truncation (e.g. depress = depression, depressive, depressed) and quotation marks (e.g. "serial migration") were used to ensure that differing word endings and whole phrases were captured. Initial searches of each concept were conducted to explore the results generated. Boolean operators such as 'OR' / 'AND' were then used within and across search terms to yield further papers*

2.3.3 Grey Literature

Grey literature is a field of information that exists outside of traditional publishing and distribution channels, and includes university theses, working papers and policy documents (University of Exeter, 2024). Typically, these documents are not published in scientific journals and thus, are not peer-reviewed. However, including grey literature can be beneficial to broaden the range of voices and reduce publication bias, especially for literature that do not fit traditional criterion outlined by colonial and Eurocentric knowledge (Henrich et al., 2010); which can maintain institutional racism. Therefore, grey literature was searched using Research Gate, Open Grey and Social Care Institute for Excellence (until November 2023).

2.3.4 Screening and eligibility criteria

The Prisma 2020 flow-chart outlines the process that guided the SLR (Page et al., 2021; Figure 1). The searches identified 803 papers across Sage Journals (n=710), SCOPUS (n=72) and EBSCOhost (n=21). The Covidence Systematic Review online software tool was utilised to organise and screen the papers. Duplicate papers (n=22) were removed by Covidence. The majority of papers were initially screened by their title (n=781); alongside the abstract of the paper if the title was vague. Following this, 38 papers were then screened via their abstract and full-text, against the inclusion and exclusion criteria (Table 7). The SLR included people who were born in the Caribbean, identify as Black-Caribbean and migrated to a country within a Global North context. To remain close to the perspectives of the left-behind CoWG, the SLR did not consider studies that primarily focused on parents' experiences of serial migration. Furthermore, as serial migration has been studied across various disciplines, to be included in the SLR, studies were required to be empirical and make references to psychological

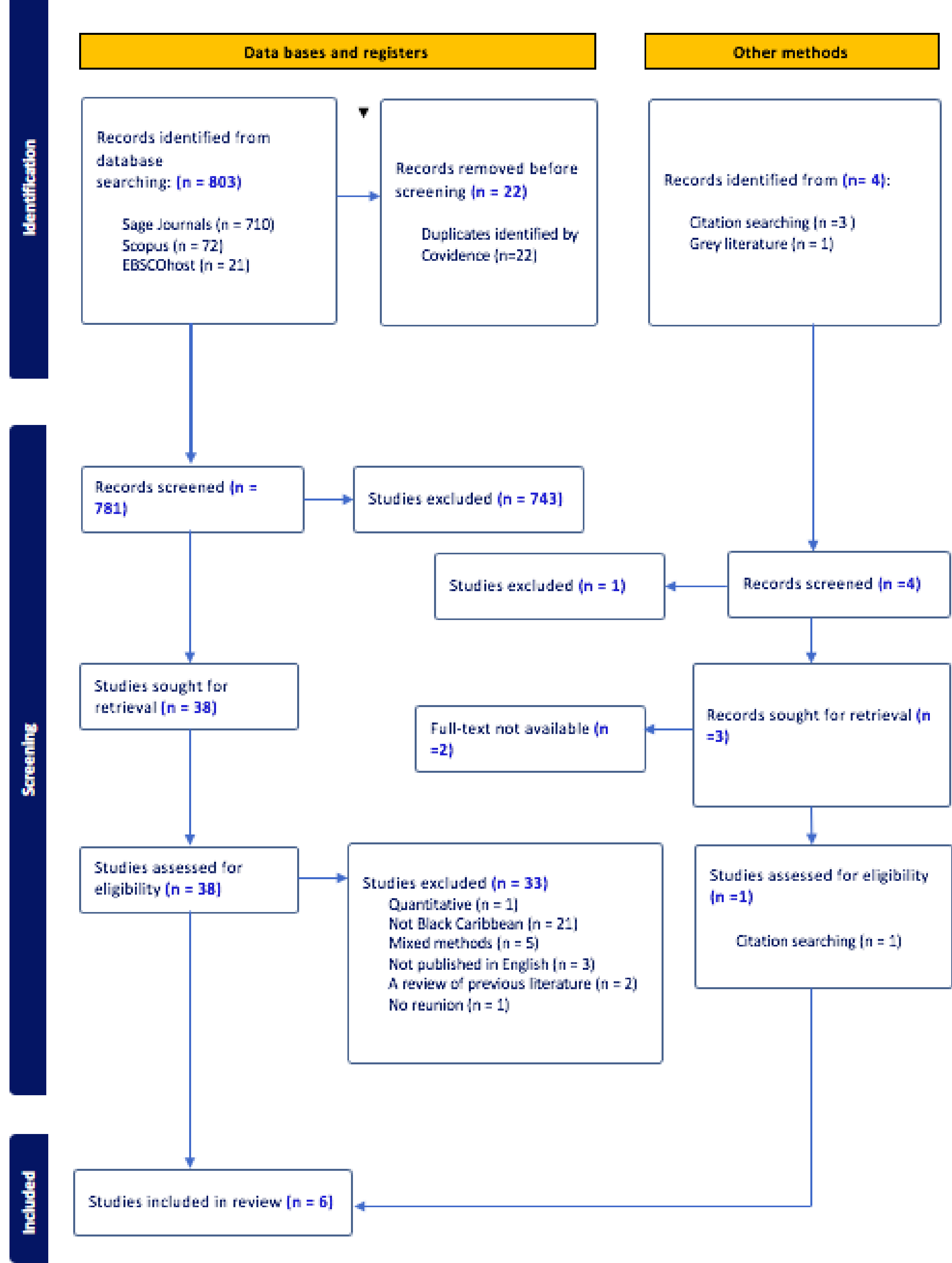
consequences, or mental health experiences. Studies that were not written in English were excluded (n=3), due to time constraints and a restricted research budget that could not accommodate professional translators. Forward (studies referenced by included paper) and backwards (studies cited an included paper) citation searches were conducted to yield additional papers (n=3; November 2023), but two of the papers were not able to be retrieved, despite seeking help from the inter-library loan specialist at the university. One paper was identified by grey literature, but did not meet the full inclusion criteria. A total of six papers were therefore included in the SLR.

Table 7: Inclusion and exclusion

Inclusion	**Exclusion**
• The study must include participants who were born in the Caribbean and identify as Black-Caribbean.	• The study does not include participants who were born in the Caribbean and do not identify as Black-Caribbean.
• The study must make reference to psychological consequences, impact or the mental health experiences of Black-Caribbean people.	• The study does not make reference to psychological consequences, impact, or the mental health experiences of Black-Caribbean people.
• The study must focus on the experiences of participants who were temporarily 'left behind' or separated from their biological parents due to their parents’ migration.	• The study focuses on the perspectives of parents who left their children behind in the Caribbean.
• The study contains reference to being reunited with parents and/or new family members in the new country.	• The study does not contain reference to being reunited with parents and/or new family members in the new country.
• The study must focus on participants who migrated to a Global North context (i.e., Europe, North America, Canada or Australia).	• The study focuses on migration within a Global South context (i.e., South America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia).
• The study must consist of qualitative data.	• The study consists of quantitative or mixed-methods data.

• The study must be written in or translated into English.	• The study is not written in English.
• The study must be empirically based (e.g., not a review of previous literature).	• The study is not empirically based and/or is a review of previous literature.

Figure 1: PRISMA flow chart



2.4 Results

Six papers met the inclusion criteria. Four papers were from psychology (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013), one from social work (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995), and one from anthropology (Olwig, 1999). One paper (Olwig, 1999) included narratives of both serial (experiences of separation and reunification) and parental migration (separation only); however, to avoid missing valuable experiences shared by participants, the study was included, and only the data about serial migration was reviewed. Five studies used retrospective methodologies from an adult perspective (Arnold, 2006; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013), and one study interviewed participants shortly after being reunited with parents as adolescents (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995). A summary of the studies (as taken from the authors) and strengths and limitations are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Summary of studies included in SLR

Author, title, year and location	Aim	Population/sample	Data collection	Data analysis	Findings	Strengths and limitations
(Arnold, 2006) Separation and loss through immigration of African Caribbean women to the UK United Kingdom	To identify the feelings of the women who were separated from primary caregivers and how the reunion was experienced. To explore the congruence of the interviewees' perceptions of loss with the literature on Attachment, Separation and Loss. To identify factors which contributed most to resilience or vulnerability among the women. To identify any factors that differed between a group who were receiving or had sought therapy because of their concern about their inability to sustain relationships and a comparison group who had not	Original method of recruitment was via voluntary method through a counselling journal, church and voluntary organisations, but no participants were successfully recruited. Participants were then selected via purposive sampling through a private therapy practice and snowball sampling helped to yield others who may be appropriate. 32 adult Caribbean women in the age group 35 – 50 took part; mixed experiences of therapy vs no therapy experience. All participants fit the criteria of being separated in early childhood and subsequently	A pilot study was conducted initially to trial the interview questions. An open-ended interview schedule was used to help participants recall experiences.	A content analysis was used to analyse the results.	1. Pre-migration themes: Memories of the initial separation: Absence, confusion, rejection; Accounts of mothers' motives for leaving them: Inability to imagine remorse; Memories of care by surrogate-caregiver: Supportive and unsupportive. 2. Migration themes: Initial meetings with their mothers: Tension, hesitation, tears, and disappointment; Making sense of the reunion: Discovery of younger siblings; Experiences of maternal caregiving after reunion: An absence of holding, a need to grow up fast, and recurring disappointment. 3. Post-migration themes: Multiple disappointments;	+ Use of open-ended interview design allows for rich and detailed descriptions to be yielded. + Design was effective; use of pilot useful to trial interview questions. + Content analysis used which helps to understand the similarities and dissimilarities of experiences. - No discussion of ethical issues. - Purposive sampling methods may have produced a biased sample (e.g. types of people who accessed therapy or not).

	received nor had sought therapy.	reunited with mothers.			Resilience and survival.	
(Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995) Themes of Rejection and Abandonment in Group Work with Caribbean Adolescents Canada	To examine how the theme of rejection and abandonment occurs in participants who have been separated and reunified with their parents.	Participants were all attending secondary school and ranged in age from 14 to 21. All Caribbean born. All had lived apart from their parent(s) from 4 to 15 years prior to reunion in Canada. They were referred by teachers, administrators and guidance counsellors.	Various focus groups over a 5 year period.	Thematic analysis	Themes indicated participants experiences of depression as a result of separation, various psychological difficulties in reunifying with the caregiver and psychological difficulties migrating to Canada. No contact with parents during the separation increased reunification difficulties and feelings of abandonment and rejection.	+ Data yielded over 5 years using various groups of participants; suggestive of reliability. + Use of focus groups; useful in yielding rich data. + Focus groups were useful in providing spaces where participants did not feel alone in their experiences; references made to feeling normalised in group setting. -No clear description of analysis; difficult to see rigour. -No clear description of the format of the focus group and how questions were asked.
(Olwig, 1999) Narratives of the children left behind: Home and identity in globalised Caribbean families	To understand how children experience growing up in a home environment which is based on global relations in relation to social,	Two female and two male participants from Nevis (Caribbean) aged between 19-27.	Life story methodology via multiple one-to-one interviews	Narrative analysis	Life stories showed that individual's perceptions of parent's migration as a sacrifice or abandonment depended on	+Life story methodology helps to gather rich, subjective narratives including social, cultural historical contexts.

United Kingdom	economic and emotional aspects of life. To understand the cultural values associated with a good family life among people for whom population mobility and socioeconomic connectivity on a global scale have long constituted a basic framework of existence.				whether parent's were reliable in providing financial support and a social presence while they were away.	+Life story methods are useful for understanding experiences across time. -No clear method of data analysis. -No evidence of reflexivity from the researcher.
(Phoenix, 2011) Adult Retrospective Narratives of Childhood Experiences of Serial Migration and Reunification with Mothers United Kingdom	To consider how children (now adults) report that they remember what it was like to meet their mothers after the period of transnational separation and what, if anything, they remembered about when their parent(s) left the Caribbean.	53 adults who were serial migrants from the Caribbean (39 women and 14 men; 'Transforming Experience' study by Phoenix, Bauer & Davis-Gill, 2015).	Retrospective interviews	Narrative analysis	Adults who have been serial migrants as children focus more on their mothers than their fathers when considering serial migration and the impact to themselves. Physical affection and attachment experiences were frequently drawn upon as having been painful in childhood. Participants constructed themselves as behaving differently	+Retrospective design is useful to understand how childhood experiences impact adult lives. +Male and female narratives yielded; good representation of gender within the data. -Limitations are not stated of the study. -Ethical considerations are not stated.

					towards their own children.	
(Phoenix & Bauer, 2012) Challenging gender practices: Intersectional narratives of sibling relations and parent–child engagements in transnational serial migration United Kingdom	To consider the retrospective accounts of Caribbean adults who were serial migrants as children and the impact to their significant relationships with siblings and parents.	53 adults who were serial migrants from the Caribbean (39 women and 14 men; taken from 'Transforming Experience' study by Phoenix, Bauer & Davis-Gill, 2015).	Retrospective interviews	Thematic narrative analysis (Riessman, 2002)	Three conceptual themes identified: Embodiment: Physical affection between parents and children was confined to British-born siblings. Cultural differences: Families where the simultaneity of Caribbean and UK cultures is experienced as division between siblings. Parental practices: Privileged UK-born children in comparison with Caribbean-born children.	+Large sample size for a qualitative study. +Transparency stated by researcher in relation to the analysis and presentation of the findings. -Limitations not commented on.
(Phoenix & Seu, 2013) Negotiating daughterhood and strangerhood: Retrospective accounts of serial migration United Kingdom	To focus on how female children who were serial migrants retrospectively construct their accounts of reunion with their mothers, in relation to mother-daughter relationships. To use a psychoanalytic lens	Four Caribbean born women's accounts analysed from a pool of a larger study of 53 adults aged between 30-60; *M=53;* 'Transforming Experience' study by Phoenix, Bauer & Davis-Gill, 2015).	Retrospective interviews lasting between 60 minutes-6 hours in length.	Thematic narrative analysis (Riessman, 2002)	Two themes identified: Negotiating reunions in context: The impact of separation from parents, and how it is remembered retrospectively, depends on the context of the separation, its length,	+Novel contributions made towards attachment theory from a Caribbean context. +Clear findings and implications reported. -Does not offer limitations of the research.

	to examine relationships.				the age at separation and experiences in the country to which children migrate. Secondly: What’s in a name? ‘Mother’ as signifier: not knowing who mother is and seeing mother as a stranger.	-Does not discuss transparency of the research including any biases to analysis.

2.5 Literature quality appraisal

A critical appraisal is the process of meticulously and methodically examining research to assess its trustworthiness, its value and relevance in a particular context (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme, 2018). The use of critical appraisal tools within qualitative SLR’s has been a long-contested topic, particularly in relation to applying quantitative paradigms and approaches to assess qualitative data (Dixon-Woods et al., 2007). However, critical appraisal tools may be useful to: reduce bias, identify strengths and limitations, identify gaps for future research and encourage the transparency and rigour of the research (Campbell et al., 2011;Carroll & Booth, 2015). Therefore, the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP; 2018) tool for qualitative research, frequently employed within health and social care-related qualitative syntheses (Hannes & Macaitis, 2012), was used in this SLR. This tool includes 10 questions that are centred around three main aims including: the validity of the study (relating to the soundness or rigour), the findings and its value or contribution. A summary of the quality appraisal is shown in Table 9.

All studies had clearly outlined their aims and rationale for the research. Additionally, they all used qualitative methodologies, (one-to-one interviews and focus groups) to collect the data in relation to the aims, which helped to yield rich data. Through one-to-one retrospective interviews, five studies used an open-ended interview schedule to help adult participants to tell free flowing narratives, which highlighted their nuanced and idiosyncratic experiences (Arnold, 2006; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). The other study used focus groups, which considered experiences of adolescents who had recently experienced serial migration, and provided a useful contrast to how experiences had been constructed as adults (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995). Although the

experiences were similar regardless of the age that participants were interviewed, it is important to highlight that criticisms of retrospective narratives posit that they can be vulnerable to memory distortion, or subjective to bias due to an individual's current emotions, perceptions and beliefs (Hardt & Rutter, 2004). However, using a social constructionist lens, this exemplifies the contextual-dependency of knowledge, contributing to its fluidity and dynamic nature.

Five papers considered the strengths of their chosen data analysis (Arnold, 2006; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). Three papers discussed the usefulness of narrative analyses, in capturing the important events in someone's life, which can speak to one's sense of self and perceptions of reality (Olwig, 1999; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). Additionally, they highlighted that narrative analyses are more likely to be developed when individuals' lives are interrupted (Riessman, 2002), which makes it suitable for studying serial migration. One study used a content analysis to understand their data (Arnold, 2006), which was not only useful for highlighting the commonalities and differences within people's experiences, but also highlighted the extent to which serial migration has had an impact on people within the Black-Caribbean community, where research is currently limited. Two papers also considered the lenses that were used to approach the research (e.g. intersectional lens in Phoenix & Bauer, 2012 and psychoanalytic lens in Phoenix & Seu, 2013), helping to ground the research in theory and promote the transparency of the findings and thus, scientific rigour.

All included studies used purposive sampling methods to recruit participants for the research. This was useful for gaining both male and female participants, and participants from a range of ages from adolescence to adulthood. None of the studies included participants

from an older-adult demographic (all participant’s below 60). Although serial migration is common within the Black-Caribbean community, given that they are viewed as an racially-minoritised group within Global North contexts, purposive sampling seems most appropriate to ensure that participants who have experienced or are knowledgeable of a particular phenomenon or interest are selected, especially where the scope of participants may be limited (Patton, 2002). Arnold (2006) also considered voluntary sampling and snowball sampling methods. Voluntary methods proved challenging, which highlights the need to consider the locality of the participant advertisements. Snowball sampling helped to gain access to a wider range of participants from a non-therapeutic background.

Only one study (Arnold, 2006) included the author’s reflections upon their relationship with the research, which helped to increase the transparency of the research. Arnold (2006) reflected on her professional identity as a psychiatric social worker and counsellor and how her experiences contributed to the approach and development of the interviews. Furthermore, there were reflections around holding a Black-Caribbean identity and how this helped to establish trust quickly within the interviews with participants, which was crucial for building engagement. Although this is a useful advantage, especially given the colonial context of Eurocentric psychology and the Black community (Fernando, 2017), it is important that ‘insider researchers’ are reflective on their own biases and assumptions, as this can influence the meaning-making within qualitative research (Atfield et al., 2012).

Regarding ethical considerations, one study made references to informed-consent and outlined that participants were offered preliminary meetings about the study before they agreed to take part (Arnold, 2006). Three other studies also made references to protecting participants’ identities through the use of pseudonyms (Olwig, 1999; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012;

Phoenix & Seu, 2013). The other two studies, however, did not make any references to their ethical considerations (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995; Phoenix, 2011). This feels important to highlight, considering that recounting adverse childhood experiences can evoke a range of emotions. Thus, it is important to ensure that participants are not harmed by their participation in the research.

Overall, all studies had a clear statement of findings which linked to their overarching research questions, and made a valuable contribution to the evidence-base around serial migration. Although they all had various contexts they were studying, the studies are of reasonable quality and capture an essence of serial migration in the Black-Caribbean community. The quality appraisal of the studies has also provided guidance for future studies, such as: methods for data collection and analysis, importance of considering researcher positionality, choice of recruitment strategies, the discussion of ethical considerations and considering the retrospective experiences from older-adulthood. *The quality appraisal process helped me to reflect on how to shape my study and consider the criteria valued by peer-reviewed journals, which will help when writing the report for publication.*

Table 9: Critical appraisal of qualitative studies assessed using CASP tool

Study criteria: Yes= Criteria met No= Criteria not met Cannot tell										
Study	**1. Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?**	**2. Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?**	**3. Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?**	**4. Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?**	**5. Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?**	**6. Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?**	**7. Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?**	**8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?**	**9. Is there a clear statement of findings?**	**10. How valuable is the research?**
(Arnold, 2006)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	This study is the first of its kind to look at how migratory separation and reunification between parents and children was experienced by Black Caribbean people and the experiences of loss and broken attachments. It highlights the need for future study into the psychological effects of these

										experiences and provision of therapeutic support.
(Olwig, 1999)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Cannot tell	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	This study discusses experiences related to both serial and parental migration and highlights moderating factors of these experiences, such as economic and social support. It was one of the first studies to highlight specific factors that may contextually moderate the separation and reunification experiences.
(Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Cannot tell	Cannot tell	Yes	This study has made a valuable contribution to understanding some of the familial tensions of serial migration. It has also highlighted some of the factors that can lead to reunification difficulties, which considered the grief and loss from surrogate-care

										givers, meeting new caregivers and also, made references to the social and cultural adjustments that participants were met with in Canada.
(Phoenix, 2011)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Cannot tell	Cannot tell	Yes	The retrospective nature of this study has helped to highlight how experiences in childhood influence later life. It also highlights generational differences towards parenting, based on their own experiences.
(Phoenix & Bauer, 2012)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	This study contributes to how migratory separation and reunification can impact families and sibling relationships. In addition, it has helped to highlight gender differences in these experiences.
(Phoenix & Seu, 2013)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	This paper is useful for understanding how family migratory

										separation and reunification affects mother and daughter relationships in particular, through a psychoanalytic lens. This makes an important contribution to theories around attachment, based upon a Global South perspective.

2.6 Thematic Synthesis and Findings

The thematic synthesis flowchart (Figure 2) shows the procedure of analysis, to understand the patterns and common themes of the dataset (Thomas & Harden, 2008).

Figure 2: Thematic synthesis process

The full-text of each paper was first read in its entirety, to gain a general overview of the study.

The papers were uploaded to NVIVO. The participants' direct quotes were coded line-by-line to generate the initial codes, according to their meaning and content.

Similarities and differences between the codes were then considered and new codes were created to capture descriptive themes (the new meaning of initial codes).

Finally, the research question was then used to transform the descriptive themes into analytic themes, which were themes that best answered the research question.

The data had an overarching theme that related to changes and adjustments. Three main themes are outlined, including: Changes and adjustment: new environment and socio-cultural context, changes and adjustment: new family, and changes and adjustment: Coping (see Table 10 for themes and sub-themes). Themes were cross-referenced against the findings of each paper and their relevance to the SLR question. *Considering the social constructionist epistemology of this thesis, these themes and sub-themes are a reflection of*

how I have interpreted the data, which is influenced by my own access to language and my insider positioning. Thus, the same dataset may be interpreted differently by another researcher in other contexts or times.

Table 10: Themes and sub-themes

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Changes and adjustment: A new environment and socio-cultural context	1. Geographical and familial environment 2. Socio-cultural norms and values
2. Changes and adjustment: A new family	3. Surrogate-carers and the extended family 4. Experiences of reunification with biological mother 5. Communication of separation 6. Affection, connection and bond
3. Changes and adjustment: Coping	7. Emotions 8. Independence, autonomy and resilience 9. Future relationships 10. A sense of self and identity

2.6.1 Theme 1: Changes and adjustment: A new environment and socio-cultural context

The first theme refers to the geographical and familial environment and socio-cultural context and norms. Their perspectives spoke to the changes and adjustments that were experienced prior to their parents' migration, during migration and following migration and reunification with their parents, and the psychological consequences of this.

2.6.1.1 Sub-theme 1: Geographical and familial environment

All studies discussed that migrating to the UK and Canada was strange, disorientating and unfamiliar, either in terms of their geographical landscape, or due to their familial environment. One paper gave vivid descriptions of the natural landscape of the Caribbean: “***There were plenty of fruits on the trees. It was a child's paradise***” (Olwig, 1999, p. 270); participants often described the Caribbean as a serene paradise that is characterised by natural beauty to be discovered, freedom, exploration and playfulness. This explains the contrast that participants in three papers made of the geographical landscape in the settled country (UK and Canada) (Arnold 2006; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix & Seu, 2013), where they reported differences to weather (Olwig, 1999) and also, how ‘***different from home***’ it was (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995, p. 18). All studies described the psychological consequences of having to adjust to their new countries, describing feelings around disappointment (Arnold, 2006), trauma (Olwig, 1999), depression (Olwig, 1999), exclusion (Olwig, 1999), regret (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995; Olwig,1999) and a sense of feeling lost: “***I felt erm like lost, completely lost because here I am in a strange place, I don’t know anyone***” (Phoenix & Seu, 2013, p. 304).

Studies also highlighted the changes and adjustments to familial environments. All papers described that they lived in close communities and, after their parents migration, many lived with extended families. Participants in some studies described that this was a cherished memory (Arnold, 2006; Olwig, 1999,), as they depicted families where they experienced “***fun, love and attention***” (Arnold, 2006, p. 163), a sense of connection and belonging (Olwig, 1999) and feeling cared for (Arnold, 2006). However, others, described that these environments were busy and chaotic, and resources such as food and money were

limited (Arnold, 2006; Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995). Regardless of the experiences of living in an extended family, all studies discussed feelings of isolation, estrangement and displacement, when they moved to a new country where the environment and people around them were unfamiliar.

2.6.1.2 Sub-theme 2: Socio-cultural norms and values

This sub-theme captured the changes in relation to the socio-cultural norms and values with which participants had been brought up, upon moving to the UK and Canada. Two papers described some of the traditional norms and values in the Caribbean (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012), such as having respect for elders within the family, completing household chores and looking after younger siblings. The papers highlighted the shock, disapproval and sense of injustice that was experienced by participants, as they arrived in their new country, as they compared themselves to British-born siblings. Three papers (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012) highlighted that Black-Caribbean participants often perceived their British-born siblings as “***spoilt***” (Phoenix & Bauer, 2012, p. 499), as their siblings did not have to abide by any of the rules and boundaries they had grown up with. This led to feelings around jealousy, resentment, inadequacy and alienation (Phoenix, 2011) and even caused contention within the family, impacting its cohesiveness (Phoenix & Bauer, 2012).

2.6.2 Theme 2: Changes and adjustment: A new family

The second theme related to the changes and adjustments that were made to

participants’ understandings of who and what a parent and family represents. This included their pre- and post-migration experiences of care, communication about the separation and experiences of affection and bond.

2.6.2.1 Sub-theme 3: Surrogate-carers and extended family

All papers made reference to experiences of being cared for by female relatives, while being separated from their biological parents. All papers noted that participants were usually left in the care of grandmothers, aunts and godmothers. One paper included a participant that commented on the positive experiences of care with her grandfather (Phoenix, 2011). Three papers included participants who recalled fond memories of their relationship with surrogate-carers (Arnold, 2006, Olwig, 1999; Phoenix & Seu, 2013): “***I was so well looked after and I was happy; my grandmother was my world. I remember her as a fascinating woman who loved me. It was just a warm close relationship***” (Arnold, 2006, p. 164). The studies highlighted that surrogate-carers often had a significant impact on participant’s lives, often being seen as a ‘mentor’ for “***instilling all the values***” in them (Arnold, 2006, p. 164), and providing a loving and stable environment (Arnold, 2006; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). Thus, separation had psychological consequences around grief, loss (Arnold, 2006), sadness and depression (Olwig, 1999); especially as, due to the nature of serial migration, it often precluded the opportunity to say goodbye.

Conversely, other participants in Arnold’s (2006) study recalled unhappy memories of being cared for by surrogate-carers: “***my grandmother had too many children to look after [and] there was not enough love to go around. I felt left out***” (Arnold, 2006, p. 163).

Furthermore, not only did participants reflect on experiences of unintentional emotional neglect, they also described that surrogate-carers often struggled for finances and resources, such as providing enough food (Arnold, 2006). Other participants made references to the instability of their surrogate-carers, as maternal caregivers were no longer able to care for them, due to a change in life circumstances (Arnold, 2006). Therefore, these experiences of surrogate-care presented an unstable and uncertain caring landscape.

2.6.2.2 Sub-theme 4: Experiences of reunification with biological mother

This sub-theme highlights the changes and adjustments that were experienced by participants around the concept of who their mother was. Four papers described that their biological mothers were perceived as '***strangers***' by them upon reunification (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). Some participants referenced difficulties in recollecting or recognising who their biological parents were (Olwig, 1999), some had feelings of hesitation and tension (Phoenix & Seu, 2013), and others described feelings of uncertainty and anxiety (Phoenix, 2011). Two papers noted that this impacted their ability to call their mother 'mother': "***this feeling of not knowing, how do I react to this woman? And in actual fact I was very resentful towards my mother for many, many years, I actually refused to call her my mum***" (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix & Seu, 2013, p. 307). Often, this was due to surrogate-carers having become these participants' parents and biological parents not maintaining any contact with them. Subsequently, they reported confused and detached from them (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). Additionally, another paper made explicit references to the physical and emotional abuse and economic exploitation by mothers, which led participants to question their overall

existence of being alive, experiences of suicidal ideation and depression (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995). Only two studies made reference to the reunification with fathers (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix, 2011).

Conversely, participants in two papers shared other feelings that were experienced upon reunification, like excitement and anticipation (Phoenix & Seu, 2013) and apathy (Phoenix, 2011). It was noted that when participants were old enough to remember their relationships with biological parents pre-migration and/or they had not been separated for too long, this helped them to maintain the relationship. Furthermore, other papers discussed that economic and material means sent from the UK and Canada to the Caribbean, helped to buffer the adverse effects of parent-child separation and helped participants to feel cared for (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995).

2.6.2.3 Sub-theme 5: Communication of separation

Five papers discussed how participants experienced a lack of understanding regarding why their parents left them in the Caribbean (Arnold, 2006; Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). Participants described feelings of abandonment (Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013), confusion (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix, 2011) and loneliness (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995), as they were not given opportunities to discuss the impact of separation, which would have had consequences for all parties (i.e., surrogate-carers, biological parents and participants). Instead, participants often had to come to their own conclusions about separation (Arnold, 2006), which influenced adjustment to their new family. Other studies highlighted that participants would have expected their parents to initiate communication with them, which

would have helped to provide reassurance and help them to understand each other (Phoenix, 2011).

2.6.2.4 Sub-theme 6: Affection, connection and bond

All studies highlighted that serial migration impacted their ability to show affection and bond with their parents and siblings. Some papers discussed ambivalence regarding physical closeness: “***I was ambivalent, I felt wanting to hug and not wanting to hug; my body was kind of withdrawing as well***” (Arnold, 2006, p. 164), while others talked about being rejected by parents after attempts to show affection (Phoenix, 2011). These experiences juxtaposed with previous experiences of care from surrogate-carers, and the unfamiliarity of their new family, caused emotional pain and disappointment for participants (Arnold, 2006; Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995).

Four papers made comparisons to the affection shown to their British-born siblings, contributing towards feelings of alienation and inferiority (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix, 2011; Phoenix & Bauer, 2012; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). Contrastingly, Phoenix (2011) highlighted a unique experience from one participant, where physical affection was shown and led to feelings of belongingness and gratitude for being reunited, exemplifying the heterogeneity of experiences involved in serial migration.

2.6.3 Theme 3: Changes and adjustment: Coping

This theme included descriptions on how participants coped with their emotions, their motivation for independence and autonomy, the impact on their future relationships

and identity.

2.6.3.1 Sub-theme 7: Emotions

Many mixed emotions occurred for participants, due to their serial migration experiences. One paper made references to feelings of confusion that were difficult to articulate (Arnold, 2006, p. 162), demonstrating the complexity of the serial migration process. Another paper explicitly made references to feelings of regret for the time parents were away: "***I would have preferred to have my mother home poor than in Canada trying to make it***" (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995, p. 11).

Three papers made references to coping with these difficult emotions by "***switching off***", or immersing themselves into their new lives, with the aim of protecting oneself from further psychological struggles (Arnold, 2006; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix & Seu, 2013). This often helped participants to experience a sense of escape, which helped them to adjust to their new environment and family (Olwig, 1999).

2.6.3.2 Sub-theme 8: Independence, autonomy and resilience

This relates to the motivations to strive for independence and autonomy that studies noted (Arnold, 2006, Phoenix, 2011). Findings from Phoenix (2011) described that participants often discussed feelings around taking accountability and responsibility for one's own future, and warned against dwelling on the past. This also linked to participants' descriptions around being "***strong-willed***" (Arnold, 2006), as it helped them to survive the experiences with which they were faced.

There was also a strong emphasis on survival in the sense of creating one’s own independence and autonomy to better their future (Arnold, 2006; Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix, 2011). They described the perceptions of upbringing in the context of the Caribbean being one of survival and less on showing love and affection to children. Children were taught to be resilient, self-sufficient and resourceful, which fits in with the context of seeing children in the new country as spoilt. Additionally, a participant in Arnold’s (2006) paper highlighted that: “***the emotional side was kind of historical... It was about survival. You could not start lying down and saying I’m not loved. There was no time for that***” (Arnold, 2006, p. 163); highlighting the importance of historical contexts in understanding the ancestral and instinctive coping styles that influence Black-Caribbean people’s autonomy, independence and resilience.

2.6.2.3 Sub-theme 9: Future relationships

Three papers highlighted the consequences that serial migration had on participants’ outlook on future relationships, including those with partners and with their own children (Arnold, 2006; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix, 2011). The papers provided participants’ reflections on their own childhood and how this served as a foundation to their own parenting styles, demonstrating intergenerational consequences of their experiences.

2.6.2.4 Sub-theme 10: A sense of self and identity

The final sub-theme captured participants’ identity as constructed through their experiences of migrating to the Global North. One paper highlighted that participants drew

on their memories and their values of living in the Caribbean, to help them to maintain and construct a sense of identity: "***I am a Bajan . . . I think you know, you should never deny your roots . . . it's what make you who you are. If you don't know your roots and know where you come from, I don't think you'll ever be settled and happy*** " (Phoenix & Bauer, 2012, p. 499). Additionally, participants sought comfort from siblings who were also born in the Caribbean, which helped them to maintain a sense of closeness and connection, especially when everything around them felt disorientating (Phoenix & Bauer, 2012).

Despite these strong roots, Caribbean-born children were often seen as less than or inferior to those who were British or Canadian-born: "**My little brother rushed me and told me that dad had left him in charge; that I was a 'freshie' and didn't know anything about Canada**" (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995, p. 17), further impacting self-worth and efficacy (Arnold, 2006; Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995).

2.7 Discussion and conclusions

This thematic synthesis is the first of its kind to consider the psychological consequences of serial migration in the Black-Caribbean population. The process of serial migration presented various challenges for Black-Caribbean people, leading to a range psychological consequences, with a need to adjust in several areas of their lives. Firstly, studies highlighted the experiences around the changes and adjustments to the geographical landscape and socio-cultural norms and values, that were a complete contrast to where they had grown up. Secondly, changes and adjustments were captured by participants' experiences of their parents, surrogate-carers and families and their reunification experiences. Finally, changes and adjustments were made to participants' coping styles,

leading to various psychological and emotional responses, a motivation towards independence and autonomy, and reflections on their relationships and identity.

2.7.1 Clinical implications

Most studies in this SLR, except Olwig (1999), used attachment theory to understand participants' experiences of serial migration. These studies adopt a relational approach, focusing on the parent (usually mother)-child relationship, linked to internal working models, as a template for secure future relationships and psychological functioning (Hopkins, 1990). However, this thesis argues that people's identities and ways of relating are constructed within broader social, cultural, and historical contexts, which should be considered in understanding serial migration experiences. For example, one could hypothesise the racism that many Black-Caribbean parents faced in Britain during reunification with their children (section 1.6), likely had consequences to be present at home and responsive to their children’s emotional needs; given the necessity of working to provide for their families. Thus, a clinical implication of using attachment theory is to consider these broader contexts in affecting relationships. Additionally, traditional Black-Caribbean families utilise the extended family, so multi-cultural variations of attachment theory should be applied. That is, that clinicians recognise that many Global South cultures have multiple attachments that are formed that beyond the heteronormative, Eurocentric nuclear families (two adult parents and a child) (Choate & Tortorelli, 2022) that Bowlby (1969) initially observed.

This can encapsulate Black-Caribbean familial contexts of child-shifting and surrogate carers, which may produce a nuanced view to separation and reunification.

Secondly, this SLR highlights that the psychological consequences of serial migration are complex and may not easily align with the traditional diagnostic labels currently used in the UK mental health system (Rhodes & Conti, 2016). These diagnoses are often based on Eurocentric frameworks, which may not fully capture the unique experiences and mental health challenges faced by Black-Caribbean communities, such as cultural displacement, which has real-life psychological consequences. Thus, it is imperative that interventions are culturally sensitive and go beyond standardised diagnostic labels, to better address the specific psychological needs of Black-Caribbean individuals affected by serial migration. Furthermore, it is important to note the fluidity of psychological functioning within this group, meaning that their mental health needs may vary over time, which may affect the types of interventions offered.

2.8 Gaps in the literature and rationale for current research

All papers have focused on serial migration retrospectively from the perspectives of adolescents, young adults, or adults. Currently, no papers have explored the psychological consequences of serial migration among older adults (over 60) in the UK. This is particularly important for several reasons: firstly, the Caribbean population is one of the most longstanding migrant communities in England and still under-researched, especially in the context of migration, which has been highlighted by the Windrush Scandal (2018). Secondly, the older-adult demographic is expanding rapidly more than any other age demographic

(WHO, 2022) in the UK. Finally, the left-behind CoWG population are now within the older-age demographic (Windrush: A Voyage through the Generations, 2024), underscoring the need to understand the serial migration, in shaping their psychological formulation and approaches.

Additionally, the majority of these papers have focused on relational experiences between parents, new siblings and Caribbean-born children and the effects to the family system, through the lens of attachment. However, there has been no research that has focused specifically on how serial migration has shaped individual lives and identities, particularly within the settlement phase. Furthermore, the existing research has also not considered the wider contexts, such as the pressures of racism, that will have affected participants' ability to integrate into the UK. Therefore, these considerations have influenced the current research around exploring the narratives of older-adult, Black-Caribbean left-behind CoWG.

2.8.1 Research aims

The aims of this research are:

1. To explore the narratives of left-behind CoWG to understand how they construct their identity in relation to the context of serial migration and broader social, cultural and historical contexts.

2. To understand how left-behind CoWG’s identity constructions influence the ways they navigate the psychological consequences of serial migration and/or psychological challenges and seek help.

2.8.2 Research questions

The aims of the research will be explored through the following research questions:

1. How do left-behind CoWG construct their sense of identity in relation to the context of serial migration and broader social, cultural and historical contexts?

2. How do their identity constructions influence the ways they navigate the psychological consequences of serial migration and/or psychological challenges and seek help?

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

3.1 Chapter Overview:

In this chapter, I outline my positioning and choice of research design, including Narrative Inquiry. The ethical considerations, sampling and recruitment, expert-by-experience consultations, procedure and data collection are discussed. Finally, I present my data analysis strategy and examine the quality of the study.

3.2 Ontological and epistemological positioning

As discussed in section 1.2.4, this research adopted a moderate social constructionist position; combining critical-realist ontology with social constructionist epistemology. This perspective acknowledges that social interactions, such as language, shape our knowledge, while also recognising an independent reality influenced by context (Gergen, 1985; Harper, 2011). This stance challenges the positivist view of value-free knowledge, as it suggests that knowledge must be understood within its wider contexts, as it evolves over time and space. Thus, a design capturing these elements was prioritised for this research.

3.3 Qualitative Design

The SLR and empirical literature identified a gap in exploring the left-behind CoWG’s narratives of serial migration from an older-adult perspective retrospectively. Qualitative designs are used “to understand everyday human experience in all its complexity and in all its

natural settings” (Wu & Volker, 2009, p. 2721). Additionally, recognising the diverse consequences of serial migration on individual lives was crucial, so it is important that this heterogeneity was reflected. Thus, a qualitative design was chosen to capture the complexity and nuance involved in serial migration over time and context (Harper, 2011).

Qualitative designs often employ methods like interviews and focus-groups to capture the evolving and in-depth nature of participants’ experiences and knowledge co-construction. This design is compatible with a moderate social constructionist epistemology (Harper, 2011).

3.3.1 Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry (NI) is one type of narrative analysis (NA) and is used to study the richness and meaning of people’s experiences through storytelling (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Riessman, 2008). Wong & Breheny (2018) made a distinction between stories and narratives. Stories are the account of events that the speaker tells, while a narrative refers to the wider contexts that are drawn upon to tell a story. Bruner (1990) argues that narratives help people understand and express their identity by making meaning from their life stories, shaped by their broader contexts. These stories also convey how we want others to see us (Riessman, 2008). Stories can be formed using ‘thick’ descriptions, which incorporate the wider contexts, interactions, experiences, feelings and actions, or, ‘thin’ descriptions, which are more focused and plot-centred (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Thus, this thesis will look for both stories and narratives.

NI was chosen for this thesis for several reasons. Firstly, NI aligns well with a moderate social constructionist stance. It sees individuals’ stories as representing a ‘reality’ for them,

which is real and valid (Harper, 2011), and that knowledge is situated within wider historical, social and cultural contexts across time. Stories, like meaning-making, evolve over time, and participants’ perceptions of reality are (re)constructed on the basis of changing circumstances and interactions, which produces a dynamic sense of self and fluctuating psychological responses.

Secondly, NI allows for the examination of the content, structure and purpose of stories to understand the meanings participants attribute to their experiences (Riessman, 2002). In healthcare research, storytelling about tacit experiences, like serial migration among the left-behind CoWG, is crucial for sharing knowledge and enhancing understanding of the community (Novak et al., 2020). This bridges the gap between explicit knowledge (e.g. mental health research) and implicit knowledge (e.g. individual coping skills), helping to explore the links between culture, race, identity and mental health (Vernon, 2020) and deepening our understanding of the psychological needs of Black-Caribbean people in the UK (Vernon, 2020).

Thirdly, NI aligns with a CRT framework. Stories are important for achieving social justice, as the sharing of counter-stories can shift power and amplify voices who have been oppressed (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Subjugated stories may also present alternative understandings of distress, which help to challenge Eurocentric understandings (Sutherland, 2011). In African-Caribbean[5] centred psychology, Caribbean societies typically place significant value on oral traditions such as the use of proverbs, parables, social patterns and

[5] ‘African-Caribbean’ refers to the ancestral history of Africa in the shaping of Caribbean people.

existential beliefs about the nature of the human personality (Sutherland, 2011). Thus, NI allows for participants to be authentic within the research, and advocates for participants to communicate in a way that makes sense to them (i.e., using their own dialect and cultural metaphors).

Fourthly, there is an emerging evidence-base that has shown that narrative methods can be useful in understanding older-adults constructions of their mental health and treatment-seeking experiences (Reynolds et al., 2020). Stories told in older-age often take the form of reminiscence, focussing on the events around youth and young adulthood, and can be key to shaping identity (Munawar et al., 2018). This usually encompasses both ‘big’ (life stories) and ‘small’ (situational stories). Thus, NI is useful for studying childhood serial migration with older-adults.

Finally, given the SLR and empirical literature, narrative methodology has been most frequently used, due to its ability to capture in-depth and rich data about individuals’ stories. This can help to understand how participants construct themselves, which can inform how they respond psychologically (Bruner, 1990) (see Appendix A3 for reflection).

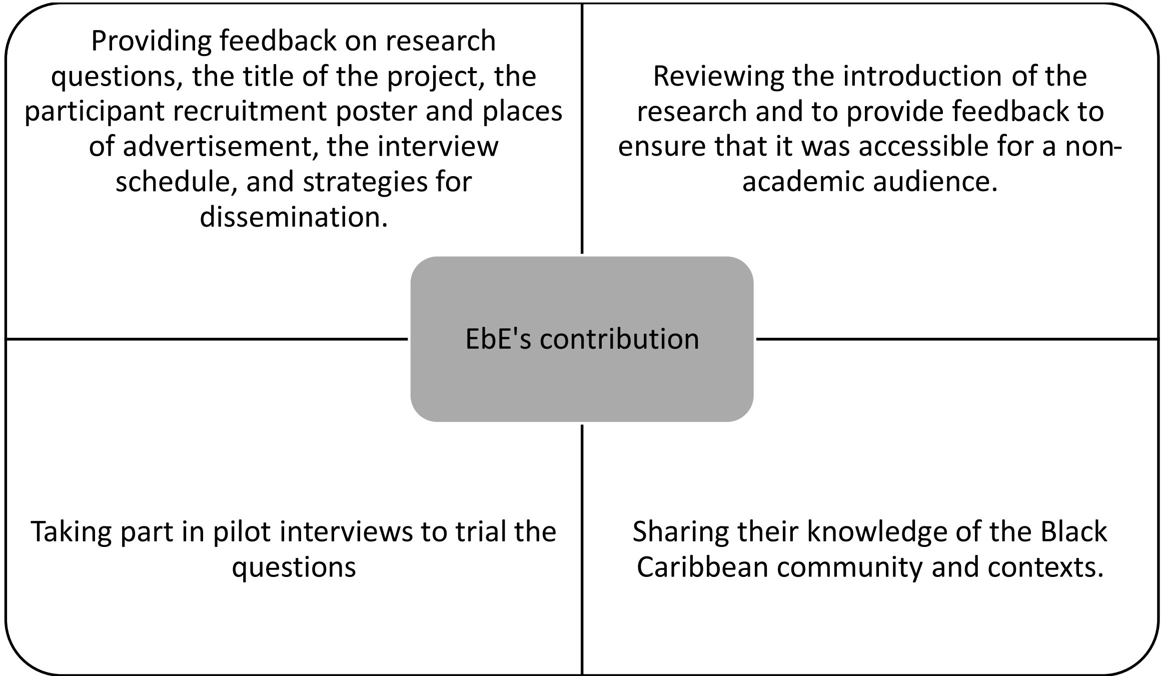
For these reasons, NI was deemed more suitable than other qualitative methodologies, such as focusing on collective similarities and themes (Thematic Analysis), or internal embodied experiences (Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis); where the attention to context is limited.

3.4 Experts-by-Experience (EbE)

EbEs were an invaluable part of this research process (see reflections; Appendix A4/A5). EbEs are individuals who have a personal experience similar to the research topic,

and play a key role in improving the research process and the outcomes (Trivedi & Wykes, 2002) (see Figure 3). A recruitment poster was created to advertise for EbE participation (Appendix B), which was shared in local community spaces (i.e. Caribbean grocery stores and churches) and through word of mouth. Four EbEs were consultants over the course of the research process who all identified as Black-Caribbean and were CoWG, with personal or familial experience of serial migration. EbEs were renumerated for their participation.

Figure 3: EbE contribution



3.5 Ethical considerations for participants

The study was ethically approved by the University of Hertfordshire (UH) Health, Science, Engineering and Technology ECDA on 12th September 2023 (protocol number: LMS/PGR/UH/05437; Appendix C). The Code of Human Research Ethics (BPS, 2021a) and the Code of Ethics and Conduct (BPS, 2021b) to ensure that the study upheld the ethical guidelines.

3.5.1 Informed consent

All prospective participants who expressed an interest in the study, were provided with an information sheet (Appendix D) containing the full details of the project (i.e., aims and requirements, costs and benefits, confidentiality, data protection and anonymity, and withdrawal process). They were all offered a preliminary phone call, to gain more details and ask questions about the project and research process. This helped to build an initial rapport with participants, which help to build trust and ease; essential for a qualitative research design (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Following their verbal consent, I used the call to collect demographic information to assess participants’ eligibility for the study. If suitable, participants were then sent and asked to sign a consent form (Appendix E). All participants were aware that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any stage of the process, until the analysis of results.

3.5.2 Confidentiality and data protection

All EbEs were given the option and chose to be identified within the research.

Data was collected in line with UH and Data Protection Act (2018) guidelines. Confidentiality and anonymity principles were explained to participants through the information sheet, consent form and at the start of the interview. Participants were aware their data could be stored up until five years. Demographic information collected during the preliminary calls and recorded data from interviews were stored via a personal, password-protected laptop, and UH OneDrive requiring two-factor authentication to protect the drive, to which only I had access to. For anonymity and confidentiality, participants were asked to

choose a pseudonym and the audio-recordings were transcribed with their pseudonyms, and added in the same way on the UH OneDrive.

3.5.3 Remuneration

All participants were offered a £15 voucher for taking part in the study (as per ethical approval).

3.5.4 Protection of participants and researcher

Some participants who partake in clinical psychology research find the process therapeutic, as it gives them an opportunity to share tacit experiences (Sheridan et al., 2020). However, given the nature of the topic, it was important that participants were made aware of the potential distress that could arise from taking part in the study. Potential harm was highlighted in the information sheet and consent form and also, explained to them within the preliminary call and at the start of the interview. I used a distress protocol (Appendix F; Draucker et al., 2009, modified by Haigh & Witham, 2015), alongside my clinical skills, to manage participant distress. Participants could choose what they wanted to share, and could pause or terminate the interview if they wished to. Furthermore, they were asked on the consent form to consider any experiences of distress within the last six months, as given the nature of the topic, it was important not to overwhelm participants further. Participants were encouraged to complete the interview in a confidential, but comfortable space. A risk assessment was also completed to ensure that the face-to-face interview was safe (Appendix G). All participants were sent a debrief sheet (Appendix H), which outlined contact details of

myself and my supervisors’, to provide opportunities to discuss any questions or concerns that arose. There was no deception involved in the study.

Additionally, as I shared my Black-Caribbean identity with participants to build rapport, it was crucial for me to be mindful of potential personal distress. Using supervision to discuss the emotional impact of the interviews was useful, as well as writing my reflective notes on the process and prioritising self-care following interviews.

3.6 Procedure

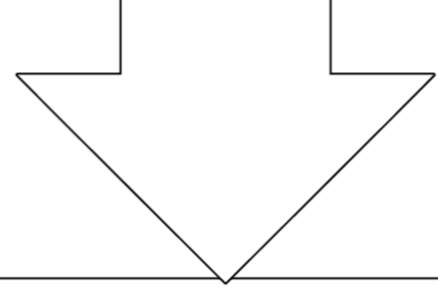
Figure 4: Procedure

Recruitment phase one: research poster was shared in person via local community spaces in East London and charities (e.g. Caribbean grocery and hair shops and churches) and word of mouth. **Recruitment phase two**: planned to recruit via the study's poster on social media.

Individuals who were interested in the study emailed the researcher to take part. Information sheet sent to participants. A phone call was then offered to have an informal conversation about the study, go through the eligibility screening and for individuals to ask questions.

Number of participants who contacted the researcher: 16

Recruited: 8

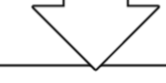


Consent form and information sheet was sent to recruited participants.

The information sheet and consent form were reviewed before the interview took place. Interviews were completed via Zoom and video-recorded and audio-recorded.

Debrief and support offered following the interview and questions answered. Vouchers were offered to participants.

Data stored on password-protected UH OneDrive and data was anonymised.



Data analysis

3.7 Recruitment and participants

Recruitment for the project took place between October and November 2023 (Figure 4 shows procedure). Purposive and snowballing sampling methods were used and advertised via a research poster (Appendix I). The recruitment phase initially planned for two phases, but enough participants were gleaned from the first phase, so recruitment ended.

Eight individuals (four males and four females) migrating to different locations in England, from a number of Caribbean islands, met the inclusion criteria and were recruited for the study (see Table 11). The inclusion criteria were carefully defined due to the complex nature of serial migration. Specifically, the migration dates of 1948-1971 were chosen to ensure participants had travelled within the WG period as children. Other criteria required experience of living in the Caribbean for at least six years, as this thesis aimed to understand the full experience of serial migration (i.e. separation, reunion and settlement). Arnold’s (2006) paper noted that participants who were at least five or six years old at the time of parental separation had better memories of pre-parental separation and of surrogate-carers, compared to those who were younger. There is also evidence that supports that children are better able to recall contextual details from age six (Riggins & Rollins, 2015), so a cut-off age of six was chosen.

The subjective and in-depth nature of qualitative research, including NI, typically involves a small sample size (Floyd, 2024; Vasileiou et al., 2018). However, I was mindful of the widespread impact of serial migration across various Caribbean islands and I wanted to ensure a broad representation of Commonwealth, English-speaking Caribbean islands and contexts. As a result, the sample size ended up being larger than anticipated.

Despite this, it was not possible to include all participants who expressed an interest in the study. Those not selected were informed during the preliminary call that recruitment had reached its capacity. They were asked if they would consent to being placed on a waiting list in case any selected participants could not take part, and were thanked for their interest. Considering these relational implications between researchers and the Black-Caribbean community was crucial, especially given clinical psychology's historical context with this demographic (Fernando, 2017).

Participants were asked to define their gender and race. Some demographic details are outlined in Table 12 and wider demographics and contextual information for each participant are provided in chapter four. Appendix J provides a summary of the full demographic details for all participants.

3.7.1 Inclusion and exclusion

The inclusion and exclusion criteria of participants are listed below in Table 11:

Table 11: Inclusion and Exclusion

Inclusion	**Exclusion**
You are over 60 years old; identifying as any gender	You are not over 60 years old.
Both of your parents were born in the Caribbean.	Your parents were not born in the Caribbean.
One/Both parent(s) migrated to the United Kingdom (UK), before you joined them at a later time.	You travelled with your parents to the UK.
You were temporarily raised by grandparents/extended family members or friends, while your parents were in the UK.	You were not raised by grandparents/extended family members or friends.
You migrated to the UK as a child (under 18) to join your parents in the UK during the 1948-1971.	

You experienced at least six years of your childhood living in the Caribbean.	You experienced fewer than six years of your childhood living in the Caribbean.
You now live in the UK and have lived here since migrating to the UK.	You do not live in the UK.
You have experienced self-identified low mood/anxiety or other emotional challenges in your life.	You have not experienced any current periods of significant distress in the last 6 months.
You are willing to share your life experiences with the researcher.	You are not willing/not comfortable to share your experiences with the researcher.

Table 12: Participant demographics

Participant	**Gender**	**Age**	**Race**
Justin	Male	72	Black-Caribbean
Linda	Female	66	Black-Caribbean
Guybo	Male	67	Black-Caribbean (Mixed heritage; Indian and Black[6]).
Grace	Female	73	Black-Caribbean
John	Male	74	Black-Caribbean
Cheryl	Female	66	Black-Caribbean
Mark	Male	72	Black-Caribbean
Myrtle	Female	71	Black-Caribbean

[6] Although of mixed-heritage, this participant self-identified as ‘Black-Caribbean’ and was racialised by others as ‘Black’ given his skin tone.

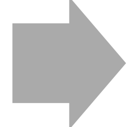
3.8 Interview schedule and data collection

A narrative interview was used as the method of data (story) collection (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2015). Narrative interviews can help to address the ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions that are typical for narrative research (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2015), as well as the co-construction between researcher and participants (Muylaert et al., 2014). The structure of interviews can vary between unstructured (no predetermined questions), structured (predetermined questions) and semi-structured (a mixture of pre-determined and un-predetermined questions).

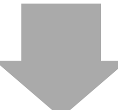
This thesis utilised a method of narrative interviewing suggested by Anderson and Kirkpatrick (2015), who align with an open-style, semi-structured interview format (Figure 5). This enabled participants to speak about the key events that happened to them, rather than me imposing my own questioning style. The interview questions were designed to be clear and avoid the use of psychological jargon where possible. Both the open-style, semi-structured interview and more closed-style, semi-structured interview script are shared for transparency in Appendix K and L.

Figure 5: Interview methodology by Anderson and Kirkpatrick (2015).

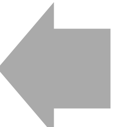
Introduction and explanation of the research; for example, sharing aims of study and confirming the ethical and procedural elements of the study.



The interview begins with an open-ended question, to get the participant to begin with their narrative. Interruptions are kept to a minimum. Riessman (2008) talked about the limitations of this style in the interviewer giving up some of the control of the interviewing, especially if the topic content is sensitive and traumatic. However, pre-interview, participants shared with me how they would let me know if they felt distressed, a distress protocol was used, and a pause could be used at any time.



The questioning phase begins once the interviewees natural story reaches an end, where the interviewer moves towards a more semi-structured style and probes or asks for clarification on some of the content of the interviewers' story.



Finally, the interviewer concludes the interview and clarifies the next steps.

Interviews lasted between 60 and 140 minutes (average was 84 minutes). Participants were given a choice between online and face-to-face interviews: seven completed online interviews via Zoom and one completed a face-to-face interview. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the face-to-face interview was more conversational in nature. Interviews conducted online were video and audio-recorded via Zoom, to ensure that the method of analysis could observe non-verbal communication (i.e., body language). The face-to-face interview was audio-recorded via Zoom and on a Dictaphone in case any of the audio was missed and, non-verbal communication was noted.

To capture my responses throughout the interview process, I wrote any thoughts, feelings, physical responses and relational elements from the interview in a reflective diary (Appendix N). Reflexivity is key in developing trustworthiness (Finlay, 1998). Given my positionality, it was important to highlight the points of connection and disconnection within the process, to support the transparency of the findings. This was also helped by my supervisory team who were diverse in intersectionality and educational background. They provided a critical lens; for example, considering the operations of power in some of the identities I hold, which enabled me to find ways to reduce this dynamic.

3.9 Narrative analysis

All eight interviews were watched and listened to before verbatim transcription, which included repetitions or emphasising of words, intonation, pace, pauses, laughter, changes in emotion, change of dialect and, gestures and non-verbal communication. Transcribing the interviews myself, could be viewed as co-construction of the data, as meaning was given to the data based on my interpretation of participants' presentations (Nasheeda et al., 2019) (see Appendix A6 and N). Jefferson's (2004) transcribing guide was used (Appendix M).

To immerse myself in the data, each interview transcript was read twice. This helped me to understand the data holistically and aided familiarisation (Lieblich et al., 1998). Following transcription and initial readings, the transcripts were then re-read two more times to ensure familiarity and rigour in the analysis, before being analysed for stories. Two excerpts were reviewed by the supervisors of this project –who have all published narrative research

and research on racially-minoritised groups– who provided feedback on my initial analysis to ensure rigour. For transparency, two excerpts and reflections have been included in Appendix A7 and N.

Table 13: Three categories of NA by Riessman (2008)

Method of NA	**Description of analysis**
Thematic/content	The content of stories – *what* is being said.
Structural	The structure of stories – *how* is it being said.
Dialogic/performative	The performance of stories is concerned with *why* the story is being told in this way, for what purpose and what *shapes* the story in relation to its wider contexts. It also looks at how meaning is created between storyteller and listener.

NA is flexible and there is no uniform method of analysis (Watson & Mcluckie, 2020). To respond to the aims and research questions, the study used three methods of analysis outlined by Riessman (2008): thematic/content, structural and dialogic/performative analysis (Table 13). These analyses were also viewed through the lens of CRT according to the five tenets outlined earlier (section 1.4.1). More weighting was given to the 'performance' of narratives, as this relates the most to identity construction; it communicates something about how narrators want to be known, the meaning of themselves and how they involve their audience in the 'doing' of their identities (Riessman, 2005). This can be viewed as a type of social action.

Each account was considered within the context of the interview, interactions with myself as the researcher and the wider historical, social and cultural contexts. Appendix N shows the questions that were considered during the analysis process, which were reviewed

with my supervisory team and my coding and reflections were recorded using Microsoft Word; to increase the scientific rigour and transparency.

3.10 Quality assessment

It is important that assessing the quality of research aligns with the researcher's epistemological positioning (Riessman, 2008). Constructionist research paradigms posit that there is no objective truth and, therefore, the quality of research is assessed through understanding its trustworthiness (Loh, 2015), which considers credibility, rigour and pragmatic usefulness (Yardley, 2017). Tracey's (2010) Eight Criteria for Excellent Quality Framework was used for this study, to assess trustworthiness and quality, given its use in NI research (Floyd, 2024; Grewal, 2022). This framework was implemented, with careful measures taken at each stage to ensure it met the criteria (Table 14).

Table 14: Tracy's Eight "Big-Tent" Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research

Criteria for quality	Evidence in the study
Worthy topic? (*i.e., relevant, timely, significant, interesting)*	As shown in the SLR, previous research on serial migration has mainly focused on the relational consequences of separation and reunification, or the consequences of separation alone. However, there has been little research conducted on the full serial migration process (i.e., separation, reunification and settlement) which shapes the identity of older-adult Black-Caribbean people in the UK and thus, their strategies to navigate psychological challenges and seek-help. Given that Black-Caribbean people are one of most the longstanding migrant communities in the UK and one of the 'racial' groups to be represented poorly for outcomes across various sectors, it is important that mental health research starts to understand the needs of the community; including their unique contexts and identities. Also, given that the Windrush Scandal (2018) has exposed many of the injustices still facing Black-Caribbean people in the UK, this project is timely and relevant and addresses gaps in the research.
Rich rigour? (i.e., theoretical constructs, data, sample, context, data collection and analysis processes)	The study has outlined the theoretical constructs, epistemological and ontological positions and how these have influenced decision-making in the project. It has outlined the recruitment and sampling of participants, including the demographics and contexts. The data collection and analysis has followed the theoretical positioning, using suitable procedures and interviewing practices to address the aims and research questions. Appropriate time was given to build relationships with participants to gather data.
Sincerity? (i.e., self-reflexivity and transparency)	I have evidenced self-reflexivity and transparency throughout this research. I have reflected on my insider (i.e. shared Caribbean heritage) and outsider status (age, upbringing and experiences), and how this has shaped the process, which has been reflected on in my introduction, methodology, discussion and appendices, in relation to power and privileges. I have checked-in with my supervisory team regarding the power-dynamics and biases that

	have arisen. I have shown transparency through the transcript and data analysis excerpts.
Credibility? (i.e., thick description, triangulation, member reflections, crystallisation)	Thick descriptions such as direct quotes from participants have been included in the research, to demonstrate their stories and experiences. These were shared with my supervisors, who provided feedback on my transcription and analysis methods. The stories were read multiple times, to apply the epistemological and CRT lens to the readings consistently. Reflective notes have been kept and shared within the research.
Resonance? (i.e., aesthetic merit, transferability)	The findings have been presented and understood within the wider historical, social, political and cultural contexts. It has also been linked to the theoretical and empirical research to compare and contrast the findings.
Significant contribution? (i.e., theoretical, and practical significance)	This study helps to build the evidence-base around the psychological consequences of serial migration, which addresses the gaps in the research. The findings have implications for mental health services, for social change, and to understand the wider contexts that are situated around Black-Caribbean people in the UK. The study hopes to have given Black-Caribbean older-adults a voice, to share narratives often unspoken, leading to empowerment and ways forward.
Ethical? (i.e., procedural, situational, culturally, relationship and exiting ethics)	The study was ethically approved by UH and ethical considerations have been reflected and embedded throughout this research. Situational ethics were considered within the risk assessments and distress protocols. Relational ethics have also been considered, such as building rapport during preliminary calls.
Meaningful coherence? (i.e., achieved purpose and aims, and interconnected literature)	This research has achieved its aim of understanding how Black-Caribbean older-adults have constructed their identity and how this has helped them to understand the psychological consequences of serial migration. The methodology fitted the aims and research questions. The analysis and results have been presented in the context of the literature and wider narratives. A discussion has presented

	the implications and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND INITIAL DISCUSSION

4.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter, I use the framework outlined by Riessman (2008) and CRT to present the findings for each individual participant. Each account outlines a table summarising the participant’s migratory context, a brief introduction to the participant’s overall narrative and sub-narratives (Tables 15-22), excerpts of their story and my interpretations and initial discussions. The convergences and divergences across the individual narratives are presented in the chapter five. Direct quotes have been highlighted in bold and italicised for the ease of reading.

4.2 Summary of individual stories

4.2.1 Justin

Table 15: Justin’s context

Participant	Justin
Country of birth (pre-migration)	Jamaica
Age parents migrated	7y
Who were they left with?	Godparents
Left alone or with siblings?	With siblings – 1 brother
How did they travel over?	Aeroplane – with brother
Age participant migrated to the UK	10y
Geographical location settled (post-migration).	Birmingham
Interview style:	Justin storied his experiences of serial migration chronologically and coherently, through living in Jamaica, travelling to England, navigating the schooling system, his career in the Royal Airforce and challenging later-life events. He spoke confidently and reflectively.
Overall narrative:	Justin depicted an overall narrative of being ‘a fighter’.
Sub-narratives:	Justin’s sub-narratives were: (1) Being strong, (2) Proving capability and (3) Showing male-toughness.

Justin began his narrative by thanking me: '***as I think it's very important to have this out there, so that others can share (2s) and also, so that <u>others</u> can understand across the globe***'. Introducing his narrative in this way highlighted its importance for wider audiences. I wondered if '***others***' referred to a wider audience of Black-Caribbean people, addressing the silence often held by the community on psychological challenges (Arnold, 2006); thus, amplifying their voices (Delgado, 1989). I also considered if the second, more emphasised '***others***', referred to dominant systems of Whiteness that set the norm for all cultures (ACLRC, 2024); appealing to my insider-identity as a Black-Caribbean, and outsider-identity as a trainee clinical psychologist, as a quest to develop the field.

He shared a 'big' story of separation from his parents, but particularly from his mother which he described as a '↓ ***wrench, [as] at the age of 4, (1s) my father left to come to England and umm at the age of 7 (2s) my mother left us all (.) to come to England to join father. So at that point when mother left (3s) we're all sent to different homes (3s). So with different sort of relatives. My brother and I went to our godparents and um, that's where we spent the rest of the time until later on, when we were sent for.'*** Justin's low tone and frequent pauses demonstrated a sense of sadness and loss from his mothers' departure, which communicated that this was difficult to talk about. His thin descriptions conveyed that his parent's move to Britain felt like a sudden disruption to his life, linking to the haphazard nature of migration processes (Nirmala et al., 2014; section 1.6) and power that Britain had over the Commonwealth at the time (Marrett et al., 2009). However, using a metaphor such as a '***wrench***', provided a sense of ambiguity to Justin's direct feelings; potentially enabling Justin to preserve his emotional response and maintain a sense of strength.

Following his parent's migration, Justin storied his life with his godparents who became his surrogate-carers who '***treated me like their own***' and he storied thick descriptions of economic connectivity with his parents, through the sending of barrels (Crawford-Brown, 1994; Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995): '***people send goods back to their children [and] when I got my stuff, being that my godparents are very kind people, they <u>shared</u> it out {laughter from both}, so they were teaching me to learn to share. Now I never saw that lesson at all. I just thought "my mother sent this for me, It's MINE!" So I got pen to paper, and I got to writing (2s) {writing with a pen gesture} "Dear, mother […]" so I wrote that letter, right, and finished it off […] But I was a child. I was young. I couldn't post a letter myself. I needed a stamp and so obviously, I gave it to the adult, and they read it and they ripped it up {laughter}***'. Justin shared this story in a jovial and charismatic tone, using active voicing and gestures to bring it to life (Woofitt, 1989). As an older-adult, he criticised his younger-self as '***selfish***' for not wanting to share his gifts from England. However, from a child's perspective, I wondered whether this reluctance likely reflected how precious the gifts were, as they were his only connection to his mother, representing feelings of grief and loss. Understandably, his use of laughter may have concealed these feelings.

Upon being 'sent for', Justin storied experiences of reunification with his parents at age 13: '***I definitely wanted to re-join my parents [because] I really, really missed my mother and I was never satisfied again until I saw her again (2s) I craved after her, you know […] almost every day […] so, it was just smiles and laughter***.' His thick descriptions and use of repetition conveyed the intense feelings of longing, loss and emotional deprivation felt due to his mother's migration (Dillon & Walsh, 2012) and the overwhelming excitement to reunify with her. This reflected his hope to reconcile the grief and loss of the past six years. However, this excitement became short-lived upon landing in England, as it was a '***a <u>completely</u>***

different world [and] I missed [Jamaica] straight away. I mean, in my yard I had: a grapefruit tree, tangerine orange, just down the road we had a coconut tree {lists on his fingers}.' He used 'small' stories to contrast England's geography with Jamaica's and used gestures to perform shock and unfamiliarity. This disappointment was further enhanced by his retrospective beliefs that '***everything you got told about England was good'***; highlighting the persuasive narrative of Britain as the 'gold standard,' a notion reinforced by Caribbean institutions (ACLRC, 2024).

These feelings of disappointment and displacement were then exacerbated, as Justin storied a 'big' event of his struggle to prove himself in Britain: ***'I had a RAW Jamaican country, <u>country</u> accent […] the teacher got a tape recorder out and pressed the button to record and said to me "talk" {laughter} […] Going to school, I've got to say that things could have been better (2s) in the sense that they categorized you, but not necessarily in the right way (3s) cause I think they assume that you know nothing (3s) because of your background, ethnicity, colour of your skin, without really testing you and asking, "what are you capable of?"... By that, I think (.) no, not I think, I <u>know</u>, that they underestimate the level of learning from people of certain countries right, almost <u>automatically</u>, and I can <u>categorically</u> say it's true, because the things that were teaching me I had already learned it in Jamaica. And I'm saying to myself, 'why are you just learning this now? Because we had learned all of that' (2s) you know. Yet they were thinking that (.) <u>I</u> was backward (.) do you know what I'm saying? And I spoke to several, <u>several</u> people who have experienced the same thing (3s) It was frustrating (2s) I left school with very little (2s) with {sigh} no education or qualification, whatsoever and they were not pushing me to get it".*** Justin's use of persistent speech, changes of intonation, emphasis and repetition of words, performed his sense of frustration at the assumptions made about his capabilities, due to the cultural degradation and systemic

racism in Britain's education system (Donnelly, 2024); resulting in him leaving school with no qualifications. His rhetorical questions drew me into his experience, inviting empathy. Additionally, by stating that '***several people***' and underscoring '***I know***', Justin stressed the widespread nature of structural and institutional racism (Dismantling Racism Works, 2016), that may have led other CoWG to feel undervalued, having psychological consequences for their educational outcomes.

His schooling experience foreshadowed a relentless struggle in adult life: ***'going forward in life as an individual, you struggle (4s) so you have to fight from day one, and fight and fight and fight. Now you have to be quite resilient, because in life, nothing comes easy.'*** The repetition of '***fight***' separated by '***and***', emphasised the exhaustion, tenacity and resilience to keep going in the face of struggle. Justin storied his '***fight***' in proving himself in his career in the Royal Airforce, earning multiple promotions. Despite his higher rank, racism persisted: ***'you become in charge of people at the place that you work and people would walk in and look at you and walk past you, and go to the nearest white face and say, "where's your boss?" [even though] your rank is on your shoulder […] (T) people are looking for a level playing field (2s), we're <u>not</u> asking for favours.'*** Justin's repeated need to prove his worthiness reflects the accumulating psychological toll of serial migration and systemic racism (Jaidev, 2024). Changing tense, highlighted the ongoing struggles faced by the Black-Caribbean community in navigating unjust systems, perhaps indicative of the many institutional disparities outlined in section 1.8.

Justin's narrative emphasised male-toughness in coping with the psychological consequences of serial migration: '***somebody made a comment, that it's gonna be cold in England, and I remember me saying, you know, being a typical boy (.) Oh, I am man, I can***

take anything*'*. This way of coping seemed to extend throughout his life, which made me wonder how this was enacted in the interview; such as perhaps leaving out emotionally challenging stories. For example, at the very end of the interview, where I appealed for any further information for him to share, he described sadly, and unexpectedly, losing his daughter in his later-life: *'****(2nd) these are things that are thrown at you in life, you have to learn to deal with it […].some of us cope [and] some of us crumble […](1st) I have got to manage the situation as <u>best</u> as I can [as] people are <u>depending</u> on you'***. I wondered whether leaving this story to the end of the interview represented the pain of Justin's experience; thus, closing down opportunities for further questioning. His use of second-person provided ambiguity, which also may have helped him to maintain this toughness. Furthermore, it may have helped to avoid judgement, especially from a female trainee clinical psychologist; given wider stigmas around mental health in the Black-Caribbean community (Sutherland, 2011). His early experiences of abrupt parental separation, also contextualised his need for strength and resilience.

After the dramatic turn, Justin concluded his narrative at a logical ending, with reflections as an older-adult having been to the '***university of life'***. He affirmed his Caribbean identity: ***'I will always identify as Jamaican […] we have a very <u>strong</u> sense of purpose, strong-willed, and we'll stand up for our rights.***' This consistent narrative of being a 'fighter', highlighted his resilience and readiness to face psychological challenges head-on. This was exemplified throughout, as Justin did not tell any stories around asking for help. He ended by storying himself now as an '***ambassador to help others',*** emphasising the importance of learning from experiences and passing on wisdom to the next Black-Caribbean generation (Sutherland, 2011).

4.2.2 Myrtle

Table 16: Myrtle’s context

Participant	Myrtle
Country of birth (pre-migration)	Jamaica
Age parents migrated	4y
Who were they left with?	Grandmother, aunts and uncles
Left alone or with siblings?	Alone - brother lived elsewhere in Jamaica
How did they travel over?	Aeroplane - alone
Age participant migrated to the UK	10y
Geographical location settled (post-migration).	London
Interview style:	Myrtle’s narrative of serial migration was less coherent and linear, oscillating between stories of separation, settling into family and school and career challenges.
Overall narrative:	Myrtle presented a parallel[7] narrative of resilience and exhaustion.
Sub-narratives:	Myrtle’s sub-narratives were: (1) Feeling abandoned, (2) Gaining survival instinct and (3) Getting on with it.

Myrtle did not story pre-separation experiences with her parents, which was due to her age at the time: ‘***I don't remember anything to do with my mum***’. Instead, she began her narrative by sharing ‘small’ stories of surrogate-care with her grandmother: ‘↓***I was kind of scared of grandmother really [as] she was quite strict. Although, I think she bark was worse than her bite {patois[8]}, but I didn't know that as a little one’.*** Myrtle’s fear of her grandmother as a child, conveyed through her low intonation, reflected a perception of harshness. However, the phrase ‘***she bark was worse than her bite***’ was suggestive that from

[7] Parallel narratives relate to two stories told concurrently, although might not be happening at the same time.

[8] Jamaica’s official language is English, but they also speak Jamaican Patois (“Patwa”), which is a vibrant and expressive creole dialect formed of African, Spanish, French, Portuguese and English colonial heritage (Visit Jamaica, 2024). Each island has their own dialect and/or creole language.

an older-adult perspective, she was not as harsh as Myrtle initially perceived; thus, representing mixed feelings. From a CRT perspective, this may align with the broader narrative of the ‘strong black woman’, a role historically and intergenerationally adopted by Black-Caribbean women to survive the emotional trials of slavery (Graham & Clarke, 2021). Thus, I wondered whether her grandmother’s stern demeanour may have embodied resilience, strength and underlying love, aimed at nurturing and supporting Myrtle. Furthermore, her use of patois helped Myrtle to speak authentically, which helped to preserve her cultural context (Delgado, 1989).

Myrtle’s challenging early life then continued, with further stories of surrogate-care, leading to a sense of feeling ‘***abandoned’*** when being unwell: ***‘my Dad’s brother […] came into the room, and I had no idea what was going on, and put me on his shoulder in the middle of the night […] drove me to hospital and plonked me there, and I was in a cot, and the cot was up here to on me {gestures high height}, that's what I remember looking through the bars, thinking “what the hell's going on here” […] my focus was looking at that door constantly and that’s all I ever think about, that door (3s) because I wanted to know, “who's gonna come and get me” (4s) thinking about this makes me so sad […] I don't remember when I was taken out, but I do remember being let down […] I was only tiny (2s) you can't forget that (4s) you can’t forget that {tearful}’.*** Myrtle’s use of vivid imagery, gestures, pausing and active-voicing constructed a narrative of deep sadness, disappointment and being let-down; emotions she still carries today, exemplified by her becoming tearful. Her thick stories encouraged me to empathise with the pain from being alone and isolated as a young child and gravity of the experience; highlighted by repetition of ‘***you can’t forget that***’. It perhaps could be seen as a metaphor encapsulating the context of being ‘left-behind’; demonstrating an uprooting from familiar environments without explanation; leading to

disorientation and vulnerability (Pottinger, 2005). Myrtle's narrative then took another dramatic turn, where her feelings were intensified when she went to live with her aunt at the age of 6, who she was initially close to: '***my aunt had a baby and I remember saying "where do I fit in to all of this?" and she said, "my baby comes first and you come second" […] I felt devastated***'. Thus, these early social contexts may have constructed Myrtle's understanding of herself as unwanted and unloved, shaping her later narratives of '***low self-esteem***' and '***anxiety***'.

Myrtle then storied coming to England: '***I wrote [to England], because mum had saved up, to pick up my brother up first, even though my dad didn't want us here, and I can't blame him in a way, [but] a lot of people got trapped because their children were born here, work wasn't as easy, money wasn't as forthcoming, accommodation was crap, which we experienced, so she then changed the plan and got me instead as I was feeling it more […] in them days you had air hostesses who looked after you. So I got put on the plane and then Mum picked me up, in a taxi, I vomited all the way here {laughter} (2s) all the way to England and in the taxi {laughter}'***. Myrtle's thick descriptions highlighted the complex social and economic realities faced by the WG in England that extended over various systems (Donnelly, 2024); exemplified by the list-like structure. It highlighted the tensions that parents of the WG often faced during serial migration, in balancing economic pressures and the need to provide emotional support, considering the oppressive structures of Britain (Donnelly, 2024). Through a retrospective view, Myrtle used humour to alleviate the emotional turmoil of her story, although I wondered whether as a child, this would have been a disorientating and scary time for her.

Upon settling in Britain, Myrtle shared further stories of challenge. She storied herself as a '***fighter***' and having '***survival instinct***' as a psychological response to her early social contexts, and further highlighted these self-perceptions in facing the challenges of interpersonal racism: ***'Teddy-boy racists throw FIRE through the door (2s) […] to try and burn us down'.*** Furthermore, she storied institutional racism: ***' yeah, there are so many reasons why the youngsters today are having problems at the moment, the attitude of the teacher and how much encouragement and expectations that they have of you (3s) ↓ I mean, in my school they just had low expectations of us.'*** Myrtle's changes in intonation helped to exemplify the fear and horror that left-behind CoWG faced upon moving to Britain. Her narrative highlighted the need to adapt to the social realities of racism, by developing the abilities to survive and fight back against oppressive systems. It also emphasised the importance of storytelling, to challenge dominant narratives that may minimise or ignore the realities of racism in Britain (Delgado, 1989).

Myrtle's need to adapt to these social realities extended beyond external societal challenges, as she storied reunification with her family: '***I came over here and met my dad and mum, and had to rebuild a relationship with somebody I didn't know, only heard about, and saw pictures of, and I couldn't call them mum and dad, because I didn't know them as such (3s) and when [mum] wanted a kiss, I felt embarrassed […] the bond was <u>broken'</u>***. Myrtle's descriptions here, highlighted the psychological consequences of serial migration in severing family ties. Many left-behind CoWG perceived their parents as strangers upon reunification (Arnold, 2006), as demonstrated in the SLR. The emphasis of '***broken'*** performed the emotional intensity of the relationship, which exemplified the detachment (Phoenix & Seu, 2013). Thus, Myrtle storied her ability to '***just get on with it***', as a necessary measure to cope under these various circumstances.

Myrtle then presented a turning point in her narrative of resilience, by storying mental exhaustion, which she continues to struggle with in later-life: '***I ended up having a nervous breakdown at 21 […] my confidence got hit and I was always so tired and had sleepless nights and depression (3s), and thought badly of things in my head and wanted to sometimes, that word (4s) to go and not be here anymore'***. The mental and physical exhaustion and despair that came from Myrtle's descriptions, helped to convey the psychological consequences of continued resilience and resistance. Her omittance of the word 'suicide' may have indicated shame, and a need to conceal the depth of her suffering, perhaps preserving her will to fight. Notably, she did not share any stories of seeking help professionally, until her breakdown was observed by her teacher. She narrated the ineffectiveness of the mental health support she received including medication and counselling: '***they gave me lots of pills and drugs and stuff like that, which made me more groggy (3s). Yeah, if what you are doing and all that is coming out about the Windrush is highlighting now about the barrel children syndrome and the psychological impact that people had by having this experience, had that been known in them days, and there was support out there, of course, it would have made a difference. Nobody cared (2s) nobody <u>cared</u> [...] It was by me outwardly showing my grief and all those things, that I got help***.' Myrtle's descriptions stressed how wider contexts shape self-perception and the ability to cope. Her frustration expressed through the repetition of ***'nobody cared'*** may reflect the systemic neglect and societal indifference that was shown towards the WG and their descendants, hindering her access to needed support and trust for services.

Myrtle ended her narrative by storying her strengths and '***ambition***', in achieving the successes of her life, such as passing her exams at school: '***when I didn't pass the O level, [the teacher] told me everything that I shouldn't be hearing, which is, 'I wasn't good enough', 'I***

shouldn't have been in [the high achieving] group', 'you should have been in the [failing] group'. All the blacks were in there […] So I found a nice school and went there and studied me French, studied me English, come back, and PASS! I showed them'. Her change of intonation and active voicing, conveyed her sense of pride and courage. '***Showing***' them may speak to strategies used to compensate for '***low self-esteem***', stemming from the need to prove herself; especially within the British context where Black-Caribbean people were heavily scrutinised and undervalued (Williams, 2018). However, this can place individuals in a binary mindset, constantly having to demonstrate either being the best or failing; perhaps, demonstrated by Myrtle's oscillations between resilience and exhaustion throughout her narrative (Ghahramani et al., 2011). For example, later in her narrative, despite her numerous career achievements, she questioned her decision not to apply for a leadership position at more prestigious schools: '***maybe I didn't go to the higher ranking school, maybe I thought wasn't good enough. So I went to a school that needed help.*** *[…]* ***They only they probably interviewed me because maybe there were few people who were interviewed***.' Thus, her reflective tone demonstrated how the challenges of serial migration, in adjusting to systemic racial inequalities, can shape self-perception and decision-making. Myrtle's repeated use of '***maybe***' may reflect her self-doubt and feelings of inadequacy; highlighting the consequences of marginalisation in empowering herself.

4.2.3 Mark

Table 17: Mark's context

Participant	Mark
Country of birth (pre-migration)	Barbados
Age parents migrated	6y
Who were they left with?	Grandparents
Left alone or with siblings?	Alone
How did they travel over?	Ship - alone

Age participant migrated to the UK	7y
Geographical location settled (post-migration).	Manchester
Interview style:	Mark reflectively storied his life as chapters, marked by key transitions: being sent to England by his grandmother, falling into a life of crime, discovering the value of education, and achieving career success.
Overall narrative:	Mark presented an overall narrative of rejection.
Sub-narratives:	(1). Being viewed as 'unruly' (2) Alienation (3) Inferiority (4) Recognising self-worth (5) Independence.

Mark began by setting the scene of his narrative (Labov, 1972), by introducing a 'big' story of why he came to England. He shared in a matter-of-fact tone: '***I was born in Barbados (2s) My mom came over when I was 6. Sent for me, when I was 7, because my grandparents said that I was too unruly, because when me mom left, of course, I wasn't listening to nobody. Nobody could tell me nothing, so you know, I was very unruly, so she sent for me when I was 7'.*** His direct tone conveyed that '***being unruly***' was an identity constructed from a young age, from his social interactions with his grandparents and others. Although subtle, I wondered if his story communicated to me that separation from his mother was destabilising, through his use of '***of course, I wasn't listening'***. Research has found that it is not uncommon for Black-Caribbean children to show internalising and externalising coping strategies following parental separation (Lashley, 2000; Rousseau et al., 2008) and receive labels such as 'naughty' from a young age. This framing of his behaviour as '***unruly***', rather than a response to difficult life circumstances, set the stage for his later life stories.

He storied his migration journey: '***I would say my greatest memories was the journey [as] it took 21 days to sail from Barbados to England. That was a really good experience, because I sailed over on my own and I'd go and explore the ship***.' Mark spoke with excitement and conveyed beaming facial expressions, which highlighted a sense of adventure and excitement for him; particularly pertinent, as many CoWG would never have left the

island before (Donnelly, 2024). Upon arrival, he told further smaller stories of noticing the difference in culture immediately such as eating '***blancmange'*** and seeing '***all the chimneys at night'***; signifying how new and different that things were, as highlighted by the SLR (Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995). His rich descriptions helped to set the scene as a story of a new life.

However, upon moving to Manchester, Mark storied his reunification with his mother; symbolising another chapter of his life: '***I moved in to one room with me mom and then my sister, my brothers; their father, he was from Jamaica. ↓So I moved in to this relationship where me mom was pregnant when I arrived (.) bearing in mind, when she left, obviously she wasn't. She met my brother and sister's father here, and had them. Yeah. And for me, the turning point was, because I never really felt like I fitted in (3s). I felt like everything was more for [sister's name]'***. Mark's lowered tone and body language (e.g. minimal eye contact) conveyed sadness; suggesting feelings of loss and abandonment that his mother's life had moved on without him. This perhaps challenged his prior perception of his mother, symbolising displacement, due to the lack of attention. His story helped to illustrate the evolving perception of the self and others; which is shaped by wider contexts, highlighting the tension that serial migration put on family cohesion between left-behind CoWG, their new siblings and parents, creating feelings of resentment (Phoenix & Bauer, 2012). Mark then storied the psychological consequences of this shift in familial context: '***there wasn't that much time between me arriving and my sister being born (.) so straight away, don't forget, I'm 7, so I'm having to do my own little thing***.' His interactional style drew me in to his narrative, which emphasised the need to cope independently from a young age (Phoenix, 2011).

Mark later constructed another 'big' story using thick descriptions to convey his identity as '***unruly***': '***I used to see all these guys hanging around outside […] flashing money, like always had big rolls of money and my mom, and let's say, my father, who brought me up, they were working really, really <u>hard</u> and they were getting hardly any money, and I used to see all this money just floating around, so I gravitated towards that kind of lifestyle, rather than the lifestyle that my mother wanted, which was like, go to school, get an education, go to college, go to university, etc. (3s) I didn't do that (.) cut a long story short, got into trouble with the law, ended up doing Borstal [then] I got 18 months in jail***.' Mark's descriptions highlighted the tension between his mother's wishes which emulated wider societal discourses of the 'good citizen' (Foucault, 1982), versus his attraction to a life of criminality, driven by systemic injustice, poverty and oppression in British society. Foucault (1982) posits that social constructions of 'good citizens' actively participate in society and take responsibility for their own wellbeing. These discourses are then disseminated through policies, which shapes societal behaviours. Furthermore, as highlighted by Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech (1968), wider societal discourses of the WG being 'bad' citizens at the time, may have contributed to Mark's self-perception in Britain; thus, further shaping his decision-making. From a CRT lens, this highlights the importance of considering social-cultural contexts and intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) to understand what shapes left-behind CoWG.

Mark shared further stories of his perception of himself in his world (i.e., Barbados and England), as he storied his self-worth: '***very few of us had anything in the Caribbean (2s) now, when I say that, I'm saying most of our police, the government and all those, were of a lighter-skinned person […]so we were just seeing ourselves as labourers again. You know, we're not seeing no black scientists, not seeing no black mathematicians (3s) So it's difficult,***

then, for us as people to elevate ourselves'. Mark spoke to the wider contexts of the class system in Barbados (which is prevalent across the Caribbean; Encyclopaedia of Race and Racism., n.d.); linking to colonialism, inherited from slavery. From a CRT view, his descriptions highlighted the power of systems of Whiteness; in that, the closer you are socially racialised to having White skin, the more 'superior' you are, denoting access to more privilege and self-worth in society (DiAngelo, 2018).

He then conveyed the continuation of these societal systems in Britain: '***I went to the second highest, best school in Barbados [and] I realize now, that I was never a dummy, but when I came here, they put me with the rest of the black guys and girls at the back of the class. They didn't care how clever we were, how well we could read, because we didn't read 'English' and speak 'English' {gestures}, because don't forget I'm coming from Barbados, I got raw Bajan accent (.) "Oh, no, no, no, we don't understand you, you get to the back", you know what I mean. (2s) So I used to play the fool at the back of the class […] I was a joker in the class […]'***. Mark's direct tone conveyed a sense of frustration and injustice. Mark's story illustrated his sense of inferiority and low self-worth, as he storied constructions of seeing himself as '***nothing***', which may have perpetuated his behavioural choices of '***playing the fool***.'

Conversely, Mark presented a turning point in the narrative, where he storied moments of opportunity, following having children and moving between various jobs: "***[My colleague] said,*** "***Well, why don't you go and study?" I said, "Me" I said, "listen…", I told him a little bit of my life, so he said, "well, 'why do you put a CV together?" […] So I came home that night and I said to [my partner], "listen, I'm going to go university' and they all rolled around laughing, everyone laughed***. ***So I went and I applied to go uni***." Mark's active-voicing,

helped to bring the story alive in the present; potentially emphasising the life-changing impact of challenging the previous versions of his identity. Thus, the laughter from others may be reflective of their assumptions of his capability based on his past, illustrating how social contexts may shape individual realities. This story then, served as a precursor to many others, showcased by Mark's evolving self-perception through achieving a degree and a later television career: '***I always thought I was thick (2s) when I was young, you know, and I thought (3s) if I can do a degree when I'm 52, I know, I could have done that degree when I was 22 or 23, I <u>know</u> I could have done it'***. The repetition and emphasis of '***I know***' conveyed Mark's affirmations of his capabilities, which may have challenged previous beliefs about himself. Thus, his achievements served as a counter-narrative to problematic societal discourses of Black-Caribbean people being seen as lazy (Lane et al., 2020) and ideas around 'bad' citizens (Foucault, 1982).

Throughout his narrative, Mark storied independence and resilience, which seemed to help him to get through the tough moments of his life. Similar to Justin, he shared a 'big' story of psychological challenge towards the end of his narrative: '***I've never had like depression, if I have then I've not known about it, and I've gone through it without knowing'*** and that if he needed help he would '***just get on with it***'. His story highlighted the need to develop perseverance and resilience, as a way to adapt to challenging life circumstances (Arnold, 2006). However, I also wondered whether there was any potential shame that encompassed his experiences, as he subsequently shared: ***'when me mom died, it just rocked my world (4s). My world just stood still for about 3 months (3s). I went into a place where I started doing drugs. (4s) Everyone knows, my children know […] it was like walking over broken glass in bare feet when my mom died […] And I thought, you know, if I'm gonna do it, I'm gonna do it this way'.*** Performatively, the frequent pauses in Mark's story

communicated that this was difficult for him to share with me, as he conveyed a sense of deep sadness. His contemplative tone with an indirect gaze, paired with his vivid imagery and metaphors, illustrated the pain from his experiences of loss. Mark's earlier story of never having '***depression***' made me curious about the broader socio-cultural narratives surrounding mental health diagnoses among Black-Caribbean people; especially considering the historical context of colonialism and clinical psychology in the enslavement of Black-Caribbean people (section 1.3.1.1; Fernando, 2017). Despite this, he ended his narrative by highlighting the need to cope with his life independently as ***'I am so used to doing everything myself. And I think that all stems from when I first came here on my own […] I see that as my blueprint for life, being like a loner'.*** His ending brought his story full circle, returning to his early stories of separation and reunification, and the challenges of navigating an oppressive and unaccepting world independently.

4.2.4 Grace

Table 18: Grace's context

Participant	Grace
Country of birth (pre-migration)	Jamaica
Age parents migrated	7y
Who were they left with?	Mother's best friend
Left alone or with siblings?	Alone
How did they travel over?	Aeroplane - alone
Age participant migrated to the UK	8y
Geographical location settled (post-migration).	Nottingham
Interview style:	Grace was bubbly in her personality, and often chuckled throughout her story. She presented her stories episodically and non-linearly, related to: her father passing away, separation and reunification with her mother and becoming pregnant. She also

	expressed curiosity about my research topic, leading me to wonder if she had recognised my outsider identity and my capacity to understand her story.
Overall narrative:	Grace storied herself as 'brave' many times throughout her narrative of serial migration.
Sub-narratives:	Grace presented sub-narratives of: (1) 'Having a stiff upper lip' (2) Keeping a strong faith (3) Using silence.

Grace began her narrative with a 'big' pre-migration story of challenge, detailing her father's passing when she was eight years old: '***that was devastating for me, cause I was really close to him. And it took me a good while to kind of, get over it. And even when I came to England, you know, a couple of years later, I would still cry (4s) I stopped crying when I dreamt that an angel came to me and said, "I've got to stop crying now". Otherwise they'll take me away from my mom {laughter} […] I stopped crying straight away, you know {laughter}. Yeah, I didn't cry anymore.***' Storying her father's passing as the first event in her narrative highlighted its significance in her life, perhaps speaking to her first experience of loss from a young age. Although she depicted this story jovially and often used laughter, I wondered whether as a child, this would have been a devastating, confusing and scary experience for her and subsequently, was a strategy to appear brave.

She shared a story using thick descriptions of his passing: '***I went straight into the room where my dad was, he said "sit down*** **[Grace]** ***and take the Bible", and I read quite well at that age and he said, "read me the 23rd Psalm" and I did, and then he died (3s). And I just knew that was his last breath, even at that age.'*** The instructional tone and active-voicing relayed the importance of Grace's father's words, and the significance of religion in her upbringing. It also conveyed the maturity in her understanding of what was happening. Grace also storied strategies to cope with his passing: '***I have always had a strong faith and belief in God [that] I would be cared for and looked after***'. Her story highlights her belief

that, regardless of the circumstances, God would provide protection and care for her. This belief reflects the broader context of spirituality and religiosity, which is a prevalent coping mechanism among Black-Caribbean people (Sutherland, 2011), offering a sense of comfort, strength, and security. Spirituality and religiosity among Black-Caribbean people have roots in their African ancestry and were later influenced by European Christianity, which missionaries promoted to freed slaves (Chatfield, 1989; Loewenthal & Cinnirella, 2019). Thus, Grace's story illustrates her way of coping with psychological challenges and her ability to '***get over it***.'

Grace shared further pre-migration stories, where she set the scene of the poor economic conditions in Jamaica: '***we went to Kingston and I remember walking around with her while she was looking for jobs***', highlighting parents' challenge of balancing childcare and providing for the family, especially given that '***we didn't have family in that area***'. Thus, emphasising the adaptive context behind child-shifting and kinship practices (Thomas-Hope, 2002). Grace storied her perceptions of her mother's psychological challenges: '***I just think she was really depressed when I look back on things* […] *she just used to sometimes go to work come back, and she would just sit like this {gestures hand on chin and staring} all evening. She never went out***.' Her reflective tone and use of gesture brought her story to life, communicating the struggles her mother was facing and resilience to keep going, while also alluding to economic factors that would have motivated her mother's move to England (Reading Museum, 2024).

These stories set a precedence for other forms of coping through silence: '***my mum wasn't a great talker, but I had this innate feeling, that we just have this secret feeling between us, so it's like she knew what I was feeling, and I knew what she was feeling […]***

we didn't really talk about it'. Grace conveyed the implicit sense of struggle that came from her mother's grief and depression, without outwardly admitting to it. The word '***secret***' indicated that this struggle was unspoken, perhaps reflecting broader narratives of externally demonstrating strength. Research has shown that Black women have typically valued the 'strong black woman' construct positively, as a source of encouragement to overcome and protect oneself from adversity (Edge & Rogers, 2005). This construct likely has historical roots in adapting to the inhumane treatment of slavery (Graham & Clarke, 2021). Thus, the use of silence may have functioned to protect oneself from the stigma of 'not coping', preserving an appearance of strength and resilience (Watson & Hunter, 2016) and may have shaped Grace's constructions of her identity.

Following Grace's father's death, Grace storied surrogate-care experiences following her mother's remarriage and migration to England for employment opportunities. She storied living with her mother's best friend: ***'[name] was just (2s) a very <u>strong</u> woman, no messing […] from her I learned what was unconditional love [and] every time I think about that I feel, you know, emotional, because my mother chose so well […] [name] continued what my mom was teaching me, like life skills'.*** Grace recounted her story with a reflective tone and a beaming facial expression, which conveyed her gratitude for her surrogate care; demonstrating the benefit of kinship in the Caribbean (Chamberlain, 2004). Interestingly, Grace attributed '***unconditional love***' to the teaching of '***life skills***'. This may challenge the Eurocentric ideals of attachment (Bowlby, 1969), which emphasise a 'secure' environment, where mothers were able to respond to their children with affection, emotional support and comfort. Given the historical context of slavery and the subsequent harsh conditions, Black-Caribbean parents were likely constrained in how they could express 'love'; especially as their families could be separated at any point (Pargas, 2009). Thus, instead of displays of physical

affection and positive affirmation that may fit a more Eurocentric framework, love was demonstrated by preparing Caribbean children to survive in a brutal world. From a CRT perspective, this underscores the importance of these broader contexts in shaping Grace's resilience and ability to cope with oppressive systems.

Grace storied further stories of economic challenge, as her mother was not able to send for her as planned: '***the pardner[9] money that brought [Mum's husband] up was supposed to be for me. So I had to wait another six months to join them {chuckle}, until Mommy got another pardner draw […] [I was] disappointed, yes, because I wanna see my mom (4s), but not terribly upset, because I was always a stiff upper lip type of child {laughter} (4s) Well, when I look back now, I suppose (3s) Brave {chuckle}'.*** Her stories of being '***brave***' were performed through her joviality and amusement, which made me wonder if this was a way to conceal her disappointment at the situation. It underscored the systemic injustices faced by Black-Caribbean people in Britain, which impeded their ability to establish the money and resource needed to bring left-behind CoWG over; increasing the length of time of separation. Additionally, the 'pardner' system highlighted the resourcefulness of marginalised communities in developing adaptive strategies, without having to rely on institutions to support them; having important implications for how Black-Caribbean seek-help.

Upon migrating, Grace storied positive reunification experiences with her mother: '***I couldn't wait any longer and I just shot out into my mom's arms. It was lovely***' and in moving

[9] As many of the WG were denied the ability to apply for banking and loans in Britain (which impacted their ability to get a mortgage), 'pardner' arose as an informal and community based money saving system, where money is pooled from several people over several weeks or months. At regular intervals, one person then receives a pay-out of the full amount.

to Nottingham: '***where all the shops were not far […] and ↑there was a library across the road [and] I learned about fish and chips {chuckle}***'. Her uplifted tone illustrated her excitement at her experiences of reunification, new opportunities and cultural integration. She also told some positive stories of school, where she gravitated to other Black children in her class: '***there was only one other black child in that school***'. Perhaps, indicating a need to connect and foster a community with those with a shared cultural identity. This support became particularly useful given stories of racism at school: '***where the boys especially used to keep calling us [racial slur], and you know, tease us and run away'***; highlighting the notion of 'sticking together', as a form of psychological coping to navigate oppression (Taylor, 2017).

Similar to other left-behind CoWG, following leaving school and beginning a career in nursing, she shared a 'big' story of becoming pregnant at the end of her narrative: '***well, I left a big chunk out because I ~ , I got pregnant (4s), I got pregnant at 17 (3s), and ↓ I felt my whole world finished […] I didn't really want to keep this child […] I used to hide the fact I had a child'***. The pauses, changes in intonation, unfinished sentence and repetition performed a sense of the emotional weight and shame that came from Grace's experiences. I was curious about the delay in sharing this story about herself until prompted at the very last minute, and how prior coping and braveness were potentially being performed. I also wondered how Grace's wider contexts of religion may have influenced her view of herself; especially due to being unmarried and having a child; which may have increased her feelings of shame and fear of stigmatisation and ostracism from the community. This could have had significant implications, given that social support was a crucial way for Black-Caribbean people coped with the difficulties of migration (Taylor, 2017). Grace concluded her narrative by repeating that ***'I wasn't sure whether I was gonna tell you about that bit of it, you know, but it's part of the story, the journey'***, which further illustrated her braveness, but also, the

power of storytelling in challenging dominant societal narratives (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), fostering acceptance.

4.2.5 John

Table 19: John's context

Participant	John
Country of birth (pre-migration)	Guyana
Age parents migrated	5y
Who were they left with?	Grandmother, aunts and uncles
Left alone or with siblings?	With siblings
How did they travel over?	Firstly, travelled by aeroplane to Trinidad, and then caught a ship for 3.5 weeks with siblings.
Age participant migrated to the UK	8y
Geographical location settled (post-migration).	London
Interview style:	John storied his narrative of serial migration through sharing his upbringing in the Caribbean, living with surrogate-carers, adjusting to school, and finding ways to connect with his identity. He spoke in an assertive and educative tone throughout his narrative with lots of repetition, potentially used as a strategy to underline the importance of his narrative in shaping his identity. His narrative was non-linear.
Overall narrative:	John storied an overall narrative of White oppression and being put down.
Sub-narratives:	John's sub-narratives were: (1) Being grounded in contexts, (2) Being resourceful, (3) Staying connected, (4) Fighting back and (5) Spirituality.

John began his narrative by stressing that his identity is rooted in a historical and social context: '***I could not give you my story without bringing in other people and how they impacted me* [...] *it is very important for anyone studying us to understand the [historical and social] layout, because without understanding that layout, you can't understand our behaviour. Our behaviour is dependent on what happened***'. John storied his lineage using thick descriptions and an assertive tone, for example, outlining that '***my grandmother was***

very strict and, she brought up my father in a very strict manner in a Brethren Church[10]', and that meant that John was also brought up in this way. He storied being resourceful and disciplined: '***by the time we were 5, we were delivering milk in the area […] feeding the chickens, collecting the eggs and STILL get to school on time***'. John's story highlighted that these responsibilities were part of his daily routine, which may reflect cultural expectations for Black-Caribbean individuals to be '***self-sufficient***' from a young age—a point he emphasized repeatedly.

He storied the importance of intergenerational storytelling, to ground one's identity, which he illustrated through his thick descriptions of Guyana: '***moonlight night is when the moon is at its fullest in the month, when it brightens up the night till about 8'clock (2s). That is the night when your grandmother would sit you on the stairs […] your grandmother will sit on the chair, and she will start to tell you the family stories. She is the historian (3s) She is the teacher (.) In our way of life, it's the village that brings the child up, not just the parent. We only had that when we came to England***'. This illustrated the broader contexts that have contributed to John's understanding of himself and the importance of the collective responsibility of raising a child, which he stressed, ' ***it takes a village to raise a child***'. Retrospectively, I wondered if this may have conveyed the psychological consequences of loss and grief of his social network upon migrating to England (Taylor, 2017); thus, impacting his sense of himself.

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[10] The Church of the Brethren focuses primarily on a commitment to follow Christ with simple obedience, striving to be faithful disciples in today's world, rather than adhering to a specific creed (Church of the Brethren, 2024).

John storied separation from his father, which I sensed was sudden to him '***my dad left first […] in 8 months (3s) he left (2s). It was a bit traumatic for me, because I never live without my father [..] once you had got your 'okay' to leave, you had to leave. You didn't have time.***' John's descriptions and pauses, helped to demonstrate the intensity and abruptness with which his father left the Caribbean to come to England, which may have highlighted the need to psychologically adapt under these pressured circumstances, especially because '***I never lived without my father***'; demonstrating the significance the Windrush migration had in Black-Caribbean people's lives. John indirectly shared the psychological consequences of parental separation through a story of loss: '***(1st) as much as we love our dear aunts and cousins, that is <u>not</u> who we want to bring us up (2s), we want our mothers and father to bring us up (2s) and if we come and find an uneven situation*** **[…]** ***or we have missed out [in the UK], (3rd) the children became angry children […] and there are a lot of children walking the street who hold this anger inside, and no one has asked them why'***. John's direct tone emphasised the crucial role of parental and family structures (Chamberlain, 2004), which he believed were weakened with parental migration to England. From a CRT perspective, this may also illustrate the concept of 'interest convergence' (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). The invitation to the WG to help to rebuild Britain, arguably, may have benefited British society more than the WG, who faced the turmoil of family separation and oppressive conditions; leading to feelings of anger. Additionally, the change from first to third person narration created some ambiguity regarding whether he was expressing personal feelings, or speaking on behalf of other left-behind CoWG. I wondered whether his ambiguity might have functioned to suppress his own anger, as it blurred the line between personal emotions and a collective experience; enabling his emotions to remain concealed or controlled. This is particularly relevant for social constructions of Black men being seen as

aggressive and dangerous (Trawalter et al., 2008), which can lead to more harsh and denigrating treatments by institutions and may point to the social disparities which are prevalent in UK society today (Nazroo et al., 2020).

John shared small stories of surrogate care: ***'there was no bed. We slept on the floor, you know, sheets on the floor. I was comfortable {laugh} I wasn't bothered'***; highlighting John and other CoWG's ability to be resourceful and cope with limited conditions (Arnold, 2006). These coping skills were further compounded through his stories of travelling to Britain: '***this was the first time that we were speaking to people outside of our own islands, some of us had never met anyone from outside of the island. So we found the first week a bit difficult. The only thing that brought us together was because the food was bad […] but then some Trinidadians and Jamaicans got in the kitchen and started producing and cooking the food (.) it was the only way we could have survived***.' John's description of his migration journey helped to illustrate how novel the experience of travelling was for left-behind CoWG and the resourcefulness Black-Caribbean people in adapting to difficult situations. It also highlighted a form of resistance, leading to a sense of community and solidarity, which was crucial for their survival. His story felt reminiscent of the historical context of slavery, whereby the kinship network was utilised as a resource by the enslaved to avoid punishment, cooperate with each other and retain self-esteem (Longman-Mills et al., 1999).

This was then repeated, when he eventually migrated to Britain and storied the challenges of settling in a country where you are actively minoritised: **'(2nd)** ***if you were unfortunate to go live in an area with white people and there are no black people, that's a psychological problem (3s) you're a lonely child and you start to hit out, because you've got no friends and then you start to be, not you (3s), because you can't be white (3s) you'd be***

told you're not white every 5 minutes'. John outlined the psychological consequences of serial migration, alluding to feelings of isolation. Again, by sharing his story in the second-person, he made it difficult to discern whether he was describing his own feelings. However, using '***you***' had a persuasive effect (Riessman, 2008), by drawing me in as his audience, enabling me to immerse myself in his story. This approach fostered my empathy and understanding, which I acknowledged and affirmed.

Upon moving to Britain, John storied his sense of powerlessness due to the interpersonal racism he experienced: '***people would run their hands down your hair because they never feel woolly hair yet (3s) "oh, what a funny hair". This was something that Black children had to put up with […] coming in your space and running their hands through your hair […] IT HAPPENED TO ALL OF US! If we did it vice versa, we'd be charged for assault'***. John's frustrated tone and change of intonation, portrayed the struggles of living in a society where you were objectified and othered on the basis of race (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). His reference to '***all of us'*** spoke to the commonality of racism for many Black-Caribbean people (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998) in Britain. He spoke to the unequal power-dynamics of British society in devaluing CoWG: '***they thought we came here to be developed. We were more developed than they were […] they could never understood how a person could be a teacher in the Caribbean and then serving cups of tea in in a hospital in Britain***.' John's use of '***we***' and '***they***' spoke to a wider audience of Black-Caribbean people and White-British society. It reflected systems of Whiteness in society, in positioning White culture, norms and values as normative; leading to all others as inferior or less valued (ACLRC, 2024).

He later presented a 'big' story of racism through being failed by the schooling system: '***it was the most (3s) negative experience in my whole life[…] I entered secondary school as***

an 'A' student, and left secondary school as a 'C' student. For me, it was traumatic (3s) it impacted my whole life and how I lived my life [4s] it impacted my children and it impacted my grandchildren, because [3s] I knew the system failed me and I was determined the system would never fail anyone that called me father or grandfather (.) the teachers and me couldn't get on (.) the students and me couldn't get on. I mean within two weeks, a kid said to me, "my parents don't like [racial slur]". They were very bold and open. I didn't stop fighting in that school […] I had to 'man up' and deal with it myself'. The beginning of John's story set the scene of the psychological consequences of school in shaping John's identity; speaking to significance of reminiscence in older-age (Munawar et al., 2018). His emphasis of words and direct tone stressed the pervasiveness of racial hostility shown interpersonally and institutionally towards him, illustrating its embedded nature (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998), which also shaped his educational and generational outcomes; thus, highlighting how race-based stress can transcend time and context (Fleming et al., 2012). His story also demonstrated broader contexts of intersectionality linked to masculinity, which portray that men should be strong, self-reliant and avoid emotions, which may have had implications on help-seeking (Staiger et al., 2020). John did not share any stories of asking for help.

John ended his narrative by repeatedly emphasising the influence of spirituality on the construction of identity among Black-Caribbean people. He storied spiritual rituals from his childhood '***when we boys are 5/6, we have a spiritual bath. A spiritual bath is a preparation of you spiritually, we do not eat, we fast for the day, and [our grandmother] would get what we call a protection ring made out of gold […] that ring would be made big enough to take you to 21***'. Through his educative tone, John highlighted the cultural practices integral to his upbringing, which emphasised spirituality as a fundamental belief system in Black-Caribbean people. His narrative outlined the significance of collective cultural practices in nurturing

children and safeguarding their physical and psychological wellbeing (Hickling & James, 2008). Additionally, he storied frustration towards Eurocentric medical institutions for overlooking spiritual contexts for Black-Caribbean people: ‘***if you don't understand our spirituality, you cannot understand us (.) that's why the institutions are full with us, getting a white medicine, nothing against my white brothers and sisters, but you can't fix us. And I'm glad that you're doing this [research]. They are using a white psychology on the black brain. [...] you can't cure anything unless you know what is WRONG […] until they come and ask us to find out, who are we?***’. From a CRT perspective, John’s narrative challenges dominant Eurocentric understandings of psychological coping, advocating for a more inclusive approach that respects and integrates diverse cultural beliefs and practices. It may also speak to wider psychological consequences of privileging Eurocentric belief systems, which again, is reminiscent of the historical contexts of slavery, whereby cultural and spiritual practices were often deemed illegal by colonisers (Sutherland, 2011).

4.2.6 Linda

Table 20: Linda’s context

Participant	Linda
Country of birth (pre-migration)	Jamaica
Age parents migrated	3y
Who were they left with?	Grandmother
Left alone or with siblings?	With siblings – 2 older brothers
How did they travel over?	Ship for 6 weeks – with mother (who came back for her) and 2 older brothers
Age participant migrated to the UK	7y
Geographical location settled (post-migration).	Northampton
Interview style:	Linda shared stories of her childhood in Jamaica, the transition to her new family in England, and the challenges she faced in school, employment and in her relationships. She constructed her narrative of

	serial migration articulately and confidently. By weaving together stories from her past and present, her siblings' experiences and her children's upbringing, she created a multi-layered understanding of her life; thus, her stories were told non-linearly.
Overall narrative:	Linda framed her experiences as a journey of survival.
Sub-narratives:	The following sub-narratives were highlighted: (1) Surviving, (2) Being independent, (3) Being strong, (4) Being seen and (5) Reflecting and learning.

Linda began by storying a chaos narrative[11] about her early childhood, where she first learned to '***survive [and] be self-sufficient'***, which was evidenced through various stories she told of living with her grandmother and two older brothers. She storied that: ***'I can't even remember going to the airport and saying goodbye to my mum [and] ↑ I <u>cannot</u> even imagine leaving my 3 small children to go somewhere, even if it was for a better life […]In the morning we had to get up because my grandmother was working in a cigar factory, I mean, in Jamaica it gets dark by 6'oclock and light first thing in the morning [and] I can't remember how we knew to leave the house for school, but we just <u>knew</u> […] and I'd go shopping in Kingston on my <u>own</u> and be left <u>at home</u> in the <u>dark</u>'.*** Linda spoke quickly and moved between various topics, underscoring her words. This helped to perform a mixture of feelings of confusion, disbelief, frustration, sadness, loss and resilience, in relation to being left by her parents. Her 'small' stories reflected the cumulative challenges that left-behind CoWG faced, and the pressing need to adapt due to the consequences of separation from a young age (Arnold, 2006). Furthermore, it reflects the broader contexts of economic strain,

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[11] A 'chaos' narrative refers to endless turmoil the plot (Frank, 1995).

impacting parents and surrogate-carers of the WG, in being physically present for their children, leading to the development of self-reliance (Rubenstein, 1987).

Linda highlighted that her early experiences have been essential in preparing her to be independent throughout her life experiences: ***'I left home [England] from really young [and even now] I would think nothing of going out to the theatre, or cinema, or travelling alone, and everyone says "how'd you do that?" […] [I even said] to my partner, the most important thing is, you're here because I want you to be here, but not because I need you to be here. And I think that's been like my thing (2s) you've just got to learn to depend on yourself (2s) that's what I learned as a kid (2s) if you're going to survive […] when we came to England, it was not easy.'*** Using her later-life experiences as an older-adult to contrast to her early life experiences, helped to convey a sense of continuity in her independence. Her assertive tone performed her perseverance in facing her experiences head-on and alone, which arguably, left little room to think about her emotions and helped to facilitate survival (Arnold, 2006). Thus, this way of coping may have helped her to manage the psychological consequences of serial migration; especially in navigating oppressive British conditions that were not '***easy***'. However, her descriptions also presented a parallel narrative of her independence and perseverance, in other's perceptions of her '***not needing people'***. Although Linda was storying the difficulties she has faced in her romantic relationships, her self-reliance and distrust in others may also have wider connotations for not engaging with psychological services (Keating et al., 2002).

Additionally, Linda storied herself as '***emotionally strong'***, which was implicit through her accounts of surrogate-care. She shared thick descriptions of being left unsupervised, which exposed her to traumatic events (Pottinger, 2005), such as a witnessing '***a murder […]***

a suicide […] and a kid drowning'. The list-like features of her description and matter-of-fact tone presented by her stories, helped to convey the commonplaceness of these events that '***become your norm***'. It performed a need to adapt and find ways to cope which she emphasised that '***all that time** **we were just fending for ourselves'***. She also shared other stories of having to be emotionally strong: '***I burnt my stomach [on a lamp] and because I was living with my grandmother (.) you just DID NOT tell her! I think that's the sort of thing that must have carried on from slavery […] I think that they were treated harshly as well (.) there was no love and compassion [so] if you're emotionally strong, then you can actually confront and challenge situation.***' Being able to manage difficult emotions may have helped Linda to remain '***emotionally strong'*** from a young age; emphasised by her high intonation and assertive words. Her reflections pointed to intergenerational trauma, where she speculated that due to the harsh realities faced by her enslaved ancestors, it forced her and other Black-Caribbean people to suppress their emotions (Hickling, 2007); particularly because expressing vulnerability often led to punishment (Murdoch, 2009). Consequently, not asking for help and coping independently, could be viewed as psychological adaptations for surviving oppressive systems.

Linda storied the treacherous journey to England: '***I was so seasick, because we're at the poorest part of the ship as well, so you're even SICKER down there […] that was a 6 weeks long journey. My eldest brother didn't want to come anyway, whereas my other brother and I just thought "okay, this is where we're going, and got on with it". It's also the first time we've actually been around white people and until then, we never had mixed with anybody white'***. Linda's long journey over to England is likely to have been an experience that was new and uncertain. Her links to her family being at the '***poorest part of the ship'*** may also highlight how marginalised communities often have to endure harsher conditions, due to the

systemic socio-economic disparities (Gee & Ford, 2011). This context subsequently perpetuated the need to persevere and '***get on with it***'. Furthermore, encountering White people for the first time, may have been a pivotal shift in her social reality; potentially signalling the onset of navigating a new world with different racial dynamics; prompting a shift in identity.

Travelling over also marked further stories of challenge for Linda. She storied her experiences of being picked up from the dock by her father and uncle for the first time, travelling over in a '***tiny little car like that {gestures a small car}***' and driving over from '***Southampton to Northampton, and the motorway wasn't like it is now'***. Her vivid descriptions helped to paint a picture of the tough and exhausting conditions that were endured. I wondered if she perceived me as a younger audience in comparison to herself; thus, needed to provide further context for my understanding.

Linda shared stories that spoke to continued narratives of economic challenge, upon their arrival to a cramped house, which they shared with their uncle, aunt and their three children. Her story pointed to feelings of tension for reunifying with her parents: '***it was CARNAGE (2s) CARNAGE! we were poor, we were really poor.. my mom could only afford like 2 pork chops, and you'd just have a lot of gravy and veg […] I just thought I never, ever wanna be ~, if there's no food in my house now (2s), it is because I can't be bothered to go shopping and I'd work 10 jobs just to make sure that we have food and we have a holiday now'***. The stories highlighted the economic struggles that migrating to Britain put on WG families, due to the low paid jobs that parents were given and poor housing conditions (The King's Fund, 2023). It illustrated how Linda's intersectionality, pertaining to race and class, potentially influenced behaviours such as working hard and taking charge, to improve her

quality of life. Again, suggesting the need to push through adversity and find ways to survive (Hickling, 2008). This was further exemplified in Linda's perception that her parents had '***absolutely <u>no</u> interest in our education […] they never checked your homework'***. I sensed a build-up of anger and frustration that Linda likely harboured towards her mother, which may have made family integration more difficult and further reinforced her self-reliance. Considering an attachment perspective (Bowlby, 1969), this perceived frustration may be seen as a psychological consequence of parents not responding to the needs of their children, which may increase the likelihood of parent-blaming (particularly of mothers) often seen in society (Mulkeen, 2012), leading to further frustration. Conversely, adopting a CRT perspective, instead, may understand this as a psychological consequence of broader socio-economic challenges, limiting parent's capacity to support their children; thus why '***my mom also expected a lot from us***.' Thus, CRT shifts the focus from individual pathology to a broader contextual understanding.

Linda summarised her narrative with a reflection of ***'taking responsibilities for your journey [and] looking at how you would like to live your life***'. She performed the need to reflect and learn from your experiences, which perhaps, is symbolic of her older-adult stage of life, which can be a reflective time (Munawar et al., 2018). She storied that her ambition and drive helped her to manage racism at school, and later, in her places of work: ***'part of your survival is, you have to learn that you have to <u>stand up</u> and be seen really, and also the other thing, when you're different, you have to walk into a space and <u>OWN</u> the space, you don't walk in there and think, "Oh, thank you for inviting me", you have to walk into a space and <u>own that space</u>. And I think that's how you have to live, I mean*** *(.)* ***I went to live and work in Jersey*** *(.)* ***and I remember there was a stage when I was the only black person on the <u>entire</u> island'.*** Linda's assertive tone, use of repetition and active voicing, conveyed

the psychological coping skills of having to be assertive and empower oneself; encouraging resilience and self-reliance. It also seemed to serve as guidance for a broader audience of Black-Caribbean communities, in navigating psychological challenges such as feelings of inferiority and low self-worth in relation to oppressive systems (Williams, 2018).

4.2.7 Guybo

Table 21: Guybo’s context

Participant	Guybo
Country of birth (pre-migration)	Guyana
Age parents migrated	11y
Who were they left with?	Grandmother
Left alone or with siblings?	With siblings – brother and sister
How did they travel over?	Aeroplane – with siblings
Age participant migrated to the UK	13y
Geographical location settled (post-migration).	London
Interview style:	Guybo’s narrative encompassed experiences of serial migration through a circular narrative by: understanding the early contexts that shaped his identity, moving away from his identity due to systems in Guyana and Britain, and then attempting to reconnect. Guybo storied his narrative using long turns of talk, which conveyed his feelings of confusion, sadness, anxiety and frustration, which I felt was being ‘actively processed’ during our interview. He depicted a close relationship with his siblings, thus, often oscillated between his own and his siblings’ stories through the use of ‘I’ and ‘we’.
Overall narrative:	He told an overall narrative of conflict.
Sub-narratives:	The following sub-narratives were presented: (1) Being tough, (2) Having to assimilate, (3) Feeling lost (4) Learning from silence.

Guybo began his narrative by storying that ‘***growing up in the Caribbean was what made me, my brother and sister the people we are today [and] it really was a tough upbringing (2s) very tough***’. The underscoring of ‘**tough**’ set the premise of his narrative,

which was one of conflict and struggle. He shared stories of ‘***trauma***’ linked to his experiences of parental separation, and shared a narrative that I felt was idyllic and almost ‘fairy-tale-like’ in form, that was disrupted (Riessman, 2008): ‘***It was, mum and Dad~ (2s), we've got really early memories of living in this little house […] and I think it was great. I remember, you know, us being happy because mum was there, dad was there. They were both working, you know, things like early family life, together with my brother and sister and our dog. And then (2s) all of a sudden, it was just literally ripped apart. ↓ We've got pictures of mum having pictures taken before she left to come to England […] [then Dad] left and joined mum in England […] So then, we were put in the care of our grandparents, aunties, uncles […] (3s) The sort of abuse we would get daily (3s) and it just led on from there really but yeah, experiencing violence at a young age, not so much to us, but you know, what was going on around us’.*** Guybo told a chronological story, starting with a nostalgic tone, which helped to convey feeling loved and valued by his parents. This shifted to a sombre tone, perhaps reflecting the challenge to his self-perception, caused by his parent’s migration and the subsequent violence he witnessed under surrogate care; creating a sense of unsafeness. His story’s structure illustrated how parental migration, shaped by Britain’s colonial power over the Caribbean (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998), constructed the social realities that created tension and psychological strain on left-behind CoWG.

Living with his extended family also exposed Guybo to multiple challenges regarding his racial identity: ***‘our parents had left [and] we were open to abuse from our family given that, we were mixed-race anyway, my mother married outside of her religion […] so we were the black sheep of the family […] we were made to do things that the other kids wouldn't do, or couldn't do, or didn't do and I guess it was down to our status then, and the fact that, you know, we were mixed with black and that's what our punishment was […] but***

looking back, it made you a lot stronger'. Guybo's narrative conveyed an early awareness of being socially constructed as 'Black', leading to feelings of low-worth, inferiority and harsh treatment (Williams, 2018). However, his retrospective view of becoming '***stronger***' highlighted the concept of 'post-traumatic growth', or positive psychological growth resulting from trauma (Tedeschi et al., 2018), helping him to reconcile how others perceived him. His reflection may also be indicative of the wisdom gained in older-adulthood from these experiences; thus, demonstrating how our identity fluctuates through time (Mishler, 2004).

Guybo storied feelings of terror and displacement upon migrating to Britain: ***'[Migration] drove us to be closer, and even on our journey here, we didn't have anybody, we were just put on the plane, with our suitcases. That was that {laughter} goodbye {laughter}. So we were stuck in a whole aeroplane full of people coming to the new world for a new job, for a new life, and just surrounded by adults who we didn't know, and that was terrifying'***. Guybo's thick descriptions helped to outline his feelings, of travelling independently to an unfamiliar context, underscoring the necessity of becoming '***closer***' to cope. Use of humour mixed with serious reflections, illustrated the complex emotional landscape constructed by his experiences, possibly serving as a defence mechanism[12] against the harshness of the situation (McWilliams, 2011).

He also narrated stories of being different and feeling alienated: '***what really stuck out for me was the first day at school (2s) you know, it was absolutely terrifying (3s). I think, probably, that's where my anxieties come from to this day, because you were so anxious***

[12] An internal strategy to avoid experiencing what they believe will be unbearable pain (McWilliams, 2011).

and you had this sensation of a hundred people staring at you {chuckle}, you know that feeling, walking into a hall and then making a speech to hundreds of people that you've never seen in your life and it was that sensation of just walking in and knowing that eyes were bearing down on you (3s). Whatever you did, people would observe, comment, criticize [so I] was watching what they did and tried to follow them, so that you didn't look like the idiot […] and gradually, you end up being more English than Caribbean and you try to fit in with the fashion, you try to fit in with the music, you tried to drop your slang and accents. You've got two heritages to cope with in one country.' It was clear how much these memories still haunted Guybo in the present time, exemplified by his repeated descriptions of how '***terrifying***' Britain was and by his use of analogy, which enhanced my understanding of the shame he experienced. His narrative illustrated the enduring psychological consequences of interpersonal racism and marginalisation, leading to heightened scrutiny (Williams, 2018), and a pressure to conform and assimilate in predominantly White institutions (Nirmala et al., 2014); shaping a new self-perception. His list-like structure of the changes he made to his identity as a result, presented a conflict, conveying a sense of confusion and loss from his Caribbean heritage. Moreover, I wondered about the wider discourse surrounding 'cultural appropriation' and the prevalence of Black-Caribbean cultural elements in British society (e.g. music, language, fashion), often without acknowledgment of their cultural significance (Balanda, 2020). This underscored the reinforcing power-dynamics inherent in systems of Whiteness; as one that punishes, but also takes resources (DiAngelo, 2018).

However, Guybo proceeded to illuminate the psychological consequences of assimilation, including experiences of loss and disconnection, as perceived as an older-adult which encapsulated his frustrations, for example: '***I mean, you've accepted things all your***

life. But gradually, as you grow up, and you realise that your identity was stolen from you and a lot of the younger ones now are realizing that that's not our family name. That's not us. That's not where we came from'. Guybo shared a narrative using long passages of talk, where he seemed to be grappling with his constructions of his identity. It communicated a 'cultural bereavement' defined as "the experience of the uprooted person - or group - resulting from loss of social structures, cultural values and self-identity" (Eisenburch, 1991, p. 674); which can bring about feelings of guilt over abandoning their culture, anxiety and frustration. It also felt reminiscent of being enslaved, which led to many African-Caribbean people being stripped of their identity (Longman-Mills et al., 2019). He storied his attempts to keep his Caribbean identity alive now, and intergenerational responsibility to share stories: '***I mean going to a Caribbean party was just an explosion of senses (2s) You just felt that you belong there (2s). You felt that was you (2s) I'm sure you've experienced it*** *[…]* ***But it's the elders, I s'pose (3s) That's me now, my generation. It's something you have to pass down to your children. "This is how things were. This is how we grew up. This is what was expected of us". And if you lose that culture, that way of life [you become] lost in the wilderness*** *[…]* ***and separated from our identity***.' Guybo's short pauses, coupled with his efforts to integrate our shared identity into the narrative, underscored the significance of assisting the CoWG in reclaiming their cultural identity; particularly during moments akin to feeling '***lost in the wilderness***' – a metaphor I interpreted as symbolic of mental struggle.

Throughout Guybo's narrative, he storied the presence of silence: '***we just did not, DID NOT talk about things, and, I suppose, as they say, "time heals all wounds", and we just got on with life***'. Similarly, upon witnessing his parents struggle with the oppressive conditions of Britain, he shared that: ***'My mum literally had 2 jobs. She would work nights, and then come home and work during the day. And we would see her, and she'd be sitting***

at a table and fast asleep. And we'd say, "Mum, are you okay?" And she'd literally just jump out of her sleep, because she had not slept from working all night **[…]** ***people just grin and carry on […] that's how it is. Nobody dwells on anything too long. You just get on with life and if you don't, you're frowned on as a weakling, so you just get on with it. You learn to toughen up quick and move on to the next thing, and that's how we viewed it'***. Guybo's narrative demonstrated how silence served as a psychological response to his experiences of serial migration, enabling him and others to distance themselves from traumatic experiences (Wong et al., 2022). Furthermore, silence may have also been a form of resistance, in order to persevere through difficult moments or hold personal agency (Nandy, 1983). However, silence in communities may also inhibit the ability to transmit intergenerational knowledge, hindering subsequent generations' ability to learn from their predecessors' experiences (Blumsom, 2023). Therefore from a CRT perspective, this research holds significance in amplifying left-behind CoWG's voices, should they want to, through storytelling; helping to redistribute power and present opportunities for social justice and social action (Delgado, 1989). Guybo ended his narrative by continuing his wonderings on the significance of his own and other left-behind CoWG's experiences for future generations.

4.2.8 Cheryl

Table 22: Cheryl's context

Participant	Cheryl
Country of birth (pre-migration)	Tobago
Age parents migrated	8 months
Who were they left with?	Grandparents
Left alone or with siblings?	Alone
How did they travel over?	Aeroplane - alone
Age participant migrated to the UK	13y

Geographical location settled (post-migration).	London
Interview style:	Cheryl presented her narrative chronologically, using a reflective tone, exemplified by her recall of dates, ages and details (Riessman, 2008). She storied her experiences of: living in Tobago, abruptly having to move to England, difficulties in integrating into her family home in Britain, navigating relationships and racism.
Overall narrative:	Cheryl storied her experiences of serial migration as an 'outsider' and being alone.
Sub-narratives:	Cheryl's sub-narratives were: (1) The importance of community, (2) Feelings of disorientation and (3) Navigating the culture shock and (4) Silence and turning the other cheek.

Cheryl opened her narrative at a logical beginning, highlighting her idyllic connection to Tobago through vivid descriptions: ' ***Oh, living in the Caribbean. Well, <u>that</u> was beautiful, that was lovely […] we had quite a lot of exposure to natural life […]Because I grew up with all my cousins, and there were like 6 of us at a time living with our grandparents […] it was really quite nice, obviously warm […] I think for me, that's Caribbean life, it's the noises, 6 o'clock in the morning it was light, 6 o'clock in the evening it was dark (3s) it was all very, <u>very</u> definite (2s) and things were <u>safe</u> […] where everybody helped everybody***.' Cheryl's description constructed an image of Tobago as a place of connection, safety and communal support, where her cultural and familial bonds were strong. Her nostalgic tone also conveyed a deep sense of cultural pride and belonging. I wondered whether emphasising her words implied a current reality, in diverging from the idyllic past she recalled. Her description highlighted how the events captured by our autobiographical memory constructs our self-perception and psychological wellbeing, which we demonstrate through storytelling, in relation to time and contexts (Lengen, 2019).

However, the narrative took a dramatic turn, as Cheryl directly contrasted these experiences with a 'big' story of involuntarily being sent to England as '***my grandfather had died and my grandmother was very ill*** **[so]** ***my aunt decided to send me to my mum*** **[but]** ***I had no idea. I was given 2 weeks' notice [and due to] the strike of where the telephone, everything, was on strike [in the 70's], they couldn't communicate. Mum said she got a knock on the door, it was a Sunday afternoon, and she had her rollers in and the police were there […] And she said, "What's my daughter doing at the airport?" And they said, "We don't know" "I don't know how she got to the airport, she only went to Sunday school, what's she doing there?" [thinking it was Cheryl's British-born sibling]. And she said, the police officer said, "Do you have a daughter named [Cheryl]?" And she said "WHAT!". So she had a complete shock, she had no idea I was coming.***' Cheryl shared her story at a fast pace, which highlighted the sense of abruptness and panic from being told she was coming to England. It helped to convey a sudden disruption to her life (Riessman, 2008), which was likely to have interrupted how '***definite***' things once were for her. Furthermore, this also outlined the uniqueness of the experience of serial migration for Cheryl and other left-behind CoWG, given the context in time where technology was not as advanced and communication was restricted; thus, increasing the emotional distance between parents and their children (Olwig, 1999). Furthermore, setting the scene as taking place on a '***Sunday afternoon***' with her mother's hair in '***rollers***', emphasised the normalcy of the day, which intensified the impact of the story, by highlighting how unexpected the whole situation was.

This lack of preparedness then set the precedence for Cheryl having to cope with several '***culture shocks***' after moving to Britain, causing her to feel further disconnection and alienation, for example, '***I had the culture shock of the weather, the culture shock of the people, the culture shock at the airport***'. The repeated use of '***culture shock***' emphasised the

overwhelming, disorientating and confronting nature of Cheryl's experience, potentially suggesting a sudden rupture in her identity and shift in her perspective in how different things were going to be for her.

These '***shocks***' then continued upon meeting her mother and half-siblings, who she perceived as '***strangers'*** (Arnold, 2006; Phoenix & Seu, 2013): '***I mean, I was a stranger to them. They were strangers to me. I was also a stranger to my mother (3s) Yeah. And that ended disastrously***'. Perceiving her new family as '***strangers***' led Cheryl to construct herself as an '***outsider***' and alone, which further compounded disconnection and unfamiliarity. This was similar to the SLR (Arnold, 2006), where surrogate-carers had become Cheryl's parents: '***our grandparents <u>were</u> our parents'***. Thus, there was a sense of detachment and confusion towards her mother and new siblings; particularly, given Cheryl's very young age at the time of parental migration, which is a key contextual factor that affects how serial migration is experienced (Arnold, 2006).

This preceded another dramatic turn in the narrative, where Cheryl depicted a build-up of arguments with her mother, which '***disastrously***' led to her going into foster-care. She recounted a pivotal moment: '***I was 16 at the time and she made one comment to me that made me leave, and I went into foster-care because she said, "well, I don't know why you're here, you might as well get out my life", ↓ and I thought, well, I'll go (4s) and I left (6s)***.' The long pause, active voicing and lowered intonation used in Cheryl's narrative, performed the gravity of the pain and trauma that was still present for her. The delivery of her mother's statement, helped to exemplify how alienated and unwanted she felt at the time, to which has had long-term psychological consequences: ***'well, my mum and I just didn't get on, I mean, we still don't. But we tolerate each other (.) I think she (4s) more respects me than***

loves me, if that makes sense {chuckle}. Because the bonding was never there and I don't think it's something that can be built that easily. And that is a massive struggle, I have with my half-sisters and my step-sister, because they don't get it. They don't get it. And they always think that Mum and I have been awkward, "oh those 2, being awkward with each other" (.) but they don't get that that bonding is something that was never built. But we, mom and I get it […] she never wanted me to be with her. I was sent to her. She never wanted me, she never sent for me. She had the opportunity to send for me many times, and she never did'. Cheryl's thick descriptions conveyed her continued pain, through her underscoring of words, which intensified her story. I wondered whether her chuckle arose as a defence mechanism (McWilliams, 2011), to perhaps protect her from the ongoing battle that she has with her feelings of detachment and lack of bonding with her mother, causing her to continue to feel like an '***outsider***'. Additionally, Cheryl storied the presence of silence in their family: ***my mother is a very strong character […] so, no, you couldn't have that kind of conversation with her***'. Thus, Cheryl's reflections highlighted how she had to come to her own conclusions about being left-behind, as demonstrated by the SLR (Arnold, 2006), which prevented opportunities for reconciliation. Thus, silence had long-term psychological consequences for their relationship, continuing to perpetuate Cheryl's negative self-perceptions as unwanted.

Cheryl also elaborated on self-perceptions as an '***outsider***' through stories of racism. For example, she shared her struggles with finding housing in her early adult life: '***when I got there they told me the flat was gone* […] *so* [friend's name who identified as White] *decided she was gonna call again and she called in, and they said the flat hadn't gone***' and when trying to advance in her career in the city: '***I didn't like* [working] *in the city,* […] *these people that I was working with every day, and trusted, and who to my face, telling me one thing***

and [then] doing another thing; [they said] my black skin shouldn't be sent abroad to [represent the company] […] so I think, the way I deal with things, I think is to move on, and I think I do that a lot (3s) just move on […] Sometimes you just have to turn the other cheek. I found that I'm very good at that. So my tolerance level must be quite high'. Cheryl's stories of challenge, which linked to the social constructions of being Black in a White-British employment sector, symbolised mistrust. '***Moving on***' and '***turning the other cheek***' illustrated how her prior contexts may have influenced psychological coping skills around resilience and perseverance, perhaps indicating the endemic and commonplace nature of instances of racism for Black-Caribbean people (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). However, it also helps to contextualise some of the reasons why the Black-Caribbean community do not seek help; due to interpersonal and institutional mistrust (Keating et al., 2002), but also self-reliance (Arnold, 2006). Furthermore, it illustrates how Black women have been conditioned by their historical, social and cultural contexts to see themselves as 'strong' or having a high tolerance (Graham & Clarke, 2021), which may explain why Black-Caribbean people who have mental health concerns may wait until crisis point, before seeking help from services (Keating et al., 2002).

Cheryl storied the importance of allyship and advocation: '***my English friend [name] [whose parents] while they were waiting for the foster care, sent me to school, so I went to the same school as [name], so nobody in the new school knew any different [of the situation with her mother].***' She also storied the support of her mother's new partner: '***when the social workers arranged for a meeting with my mum to, you know, to try and get me to go back home, she didn't turn up, but he did - so he was the strength***' and her foster carers: '***[foster carer's name] used to always sit me down and say, "I've written a song, and I'm gonna sing it to you" cause he wanted to cheer me up and that has always stayed with me***.' Cheryl's

stories underscored the power of social support in helping her to navigate her psychological struggles. This is particularly relevant given that many left-behind CoWG are often self-reliant (Arnold, 2006) and find it hard to trust in others.

Cheryl ended her narrative, however, by storying the continued mistrust in people: '***the culture shock was there for a long while, so it was blocking a lot of things. So friendships, like trust, and who to be friends with, and so on, was very difficult'.*** This also carried through to later romantic relationships: '***I always joked I would never get married, and I haven't (3s) and it's not for want of not having the opportunity […] I think that's been shaped by an awful lot of what's happened […] and so therefore I just gave up. And I think that comes from the bonding and lack of feeling of trust. I suppose a trust of love, <u>trusted love</u>'***. Cheryl's descriptions of her relationships and repetition of '***trust***' helped to communicate the extent of her mistrust in people and in British society, thus, reinforcing the need to rely on oneself to find a way to cope with psychological challenges.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Chapter overview:

In this chapter, convergences and divergences between the individual narratives are discussed, in relation to the research questions and a CRT perspective. Further links are made to new and existing literature, the SLR and broader contexts. The strengths, limitations and implications and future recommendations for the research are presented. Finally, dissemination methods, final reflections and a conclusion are provided.

5.2 Revisiting the research questions:

5.2.1 How do left-behind CoWG construct their identity, in relation to the context of serial migration and broader social, cultural and historical contexts?

As discussed in section 1.6, CRT contextualises family separation and the concept of ‘left-behind’ children within the historical context of the Caribbean’s colonial legacy (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). The prevalence of family separation among Black Caribbean families, stemming from the Transatlantic slave trade and subsequent migrations like the Windrush, underscores the significance of historical ties and social and cultural contexts in understanding how left-behind CoWG construct their identity.

5.2.1.1 Stories of separation and/or being 'left-behind'

All participants shared narratives of separation and/or being 'left-behind'; however, the construction of these narratives varied according to the unique contexts surrounding each participant. Guybo, Grace, Justin and John storied their pre-separation lives with their biological parents, emphasising feelings of love and validation within their families. Similarly, Cheryl echoed similar sentiments in her narrative; although she was raised by surrogate-caregivers, she perceived them as her parents. Their narratives were characterised by frequent and direct eye contact, smiles and high intonation, with Cheryl and Guybo using storytelling techniques that was reminiscent of fairy tales (Madhavarajan & Selvamalar, 2021). The ecological systems theory by Bronfenbrenner (1979) underscores the significance of an individual's immediate family in their developmental journey across the lifespan, by providing aspects of nurturing, support and initial socialisation (Jokhan, 2008). Although these participants storied positive experiences of being brought up by surrogate-carers or the extended family - typical for Caribbean families (section 1.7.1) - participants still highlighted the profound significance of having their parents around, echoing previous research (Arnold, 2006; Johkan, 2008; Phoenix, 2011). Consequently, their narratives depicted feelings of their lives being 'ripped apart' (Guybo) by separation, or experienced as a profound sense of loss and disruption, with psychological consequences for their development, as will be discussed in section 5.2.2. Hence, Guybo, Grace, Justin and John expressed anticipation and excitement about reuniting with their parents, as their emotional bond transcended the distances imposed by migration (Bowlby, 1969). In contrast, Cheryl mourned the loss of her social network upon migration. Conversely, Mark did not story any pre-separation experiences or separation experiences; however, his behaviour, which others deemed 'unruly,' may suggest that the experience was challenging for him (Pottinger, 2005). Similar to previous findings

(Arnold, 2006), Linda, Cheryl and Myrtle storied their biological parents as ‘strangers’ who they had never met before, leading to narratives characterised by confusion, detachment, frustration or apathy; thus complicating their process of reunification. From a moderate social constructionist lens, their narratives highlight how unique contexts influence how individuals construct and interpret their life events (Goffman, 1959).

There were important contextual factors that contributed to the construction of participants’ meaning-making of their experiences. Firstly, as demonstrated by Cheryl, Linda and Myrtle’s narrative, the role of developmental age for temporal coherence in autobiographical memory is important (Bruner, 2003). Individuals create a sense of continuity of their lives by linking past experiences with present circumstances and future aspirations, which shapes their sense of self. Thus, early events may provide the initial context for this temporal linkage (Bruner, 2003). Secondly, as found previously (Crawford-Brown, 1994; Olwig, 199), another factor was whether contact was maintained with those left-behind, through economic or emotional means (e.g. barrels or letters) (Crawford-Brown, 1994); this was found to be crucial in sustaining Justin’s idea of his parents. As outlined in the Family Stress Model (Conger & Conger, 2002), the financial strain and economic hardship that many Caribbean parents faced post WW2, may have generated parental stress and subsequently, motivated the move to Britain. Thus, parents’ ability to maintain some contact, may have been beneficial for their left-behind CoWG’s wellbeing. Finally, Linda, Guybo, John and Justin all oscillated between their own and their siblings stories, underscoring how their understanding of reality was shaped by the language and interactions with their social environment (Gergen, 1985). Therefore, understanding the aforementioned factors is important to grasp how participants construct their sense of self and how they have psychologically responded to this.

5.2.1.2 Stories of surrogate-care

As discussed in section 1.7.1, the practice of child-shifting and kinship was integral to Caribbean family life (Thomas-Hope, 2002; Chamberlain, 2004), as it enabled parents to migrate to Britain, with the expectation that their children would receive care and nurturing. All participants recounted their experiences of growing up with various surrogate-caregivers: grandparents (Cheryl, Linda, Mark, Guybo and Myrtle), aunts and uncles (John), godparents (Justin) or parents’ close friends (Grace). Similar to previous research (Arnold, 2006, Olwig, 1999; Phoenix & Seu, 2013), Cheryl, Justin, Grace and John shared stories of love, care and nurture, which fostered feelings of belonging despite parental absence. Their narratives were nostalgic and reflective, which highlighted the perceived benefits of child-shifting and kinship practices, and the ethos of ‘it takes a village to raise a child’, as emphasised by John. These stories underscored the significance of extended family networks, which were disrupted upon migrating to Britain, leading to the feelings of isolation, loss and cultural dissonance, as many storied in this and previous research (Sutherland, 2011). From a CRT perspective, these narratives also served as counter-narratives to dominant Eurocentric notions of attachment (Bowlby, 1969), which tend to emphasise singular attachments, rather than multiple attachments (Choate & Tortorelli, 2022). Moreover, these narratives highlight how oppressive conditions in British society, influenced by Whiteness and colonial systems, pressured WG families and limited their ability to reunite with left-behind CoWG, resulting in psychological and structural consequences for Black-Caribbean families.

Sadly, Myrtle, Guybo and Linda constructed narratives of abuse, neglect and trauma associated with surrogate care. These accounts were contextualised by the post-war economic hardships in the Caribbean, which left many working-class surrogate-caregivers

struggling to provide adequate resources and care, as in Pottinger (2005) and Arnold (2006). Additionally, Mark and Cheryl storied their grandparents eventually not being able to care for them, either due to personal circumstances (e.g. Cheryl's passing of grandparents), or adjustment difficulties (e.g. Mark being perceived as too 'unruly'), as found by Arnold (2006). Participants' narratives were often performed using a fast-pace, list-like structures or emphasis of words, which intensified the impact (Riessman, 2008). This may point to the psychological consequences of these early life events throughout their lives, such as anxiety (Guybo), low self-esteem and depression (Myrtle), behaviours that challenge (Mark), difficulties in relationships (Linda) or seeing themselves as an 'outsider' (Cheryl).

5.2.1.3 Stories of racism

As in the literature (Donnelly, 2024; The King's Fund, 2019), within the social context of Britain during WG, all left-behind CoWG constructed narratives of joining their parents in an environment marked by racism and hostility across various levels (section 1.6 and Table 2). Given the influence of British culture on the Commonwealth Caribbean and their subsequent upbringing, many participants saw themselves as British and expected to be welcomed in Britain, the 'mother country.' However, as Fanon (1952) similarly discussed regarding Black-Caribbean people from the colonies migrating to France, all narratives conveyed an immediate disillusionment upon arrival in Britain. Through the content, structure and performance, their narratives conveyed feelings of disappointment, fear, sadness, shock, regret and anger, reflecting the emotional responses to a shifting sense of themselves as 'British'. All participants recounted being perceived as inferior and incapable (Fanon, 1952), compared to their White British peers, despite possessing numerous skills

acquired in the Caribbean. This likely mirrored their parents' experiences as well, limiting their opportunities for resources and support (Donnelly, 2024); placing additional pressure on families. Additionally, participants shared specific instances of racism encountered in housing (Myrtle), social care (Grace), employment (Justin, Cheryl, Linda and John) and the criminal justice system (John); alluding to its aberrational nature (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). Others storied interpersonal or structural experiences of racism (Guybo and Mark), as in the literature (Donnelly, 2024). For example, some participants storied feelings of shame and humiliation to their ‘raw’ Caribbean accents (Mark and Justin). When telling these stories, participants often performed a sense of exhaustion through their exasperated words and low intonation. Research shows that race-based stress can lead individuals to feel over-scrutinised, undervalued, underappreciated, inferior, misunderstood and disrespected (Williams, 2018). This was present in all narratives and underscored how social and cultural contexts of Britain profoundly influenced their self-perception (Comas-Díaz, 2016).

5.2.2 How do left-behind CoWG’s identity constructions influence the ways they navigate the psychological consequences of serial migration and/or psychological challenges and seek help?

As discussed, the historical, social and cultural contexts around left-behind CoWG could be seen to have shaped their identities and contributed to their skills in navigating the psychological consequences of serial migration and/or psychological challenges and help-seeking behaviours.

5.2.2.1 Stories of strength, self-sufficiency and survival

Participants narrated experiences that cultivated: 'self-sufficiency' (John, Linda, Mark and Cheryl), 'survival instincts' (Myrtle), strength (Justin), bravery (Grace) and resilience (Guybo). The SLR findings support the development of these skills, highlighting their instinctive and ancestral nature, cultivated by broader contexts in response to psychologically challenging conditions (Arnold, 2006; Glasgow & Gouse-Sheese, 1995; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix, 2011). For example, some emphasised the necessity of managing the psychological consequences of parental separation (John, Justin, Mark, and Guybo), while others highlighted the need to cope with poor care conditions from surrogate-carers (Linda, Guybo and Myrtle), or parents (Cheryl). Indeed, research indicates that prolonged separation from parents can induce significant psychological stress, prompting the acquisition of self-reliance and independence to navigate new circumstances (Shi, 2021). As narrated by Guybo, John and Linda, these skills, while generally encouraged within Black-Caribbean families, may also be influenced by historical factors (Sutherland, 2011), such as the need to prepare for parental absence and the enduring impacts of slavery, where families could become separated at any time (Pargas, 2009). Moreover, Grace observed and internalised coping skills demonstrated by her parents and surrogate-carers, illustrating how social interactions shape individual coping mechanisms and behaviour (Bandura, 1977).

However, despite these individual circumstances and unlike other research, all narratives underscored the role of confronting oppressive conditions of racism in Britain as crucial in shaping the development of these skills. Therefore, from a moderate social constructionist stance, this shows how societal structures can shape and maintain the individual realities of left-behind CoWG's lives. For example, John and Grace constructed

narratives wherein the development of their skills was intricately intertwined with their spiritual and/or religious identities, as demonstrated by broader literature (Hickling, 2008). Within Black-Caribbean communities, spirituality and religiosity hold significant cultural significance, given their African heritage and the influence of European Christianity. This may provide a source of comfort, strength and protection (Chatfield, 1989; Loewenthal & Cinnirella, 2019), offering a sense of belonging and resilience. Additionally, these contexts may influence help-seeking towards more faith-based support systems (Lucchetti et al., 2021). Furthermore, all participants, with the exception of Myrtle, sought assistance for their psychological challenges through social support networks or broader kinship ties within the Black-Caribbean community (Taylor, 2017). Some narratives highlighted that left-behind CoWG often gravitated towards those from a similar ethnic background to navigate the challenges of settling into Britain (Grace, Guybo, Linda, Mark, John, Justin), or due to their distrust towards external services (Cheryl). This reliance on communal support, fostered a collective sense of trust and mutual understanding regarding the oppressive contexts they had to navigate. Consequently, participants’ endeavours to engage me in their narratives could be understood as a quest for empathy and understanding given our shared identity. These findings echo previous research showing Black-Caribbean individuals’ use of social support and religion and spirituality as a primary coping mechanism for psychological challenges (Jacob, 2023). Therefore, seeking help from traditional mental health services may conflict with left-behind CoWG’s constructed identities, due to their experiences of serial migration.

5.2.2.2 Stories of silence

Silence, instead of emotional expression, was often employed as a coping strategy by left-behind CoWG, to navigate the psychological consequences of serial migration. For instance, Linda narrated her experience of being 'emotionally strong', as staying silent when distressed, coping independently and refraining from seeking help. This strategy was also seen in Myrtle's narrative. In society, the 'strong black woman' construct is deeply intertwined with a colonial past, when Black women needed to be resilient to manage the traumas of slavery (Keynejad, 2008). Consequently, there is a cultural expectation for Black children to 'absorb' painful feelings rather than express them, as a means to navigate and endure an oppressive society (Graham & Clarke, 2021).

This approach to coping was also not limited to females. Both Guybo and Mark described similar strategies, as they storied detaching themselves from psychological challenging experiences to cope. For men, the intersection of male gender norms (which promote strength, stoicism and resilience; Staiger et al., 2020) and racial expectations (as above), led to the use of silence rather than emotional expression, as a way to maintain their identity (Black Mental Health Inc, 2024).

Additionally, Myrtle, Grace, Justin, John and Cheryl performed difficult parts of their narratives through the use of humour and laughter, such as when Justin's teacher made him speak into a tape recorder in front of the class, because of his Jamaican accent; which was a form of humiliation. Psychodynamic literature often views humour as a defence mechanism to distract from painful experiences, which helps one to preserve their identity (Swaminath, 2006). Thus, humour may be used as a way to 'silence' aspects of their identity that may they wish to keep hidden.

5.2.2.3 Stories of perseverance

Participants narrated the psychological consequences that may come from having to maintain their identities, as described by ‘anxiety’ (Guybo), ‘sleepless nights’ (Justin), ‘depression and low self-esteem’ (Myrtle) and ‘feeling sad’ (Mark). These stories were conveyed through silences, emphasised words, intonation changes, and non-directive body language, highlighting the difficulty of discussing these issues. Participants often coped by ‘getting on with it’ (Cheryl and Linda), remaining silent (Cheryl, Linda, and Myrtle), or exhibiting trauma-related behaviours such as a ‘breakdown’ (Myrtle) or engaging in criminal behaviour (Mark).

Only two participants storied their experiences of receiving mental health support as a last resort, which was encouraged by teachers (Myrtle) or their own children (Mark). In line with previous literature on help-seeking behaviours (MHF, 2022), only Mark storied seeking-help from services as an older-adult. Due to an aging population, negative political and economic societal narratives often encourage older-adults to be seen as a ‘burden’ on the nation, which in turn, can shape their self-perception; despite their economic contribution over the lifespan and voluntary and caring roles as an older-adult (Castro Romero, 2015). Furthermore, when intersectionality is considered (Crenshaw, 1991), given the historical and social contexts of being Black-Caribbean, seeking help may have also been perceived as a weakness, or counterproductive to survival in hostile environments (Donnelly, 2024; Pargas, 2009). These introjected narratives may explain why Black-Caribbean older-adults are less likely to seek help for dementia, until it becomes critical (Alzheimer’s Society, 2024). Hence, understanding the broader constructions of identity for older-adult, left-behind CoWG, provides insight into their coping mechanisms for psychological struggles.

5.2.2.4 Stories of assimilation and proving capability

Historically, the racism faced by left-behind CoWG in Britain reflects deep-rooted colonial attitudes, where Black-Caribbean people were often valued based on their proximity to Whiteness – lighter skin was often equated with higher social status (James, 1992). Thus, as identity is dynamically shaped by social interactions and contexts, the Windrush migration and the challenges of a new environment and socio-cultural norms likely accelerated these identity shifts for participants (James, 1992).

Upon migrating to Britain, some participants felt a pressure to assimilate, to avoid appearing like an ‘idiot’ (Guybo) and to be accepted by a British society (Mark and Justin). Assimilation often involves adopting traits of the dominant culture to fit in (Pauls, 2024) and is a common coping behaviour for migrants as previously discussed (section 1.6; Nirmala et al., 2014). However, this process can create an ‘in-between-ness’, which may cause feelings of confusion and inauthenticity (Lorick-Wilmot, 2014), highlighting the importance of cultural continuity in maintaining a coherent sense of self. Indeed, this study found that three participants (Guybo, Mark and Cheryl) storied that going back to their country of birth has helped them to reconnect with their heritage and reclaim a sense of their identity.

Others managed feelings of inferiority by constructing identities through narratives of hard work and proving their capabilities. This may have helped them challenge and redefine societal perceptions, overcome hostility, and build successful lives according to 'good citizenship' (Foucault, 1982), which values economic contribution to society. They framed their narratives to convey that they had no regrets about their experiences, as these fundamentally have shaped their current identities (John, Guybo, Linda, Mark and Justin). Participants often used a reflective tone, which communicated a sense of pride about their

achievements; highlighting how reminiscence typically shapes older-adults' identities (Munawar et al., 2018). Justin, Mark, Myrtle, Cheryl and Grace narrated their career accomplishments as 'evidence' of their strengths and capabilities. Their narratives also underscored the common narrative in the Black-Caribbean contexts of having to work twice as hard to achieve the same level of success as their White counterparts (BYP Network, 2022). This rhetoric links hard work with overcoming adversity, suggesting that perseverance and effort are necessary for achieving goals (Foucault, 1982) and building self-esteem (Ghahramani et al., 2011). However, Mark, Guybo, Linda, Justin, John and Myrtle's narratives highlighted the ongoing struggle between achievement and low self-worth and confidence (Ghahramani et al., 2011), which often led to them to question their abilities in relation to dominant social contexts. Therefore, highlighting how identity is continually shaped and reshaped through social interactions and cultural contexts.

5.2.2.5 Stories of giving back

Most participants constructed their roles as older-adults, through narratives that emphasised teaching and passing on knowledge to younger generations (Sutherland, 2011). They often used educative and direct tones to stress the importance of this, describing that this knowledge transfer occurred within their own families, or the broader Black-Caribbean community. For example, Guybo, Mark, Justin, Linda, John and Cheryl storied their role as 'ambassadors' (as Justin put it); imparting wisdom and life-lessons to descendants to reconnect them with their cultural heritage. This reflects the respected position of older-adults in Black-Caribbean communities and the importance of oral storytelling traditions (Sutherland, 2011). Their narratives underscored the need of giving left-behind CoWG a voice

to share their experiences, which may help others understand their psychological experiences, which may also help to understand the intergenerational consequences of these experiences (Blumsom, 2023).

However, Grace, Justin and Mark highlighted the tension between telling one’s story and the feared stigma in society. They shared stories of deeply painful experiences of serial migration and significant psychological challenge only towards the end of their narratives. The structural timing and performance of their narratives and many pauses and silences, demonstrated that these stories were still very difficult to share, highlighting the ongoing struggle to articulate their experiences. From a CRT perspective, this highlighted how dominant social narratives may suppress racially-marginalised voices, which are further compounded by other intersectional factors such as gender or class (Crenshaw, 1991), influencing what stories are deemed acceptable or stigmatised. Therefore, their stories not only reveal personal struggles, but also serve as critical reflections of broader societal constructions of race, stigma and storytelling. This highlights the need for social change (Delgado, 1989), which will be discussed below.

5.3 Clinical relevance, implications and recommendations

The need to understand the broader contexts of attachment theory and multi-cultural variations of attachment (section 2.7.1) is supported by this study. Additionally, the findings of the current study are clinically relevant across multiple levels, given that serial migration has influenced participants’ lives in various ways, which reflect the social, cultural and historical structures found in wider society. Thus, the implications and recommendations are

outlined below, across the individual and family, community and institutional and structural levels.

5.3.1 Individual and family

5.3.1.1 Storytelling and narrative therapy

The narratives of left-behind CoWG hold significant implications for clinical practice. As the number of older-adults in the UK and across the globe is rising (WHO, 2022), there is a pressing need for mental health services for older-adults to be expanded and be adequately resourced to meet the needs of Black-Caribbean people (Bailey & Tribe, 2021). From both the findings of this study and a CRT perspective, storytelling may be a particularly effective approach, as it can encapsulate aspects of left-behind CoWGs’ identity and psychological coping strategies within their broader historical, social and cultural contexts (Sutherland, 2011). This study has also highlighted that storytelling may be particularly beneficial for older-adults, enabling reflection on their ‘personalised’ experiences from a ‘trauma-informed’ lens (Field, 2002; NSHE, 2023). Research has indicated that storytelling not only enhances understanding of human behaviour, but also serves as a means of resistance against oppression (Comas-Díaz, 2016), fosters healing (Sunwolf, 2005), promotes spiritual connection (Banks-Wallace, 2002), and reaffirms cultural identities (Aho, 2014).

Narrative therapy interventions may be helpful to explore histories of serial migration, cultural beliefs, experiences of racism and aspects of identity (Moon, 1999). Narrative therapy aims to amplify narratives often marginalised by societal norms, helping individuals to separate their problems from their identities and reauthor or reinstate personal values

(Denborough, 2012). Additionally, narrative therapy embraces a diverse array of storytelling methods – from poetry and dance, to gardening, art, photography, cooking, music and theatre (Denborough, 2012); leveraging the resourcefulness of left-behind CoWG.

5.3.1.2 Family maps and narrative timelines

Given the broader contexts, complexities, and various psychological challenges associated with serial migration, this study highlights the need to formulate specific contextual factors (i.e. separation, reunification and settlement experiences), as they are important for meaning-making. The meanings derived from these experiences can lead to a variety of psychological consequences, as this study demonstrates. Thus, family maps and narrative timelines may help individuals and/or families to re-author their life stories to respond to their psychological challenges from their preferred values and foundations for living (White & Epston, 1990), whilst being sensitive to their broader contexts (Joseph et al., 2023). This may help to uncover subjugated narratives and promote opportunities for counter-storytelling (Delgado, 1989), which can be important for identity and psychological wellbeing (Burnham, 1993).

5.3.2 Community

5.3.2.1 Community psychology using collective approaches

Community interventions should also be more widespread in the NHS. Community psychology is an approach that extends beyond an individual focus, by integrating ‘social, cultural, economic, political, environmental and international influences to promote positive

change, health and empowerment at an individual and systemic level’ (Community Psychology, 2014). This study affirms that spaces that facilitate collective understanding and healing are crucial for left-behind CoWG to reconnect with aspects of their identity that may have been ‘lost’ and understand the ways in which their minoritised identities (e.g. migrant histories and race) are socially constructed in British society. For example, collective narrative approaches like the Tree of Life (ToL) may be beneficial. The ToL metaphor enables individuals to construct and share their own stories, as powerful counter-narratives to dominant societal stories and also, use their own skills, values and positive experiences to navigate psychological challenges. These approaches can be facilitated either in groups or individually (Ncube, 2017), and may help people to address experiences related to trauma and racism (such as serial migration) (Jacobs, 2018). Byrne and colleagues (2011) found that a five-session ToL group significantly contributed to improve psychological wellbeing; thus, providing some support for the efficacy of these approaches for African and/or Caribbean people.

5.3.2.2 Developing compassion for self and others using CRT

As demonstrated by this study and other studies (e.g. Arnold, 2006; Olwig, 1999; Phoenix, 2011), serial migration can have psychological consequences that extend across individual, family, and community, and societal levels. Given the broader contexts around their identities, left-behind CoWG and Black-Caribbean people more generally, have had to develop resilience and survival strategies to navigate oppressive systems, often making it challenging for them to show compassion towards themselves and others. Using CRT may be useful to help left-behind CoWG see their struggles within the broader framework of colonialism, migration and systemic discrimination. By understanding that their challenges

are not solely personal failures but are rooted in historical and systemic injustices, they can develop greater compassion for themselves and each other. Additionally, CRT's focus on intersectionality helps recognise that individuals face multiple, overlapping forms of discrimination and disadvantage (Crenshaw, 1991). For left-behind CoWG, this means acknowledging the complex interplay of race, class, and migration experiences in their lives. Understanding these intersections can foster empathy and solidarity among them, as they realize they are not alone in their experiences and that others face similar challenges.

5.3.2.3 Working in community settings

It is important for clinical psychologists to engage with and learn from a broader range of community settings, moving beyond traditional outpatient clinics. This study highlighted the communal ways of being that are intrinsic to many left-behind CoWG. In the UK, many older-adult Black-Caribbean people frequently gather at churches, community halls, and domino clubs—spaces that align with kinship traditions (Sutherland, 2011) and foster indirect forms of peer support. These are valuable support networks where clinical psychologists could build relationships, learn from the community, and respectfully share knowledge about psychological challenges. However, it is essential that clinical psychologists do not co-opt or colonise the knowledge and experiences of left-behind CoWG. Instead, they must prioritise collaboration and mutual respect, ensuring that the needs of the community remain paramount. Collaborating with religious leaders and community members, who are often trusted figures within these networks, has proven beneficial (Garo & Lawson, 2022). By working together, clinical psychologists and community leaders can create a supportive

environment that respects and enhances the community's existing strengths, while ensuring that the community's wisdom and traditions are honoured.

Furthermore, as highlighted by the SLR and empirical study, given the contexts surrounding serial migration, left-behind CoWG have often developed skills that encourage resourcefulness and independence. Many of them highlighted a contrast between the geographical landscapes of the Caribbean vs in Britain, when they arrived. Thus, finding ways to engage this community such as therapies that involve spending time in nature (e.g., eco-psychology), may be particularly beneficial for older-adult Black-Caribbean individuals. These therapies combine the benefits of connecting with the natural world, gentle exercise and conversation, potentially making them less intimidating or stigmatising than traditional clinical settings (Summers & Vivian, 2018).

5.3.3 Institutional and structural

5.3.3.1 Understanding Eurocentrism

Clinical psychology in the UK has been shaped by Eurocentric paradigms that tend to privilege individualised approaches to coping with distress (Henrich et al., 2010), inherently excluding and marginalising other culturally- and historically-situated understandings of distress. It is crucial for clinical psychology to deconstruct universal truths about coping, recognising Eurocentric psychology as just one of many culturally-constructed perspectives, to foster more inclusive and equitable practices. This may include challenging discriminatory practices in psychological services, where some individuals who do not conform to dominant Global North psychological narratives are labelled as 'not psychologically-minded', leading to

exclusion, and further minoritisation and silencing (Nagra, 2021). Therefore, it is important to ‘humanise’ our contexts by challenging these narratives, actively oppose injustice both within and outside professional environments and continue to challenge approaches that decontextualise suffering (Castro Romero, 2017).

5.3.3.2 Building cultural competence

It is important to continue to diversify and build cultural competence within our workforce (Public Health England, 2021). Clinical psychology in the UK has traditionally been shaped by a predominately White, middle-class, female workforce (HCPC, 2023), which has shaped both research and practice. This demographic homogeneity has resulted in a clinical psychology framework that often lacks the cultural-competence necessary to understand and address the specific mental health needs of left-behind CoWG and the wider Black-Caribbean community (UK Council for Psychotherapy, 2024). Consequently, this has led to misunderstandings, misdiagnoses and ineffective treatment (Turpin & Coleman, 2010). Therefore, it is essential that clinical psychologists adopt a historical, social and cultural lens when addressing the needs of left-behind CoWG and Black-Caribbean people. This approach involves training staff members on the unique experiences and events that impact the community, such as serial migration. Using CRT at an institutional and structural level may help to highlight structures that continue to contribute towards oppression and areas for social change.

5.3.3.3 Allocating resources for social change work

The HCPC mandates that practitioner psychologists must "recognize the characteristics and consequences of barriers to inclusion, including for socially isolated groups" and "actively challenge these barriers, supporting the implementation of change wherever possible" (HCPC, 2024). However, the operational focus of NHS mental health services often emphasises direct clinical care over addressing systemic injustices. Given the disproportionately poor social and mental health outcomes for Black-Caribbean individuals, it is crucial for clinical psychologists to be equipped with sufficient resources to research and implement practice-based evidence focused on access and inclusion. This approach should incorporate principles of equity and critical awareness of the structural factors contributing to these disparities, ensuring sustained efforts to dismantle systemic barriers and promote effective, culturally competent care.

5.3.3.4 Embodying praxis

It is encouraging to see that NHS England have launched its first anti-racism framework: Patient and Carer Race Equality Framework (PCREF), with the aim of embedding this within NHS services to support service-users (NHSE, 2023). The framework seeks to prioritise co-production and acknowledges the necessity of involving diverse communities in decision-making processes. This inclusivity is essential for breaking down structural barriers and implementing effective strategies to address racial disparities. It also emphasises the importance of robust feedback mechanisms and enhanced accountability in reporting ethnicity disparities through data sets; facilitating transparency and continuous improvement to reduce racial disparities in healthcare. However, whilst this is a positive step forward, given

the aforementioned challenges of Eurocentric understandings of distress and NHS resources, it is likely that resistance may be faced, which will make it difficult to change in practice. Thus, it requires a continuous effort from clinical psychologists and mental health services generally, to embody the concept of ‘praxis’, that is, collectively and critically reflecting on services and the commitment to act upon it (Freire, 1970.

5.4 Dissemination

Given the CRT framework that underpins this research, social action through dissemination is crucial. This research will be prepared for publication (e.g. Black Psychology, or Faculty of the Psychology of Older People [FPOP] journals) to contribute to evidence-based practices, supporting the needs of left-behind CoWG and older-adult Black-Caribbean communities in the UK. Additionally, the research will be presented at the UH Research Conference.

Furthermore, the findings will be shared with a charity in East London called the Ageless Teenagers, and at two local churches; all of which have a significant older-adult Black-Caribbean community. After discussions with my EbEs, plans for dissemination also include creating an audio podcast that captures a question and answer session on the research.

5.5 Strengths and limitations of the research

A key aim of this research was to illuminate the social, cultural and historical contexts that shape the identities of Black-Caribbean older-adults in the UK, to better understand their

navigation of psychological challenges. As highlighted by the SLR, the majority of the research around serial migration has focused on relational perspectives from an attachment lens. This research provides a unique perspective by using CRT, which highlights how participants' experiences fit within broader contexts, with implications at individual, relational and structural levels. The study has helped to shift the focus from individual problems, to understanding psychological coping styles as responses to oppressive colonial and racist systems, which challenge individualised Eurocentric views of distress. It is also particularly timely research, given the current societal discourses on the psychological consequences of the Windrush generation (Jaidev, 2024), the political context of the Windrush Scandal (2018), and the recent 75th anniversary of the HMT Empire Windrush. These events highlight the ongoing need to understand the mental health needs of the Black-Caribbean community in the UK.

Additionally, given my outsider-identity the research aimed to be inclusive of EbE's voices, which helped to facilitate the rigour of the research. EbEs were able to make suggestions about the formation of the research questions, research design, recruitment strategies, pilot and interview schedules and dissemination strategies.

Finally, a key strength of this study was our shared cultural heritage, which was key in developing and building a sense of rapport and trust in the interviews (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Participants were encouraged to share authentically and in a way that felt comfortable to them. For instance, Myrtle often used patois to convey her experiences, allowing her to draw on her own cultural discourse and ways of storytelling. This was important, especially since Black people may often feel inhibited due to societal expectations that discourage appearing to strong or too confident (Monrose, 2023). However, it is also important to note

that when researchers and participant's do share aspects of identity, that the 'illusion of sameness' is not assumed (Pitman, 2002, p.285). Therefore, participants were encouraged to broaden and share their understandings of cultural terminology and concepts.

A limitation to consider in this research is the power dynamics stemming from my position as an outsider-researcher. Having been born and educated in Britain and attaining a doctoral level qualification, will have naturally influenced what, how and why stories were shared or withheld in the research. This may be evident, as many participants did not disclose deeply painful experiences until the very end of their narratives. This could indicate a process of evaluating how much I could genuinely understand their experiences or concerns about the judgment of a trainee clinical psychologist, with connotations that carry a long history of racism and oppression. Therefore, it was crucial to clearly communicate my motivations for undertaking the project to build trust and foster openness.

Another limitation of the research was the retrospective method of storytelling used. Dalgleish and colleagues (2003) discussed that retrospective research can be challenging, because it relies on participants' autobiographical memory accuracy to recall life events; especially in the presence of trauma. From a positivist perspective, one might question whether the narratives shared in this project reflect an objective and 'true' view of participants' realities. However, given the social constructionist approach of the project, it is crucial to emphasise that stories we attach to our experiences evolve over time and in different contexts. Therefore, these narratives represent one version of participants' realities, not 'the' version.

5.6 Future research

Future research may be indicated in the following areas:

- Examining the psychological consequences of serial migration by interviewing participant dyads (e.g. WG parents and left-behind CoWG children together, or British born and Caribbean-born siblings, or left-behind CoWG and their own children). This could provide deeper insights into the intergenerational and relational consequences. It may be valuable as recalling collective histories can help strength resilience for future challenges (Wilson et al., 2018).

- In line with a CRT framework, participatory action research (PAR) may also be useful to enable left-behind CoWG to have more power, choice and a voice in the research process.

5.8 Final reflections

This is a project which I am proud of. It has been an honour and privilege for my eight participants to trust me with their stories. With the support of my research team and EbEs, I feel we have created a meaningful project to honour the Black-Caribbean older-adult community in the UK.

At times, it felt like I was conversing with older-adults in my family, and some stories left me deeply moved and concerned about doing them justice. Additionally, my research team have been invaluable in helping me to challenge my biases and process the emotional impact of the research, which has been fundamental to shaping the project. For future endeavours, I

would aim to allocate more time to the research process and seek more opportunities for co-production, to ensure full collaboration in all decisions.

Using a CRT framework for this research has been pivotal for my understanding of the power dynamics of racial construction and their consequences for participants throughout their lives. It inspired reflections on how much of ourselves is connected to our historical, social and cultural contexts, which extend beyond the objective diagnoses that are given to people. CRT has led to enhanced clinical practice, through fostering more compassion, seeking to uncover subjugated narratives and has encouraged me to step outside of Eurocentric understandings of distress, that I have been taught since studying psychology at GCSE level. This is something I hope to build on as a qualified clinical psychologist.

5.9 Final conclusions

In conclusion, this study used NI and CRT to analyse the narratives of eight older-adult Black-Caribbean individuals, with experiences of serial migration and being 'left behind' as children during the Windrush migration. By amplifying their voices in relation to their experiences and wider contexts, this research offers perspectives that challenge Eurocentric views of psychological distress. It has identified crucial areas for intervention and development across several levels, aimed at better serving the psychological needs of left-behind CoWG and the older-adult Black-Caribbean community in the UK. Therefore, listening to their stories is imperative for effecting meaningful change. Through engaging with participants' stories of struggle, resilience, strength, and liberation, alongside my own research journey, I hope I have demonstrated the necessity of transcending Eurocentric

understandings of psychology, embracing approaches that honour our diversity, while fostering unity.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Excerpts of reflections

A1 Positionality reflections

14.10.2022 - We had a lecture on global majority epistemology, where we were encouraged to look into various epistemologies. I chose the Afro-Caribbean epistemology which was one where the concept of modernity has been challenged - mainly because African-Caribbean people have been seen as uncivilised and the Western narrative was one of making them more civilised. When designing the research, I had hopes of choosing a methodology and research topic that would honour Black-Caribbean people's stories in their entirety and authenticity.

A2 Alternative lens

12.12.2023 – While thinking about the theoretical lenses to use for my project and looking into the literature. I noticed that I was particularly drawn to using attachment theory given that serial migration incorporates relational factors. Previous research on serial migration has also made use of attachment theory. However, when upon reading through the literature, I started to notice feeling angry and annoyed at the parents who left their children behind. I started to align with many of the participants who felt angry and sad at their parents for leaving them behind. Initially, I attributed these emotions to my belief that parents should protect their children; helping them to form a 'stable' attachment. This was something I decided to discuss in supervision which was pivotal. My supervisor spoke to me about CRT and we had a discussion about being a Black-Caribbean person which incorporates a colonial history of oppression and racism, putting pressure on families and parents. We talked about the various ways that this can shape attachment and what love and care may look like. This then led me to research this further and choose CRT as my theoretical lens for the project.

A3 Narrative methodology reflections

14.05.2023 - During clinical training on an older-adult placement and in my personal life, I observed how storytelling captures the highs and lows of people's experiences, highlighting how our identities evolve and influence our beliefs, values and behaviours. Many have also expressed feeling valued and heard through storytelling. Therefore, after consulting with my EbEs, I chose narrative inquiry for this project, to give left-behind CoWG a voice to share their often untold experiences.

A4 EbE reflections

23.05.2023 – I had a EbE meeting with Dunstan, where we talked through the proposal plans and discussed actions. He suggested that I share something about myself to help participants feel comfortable about talking to me - especially as in the Black-Caribbean community there is a huge narrative about not sharing your business. He affirmed that I need to try and make participants as comfortable as possible, in order to help them to open up. This discussion made me reflect on my own identity and how this might impact the openness; especially given the fact that I am a clinical psychologist. I reflected on the power and privilege that this can hold, as I represent a profession which has a history of oppression and discrimination against the treatment of Black-Caribbean people (e.g. Eugenics and drapetomania, etc), leading to harsher treatment. I decided that in the interview, it was important for me to disclose my identity during the preliminary calls to build initial rapport and be affirmative (through verbal and non-verbal communication) of people's stories to build trust. I also decided to ask participants whether there was anything that would make them feel more comfortable, to foster emotional safety.

A5

9.06.2023- I was conscious that my interviewing style would be crucial to what, how and why stories are shared, or not shared with me by participants. Too structured, may close down people's stories, and disable them have a 'voice', and too unstructured, the data collected could lack focus, given the complexity of serial migration. Therefore, I decided to do a pilot interview with two EbEs to trial two different interview styles; both semi-structured, but one more open and the other more closed. Based on my own reflections as an interviewer and EbE's experiences as interviewees, the more open-style was chosen, to enable participants to share what they would like within the complexity and scope of the project.

A6 Transcribing the interviews

30.12.2023: From having read and transcribed my interviews so far, I have noticed that my participants all seemed to have told stories that relate to their strength, independence and self-sufficiency from their experiences of serial migration. It made me think about how different my life has been from theirs (i.e., not having migrated and being born and educated here). I was particularly attracted to stories where I felt that they were drawing me (e.g. you or us), which opened and closed down different stories.

A7 Analysis

12.04.2024 – I noticed myself getting pulled into so many directions with my analyses, which is a testament to how rich this data is and how much this tells us about left-behind CoWG's experiences. It made me think about how much identity is shaped by our contexts. It made me think a lot about mental health diagnoses and how they simplify people's lives down to symptoms, despite having these rich contexts and ways of being. I reflected on my role as a clinical psychologist, which I believe is to work with and learn about the privileges and oppressions that people face, which make them who they are and how I can bring this into clinical work.

Appendix B: EbE recruitment poster

Appendix C: Ethical approval

HEALTH, SCIENCE, ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY ECDA

ETHICS APPROVAL NOTIFICATION

TO	**Danielle Francis**
CC	**Dr Maja Jankowska**
FROM	**Dr Simon Trainis, Health, Science, Engineering and Technology ECDA Chair**
DATE	**12/09/2023**

Protocol number:	LMS/PGR/UH/05437
Title of study:	Children of the Windrush Generation: a qualitative study exploring the narratives of elder Black Caribbean adult's identity, mental health challenges and help-seeking views

Your application for ethics approval has been accepted and approved with the following conditions by the ECDA for your School and includes work undertaken for this study by the named additional workers below:

Field supervisors: Dr Maria Castro Romero (m.castro@uel.ac.uk)
Professor Uvanney Maylor (uvanney.maylor@beds.ac.uk)

General conditions of approval:

Ethics approval has been granted subject to the standard conditions below:

Permissions: Any necessary permissions for the use of premises/location and accessing participants for your study must be obtained in writing prior to any data collection commencing. Failure to obtain adequate permissions may be considered a breach of this protocol.

External communications: Ensure you quote the UH protocol number and the name of the approving Committee on all paperwork, including recruitment advertisements/online requests, for this study.

Invasive procedures: If your research involves invasive procedures you are required to complete and submit an EC7 Protocol Monitoring Form, and copies of your completed consent paperwork to this ECDA once your study is complete.

Submission: Students must include this Approval Notification with their submission.

Appendix D: Participant information sheet

UNIVERSITY OF HERTFORDSHIRE

ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR STUDIES INVOLVING THE USE OF HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ('ETHICS COMMITTEE')
FORM EC6: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

1 **Title of study**

Children of the Windrush Generation: a qualitative study exploring the narratives of elder Black Caribbean adult's identity, mental health challenges and help-seeking views.

2 **Introduction**

You are being invited to take part in a study. Before you decide whether to do so, it is important that you understand the study that is being undertaken and what your involvement will include. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with the researcher if you wish. Do not hesitate to ask me anything that is not clear or for any further information you would like to help you make your decision. Please do take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

3 **What is the purpose of this study?**

The current study is being conducted as part of the University of Hertfordshire Doctorate of Clinical Psychology (DClinPsy) programme. The study aims to explore and understand the narratives of second-generation, elder Black-Caribbean adults and in particular, those who lived temporarily in the Caribbean without their parents, while they migrated to the United Kingdom (UK). The study also aims to understand how these early childhood experiences inform the identity of participants and how they navigate and seek help for mental health challenges. Overall, the aim is that we can learn more about the experiences of this population to develop the evidence-base for Black-Caribbean people within a UK context.

4 **Do I have to take part?**

It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part in this study. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. Agreeing to join the study does not mean that you have to

complete it. You are free to withdraw up until the point of data analysis without giving a reason.

5 **Are there any age or other restrictions that may prevent me from participating?**

To take part in this study, you meet the following requirements:

- Aged 60 and over
- Both of your parents were born in the Caribbean.
- Both parents migrated to the United Kingdom (UK) before you joined them at a later time.
- You were temporarily raised by grandparents/extended family members or friends while your parents were in the UK.
- You experienced at least 6 years of your childhood living in the Caribbean.
- You migrated to the UK as a child (under 18) to join your parents in the UK during the 1950's-1970's.
- You now live in the UK and have lived here since migrating to the UK.
- You have experienced self-identified low mood/anxiety or other emotional challenges in your life.
- You are willing to share your life experiences with the researcher.
- Currently accessing therapy or have accessed therapy in the past 12 months.
- Not experiencing any current periods of significant distress in the last 6 months.

6 **How long will my part in the study take?**

If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in a one-to-one interview with the researcher, which will last approximately 60 minutes to 120 minutes. The interview may be shorter or longer than this depending on how much you choose to share with me.

7 **What will happen to me if I take part?**

The study will require you to take part in a one-to-one interview with the researcher. You will be asked one introductory question at the beginning of the interview which will ask about your experiences growing up in the Caribbean without your parents and about adjusting to life in the UK in your later childhood years. I will ask you reflect on aspects of your identity, mental health challenges you have faced and how you have learnt to seek-help when you are struggling mentally.

The interviews can be offered either face to face or online via Zoom. If you choose to take part face-to-face, the interview will be audio-recorded and can be held at: Liberty Shopping Centre, AT Community Hub (former PASC office), Western Road, Romford RM1 3LS) in a private room or location of your choice if you have access to a private

and confidential space. If you take part online, the interview will be via Zoom and it will be video and audio recorded.

8 **What are the possible disadvantages, risks or side effects of taking part?**

As the study involves speaking in detail about your previous and current experiences, this can sometimes bring up difficult feelings. It is within your right to not answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable or too distressed. You are also able to withdraw from the study at any time before the data has been analysed should you wish to.

If participating online, you also will be asked to sit or look at your computer screen for a significant amount of time. In order to avoid discomfort, a break can be offered if required. Likewise, with a face to face interview, you are likely to be sitting down for a while and a break can be offered whenever needed.

9 **What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

The study aims to strengthen our understanding of the mental health needs of elder Black-Caribbean adults, which is currently an under-researched demographic in the UK. To date, research in this area has mainly focused on first-generation Black-Caribbean's' experiences of migration and mental health challenges. However, there is minimal research on the impact that the 'Windrush' migration (in the 1950's and 60's) had on the families of those travelling to the UK; especially those children who were not able to travel initially with their parents. Overall, this study hopes to explore and understand more about the experiences of elder Black Caribbean's living in the UK to develop the National Health Service (NHS) mental health field. In addition, the study hopes to understand the social, cultural and intergenerational narratives that may surround the Black-Caribbean identity and how this informs how mental health challenges are navigated and coped with.

10 **How will my data in this study be kept confidential?**

All the data collected during the pre-screening call and interview will be kept confidential and anonymised. The personal data that will be collected will be: age, gender, country of birth, relationship status and highest education level, country of birth, religion and information included within the study's eligibility criteria above. These demographics will be collected to provide a context to the experiences that you talk about in the interview. All data will be stored securely on my password protected University OneDrive.

In the write-up of the research, you will be given a pseudonym or 'false name' to protect you from being identified within the research. As the research has the primary

aim of improving mental health services for Black-Caribbeans in the UK, the longer term aim for the project is to publish this study in a scientific journal related to Clinical Psychology. All data will be destroyed after 5 years.

11 **Audio-visual material**

Video and audio recordings will be kept confidential and stored on a password-protected University OneDrive. A ‘back-up’ password protected device will also be used to record participants data, in case of any technical errors with recording, which will also be saved on the OneDrive. During the presentation and publication of the findings, only the anonymized verbal data from the study will be presented. If rich data is collected, the findings of the study may be used to support future research projects in this area.

12 **What will happen to the data collected within this study?**

- The data collected will be stored electronically, in a password-protected file for 5 years, after which time it will be destroyed under secure conditions.
- The data will be anonymised prior to storage.
- The data will be transcribed and fully anonymised before being published and disseminated.

13 **Will the data be required for use in further studies?**

- The data collected may be re-used or subjected to further analysis as part of a future ethically-approved study; the data to be re-used will be anonymised.

14 **Who has reviewed this study?**

This study has been reviewed by:

- The University of Hertfordshire Health, Science, Engineering and Technology Ethics Committee with Delegated Authority.

The UH protocol number is *LMS/PGR/UH/05437*

15 **Factors that might put others at risk**

Please note that if, during the study, any medical conditions or non-medical circumstances such as unlawful activity become apparent that might or had put others at risk, the University may refer the matter to the appropriate authorities and, under such circumstances, you will be withdrawn from the study.

16 **Who can I contact if I have any questions?**

If you would like further information or would like to discuss any details personally, please get in touch with me, in writing, by email:

Principal researcher: Danielle Francis

Email: d.francis4@herts.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Maja Jankowska

Email: m.jankowska@herts.ac.uk

Although we hope it is not the case, if you have any complaints or concerns about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of this study, please write to the University's Secretary and Registrar at the following address:

Secretary and Registrar

University of Hertfordshire

College Lane

Hatfield

Herts

AL10 9AB

Thank you very much for reading this information and giving consideration to taking part in this study.

Appendix E: Consent form

UNIVERSITY OF HERTFORDSHIRE

ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR STUDIES INVOLVING THE USE OF HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

('ETHICS COMMITTEE')

FORM EC3

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDIES INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

I, the undersigned *[please give your name here, in BLOCK CAPITALS]*

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….…

of *[please give contact details here, sufficient to enable the investigator to get in touch with you, such as a postal or email address]*

…..……………………………………………………………………………………………………

hereby freely agree to take part in the study entitled: Children of the Windrush Generation: a qualitative study exploring the narratives of elder Black Caribbean adult's identity, mental health challenges and help-seeking views.

………..

(UH Protocol number LMS/PGR/UH/05437)

1 I confirm that I have been given a Participant Information Sheet (a copy of which is attached to this form) giving particulars of the study, including its aim(s), methods and design, the names and contact details of key people and, as appropriate, the risks and potential benefits, how the information collected will be stored and for how long, and any plans for follow-up studies that might involve further approaches to participants. I have also been informed of how my personal information on this form will be stored and for how long. I have been given details of my involvement in the study. I have been told that in the event of any significant change to the aim(s) or design of the study I will be informed, and asked to renew my consent to participate in it.

2 I have been assured that I may withdraw from the study at any time before the data is analysed without disadvantage or having to give a reason.

3 In giving my consent to participate in this study, I understand that voice, video or photo-recording will take place and I have been informed of how/whether this recording will be transmitted/displayed.

4 I have been given information about the risks of my suffering harm or adverse effects and I agree to complete any required health screening questionnaire in advance of the study. I have been told about the aftercare and support that will be offered to me in the event of this happening, and I have been assured that all such aftercare or support would be provided at no cost to myself. In signing this consent form I accept that medical attention might be sought for me, should circumstances require this.

5 I have been told how information relating to me (data obtained in the course of the study, and data provided by me about myself) will be handled: how it will be kept secure, who will have access to it, and how it will or may be used.

6 I understand that if there is any revelation of unlawful activity or any indication of non-medical circumstances that would or has put others at risk, the University may refer the matter to the appropriate authorities.

Signature of participant……………………………………..…Date…………………………

Signature of (principal)

investigator……………………………………………………Date…………………………

Name of (principal) investigator *[in BLOCK CAPITALS please]*

……DANIELLE FRANCIS……………………………………………………………………

Appendix F – Distress protocol

Distress Protocol 1:The protocol for managing distress in the context of a research focus group /interview
(Modified from : Draucker C B, Martsolf D S and Poole C (2009) Developing Distress Protocols for research on Sensitive Topics. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing* 23 (5) pp 343-350)

Distress

- A participant indicates they are experiencing a high level of stress or emotional distress OR
- exhibit behaviours suggestive that the discussion/interview is too stressful such as uncontrolled crying, shaking etc

Stage 1 Response

- Stop the discussion/interview.
- One of the researchers (who is a health professional) will offer immediate support
- Assess mental status:
  Tell me what thoughts you are having?
  Tell me what you are feeling right now?
  Do you feel you are able to go on about your day?
  Do you feel safe?

Review

- If participant feels able to carry on;
  resume interview/discussion
- If participant is unable to carry on
  Go to stage 2

Stage 2 Response

- Remove participant from discussion and accompany to quiet area or discontinue interview
- Encourage the participant to contact their GP or mental health provider OR
- Offer, with participant consent, for a member of the research team to do so OR
- With participant consent contact a member of the health care team treating them at for further advice/support

Follow up

- Follow participant up with courtesy call (if participant consents) OR
- Encourage the participant to call either if he/she experiences increased distress in the hours/days following the focus group

Distress Protocol 2: The protocol for managing distress in the context of a research focus group /interview management
McCosker,H Barnard, A Gerber, R (2001). Undertaking Sensitive Research: Issues and Strategies for Meeting the Safety Needs of All. Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 2(1)

Pre-data collection

- The researcher should consider the potential physical and psychological impact on the researcher of the participants description of life experiences
- The researcher should consider how many interviews could be undertaken in a week
- The researcher should be aware of the potential for emotional exhaustion

Data collection stage

- If the topic is potentially sensitive/distressing data collection to be undertaken by two members of the research team
- regular scheduled debriefing sessions with a named member of the research team
- may be encouraged to journal their thoughts and feelings which may then become part of fieldwork notes in some research approaches

Analysis

- is alerted prior to transcription review of potentially "challenging" or "difficult" interviews
- has regular scheduled debriefing sessions with a named member of the research team

Follow up

- Encourage the researcher to access a research mentor if he/she experiences increased distress in the hours/days following transcription

Distress Protocol 3: The protocol for managing distress in the context of a research focus group /interview transcription

(Gregory, D Russell, C Phillips, L (1997). Beyond textual perfection: transcribers as vulnerable persons. Qualitative Health Research, 7(2), 294-300.)

Pre-data collection

- The transcriber should be considered in any research proposal, with a clear indication of how this person will be provided with a "safe" working environment while also maintaining the "quality" of the research

ethical review stage

- be included in the ethical clearance process
- is informed of the nature of the research and the type of data

Pre-transcription

- is alerted prior to the transcription of potentially "challenging" or "difficult" interviews
- has regular scheduled debriefing sessions with a named member of the research team

During Transcription

- has prompt access to an appropriate person for crisis counselling
- has a clearly documented termination from the transcription process that includes resolution of personal issues which arose as a consequence of the work
- may be encouraged to journal their thoughts and feelings which may then become part of fieldwork notes in some research approaches

Follow up

- Follow transcriber up with courtesy call (if transcriber consents)
  OR
- Encourage the transcriber to call if he/she experiences increased distress in the hours/days following transcription

Appendix G – LMS Risk Assessment

SCHOOL OF LIFE AND MEDICAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF HERTFORDSHIRE

Ref No.	
Date	
Review Date	
	OFFICE USE ONLY

Life and Medical Sciences Risk Assessment

The completion of this is an integral part of the preparation for your work, it is not just a form to be completed, but is designed to alert you to potential hazards so you can identify the measures you will need to put into place to control them. You will need a copy on you when you carry out your work

General Information					
Name	Danielle Francis	Email address	d.francis4@herts.ac.uk	Contact number	07972580231
Supervisor’s name (if student)	Maja Jankowska	Supervisor’s e-mail address	mj19aca@herts.ac.uk	Supervisor’s contact number	

Activity	
Title of activity	Children of the Windrush Generation: a qualitative study exploring the narratives of elder Black Caribbean adult’s identity, mental health challenges and help-seeking views.
Brief description of activity	Initial screening call to gather participant demographics, explain more about the study and answer any questions. Followed by 60-120 minute one to one interview. Participants will be recruited via word of mouth via poster and through community organisations linked to the study.
Location of activity	The screening call will be carried out by phone. The interview will be offered either online via Zoom or face-to-face in a community hall (Liberty Shopping Centre, AT Community Hub (former PASC office), Western Road, Romford RM1 3LS) in a private room.
Who will be taking part in this activity	Researcher and participants

Types of Hazards likely to be encountered				
☐ Computers and other display screen	☐ Falling objects	☐ Farm machinery	☐ Fire	☐ Cuts
☐ Falls from heights	☐ Manual handling	☐ Hot or cold extremes	☐ Repetitive handling	☐ Severe weather
☐ Slips/trips/falls	☐ Stress	☐ Travel	☐ Vehicles	☐ Workshop machinery
☐ Psychological distress (to interviewer or interviewee)	☐ Aggressive response, physical or verbal	☐	☐	☐
Other hazards not listed above	Seeing participants in a hired space; COVID 19			

Risk Control Measures						
List the activities in the order in which they occur, indicating your perception of the risks associated with each one and the probability of occurrence, together with the relevant safety measures. *Describe the activities involved.* *Consider the risks to participants, research team, security, maintenance, members of the public – is there anyone else who could be harmed?* *In respect of any equipment to be used read manufacturer's instructions and note any hazards that arise, particularly from incorrect use.*						
Identify hazards	Who could be harmed? *e.g. participants, research team, security, maintenance, members of the public, other people at the location, the owner / manager / workers at the location etc.*	How could they be harmed?	Control Measures – what precautions are currently in place? *Are there standard operating procedures or rules for the premises. Are there any other local codes of practice/local rules which you are following, eg Local Rules for the SHE labs? Have there been agreed levels of supervision of the study? Will trained medical staff be present? Etc*	What is the residual level of risk after the control measures have been put into place? *Low Medium or High*	Are there any risks that are not controlled or not adequately controlled?	Is more action needed to reduce/manage the risk? *for example, provision of support/aftercare, precautions to be put in place to avoid or minimise risk or adverse effects*

Computers and other display screens	Participants and researcher	If they opt for an online interview, they will need to look at a computer screen for a significant amount of time. Extensive periods of computer use can put strain on eyes and lead to tiredness.	In my participant sheet, I have recommended that they take a short break from the screen if they need to during the interview. What to do in case of technical difficulties during the focus group will be explained to participants, such as checking connectivity, logging back in, turning off camera.	Low	No	No
Psychological distress	Participants and researcher	As the interview asks participants to recount previous life experiences, this may evoke some distress for particiapants which may also have secondary effects for the researcher from hearing these expriences.	Participants will receive an information sheet, consent form sheet, and resources to support their decision to take part. The interview schedule will include supportive guidelines, and it will be made clear that they can change their mind about participating. Support offered by supervisory team for the researcher, as well as support from social network. An opportunity to have a debrief discussion will be offered to particiapants and further debrief information containing support resources will be provided at the end of the interview. Participants will be given information of how to contact the researcher if needed. To follow the distress protocol as attached in ethics document.	Low	No	No
Stress	Partcipants and researcher	As the interview asks participants to recount previous life experiences, this may evoke some distress for particiapants which may also have	Participants will receive an information sheet, consent form sheet, and resources to support their decision to take part. Support offered by supervisory team for the researcher, as well as support from	Low	No	No

		secondary effects for the researcher from hearing these expriences.	social network. An opportunity to have a debrief discussion will be offered to particiapants and further debrief information containing support resources will be provided at the end of the interview. Participants will be given information of how to contact the researcher if needed. To follow the distress protocol as attached in ethics document.			
Aggressive response, physical or verbal	Participants	As the interview asks participants to recount previous life experiences, this may evoke some aggressive responses/difficult feelings for particiapants.	An opportunity to have a debrief discussion will be offered to particiapants and further debrief information containing support resources will be provided at the end of the interview. Participants will be given information of how to contact the researcher if needed. In my participant sheet, I have recommended that they take a short break if they are too distressed if they need to during the interview. To follow the distress protocol as attached in ethics document.	Low	No	Support or aftercare for research team and participants
Seeing participants in a hired space	Participants and researcher	Safety and ensuring it is a confidential space.	Community hall so standards for safety are met as checked regularly. The health and safety procedures for the community space will be followed by myself and my participants; for example, fire safety regulations. The community hall has sound proof rooms which has a door that can be	Low	No	No

			closed. I will also put a sign on the door for myself and the participant to not be disturbed while the interview is in progress. The supervisors of the hall will be in the building should we need any assistance. Address of hall: AT Community Hub, Western Road, Romford, RM1 3LS. My supervisor will be aware of when my interviews are taking place.			
COVID-19	Participants and researcher	Contracting the virus. Respiratory illness	If either the participant or researcher shows significant signs or tests positive for COVID-19 then the interview will be postponed. Contact surfaces will be cleaned regularly and the room will be well ventilated during interviews.	Low	No	No

List any other documents relevant to this application	Local fire alarm procedures for the Community Hall Life and Medical Sciences Health and Safety documents

Signatures					
Assessor name	Danielle Francis	Assessor signature	[signature]	Date	18.07.2023
Supervisor, if Assessor is a student	Dr Maja Jankowska	Supervisor signature	[signature]	Date	21.08.2023
Local Health and Safety Advisor/ Lab Manager	Alex Eckford	Local Health and Safety Advisor/ Lab Manager signature	Alex Eckford	Date	23rd August 2023

Appendix H – Debrief form

Children of the Windrush Generation: a qualitative study exploring the narratives of elder Black Caribbean adult's identity, mental health challenges and help-seeking views.

Thank you for taking part in this study. This sheet will provide you with full details of the study in which you participated along with links for additional support if needed.

The current study is being conducted as part of the University of Hertfordshire Doctorate of Clinical Psychology (DClinPsy) programme. The study aimed to explore and understand your experiences as a second-generation, elder Black-Caribbean adult and in particular, your experiences of growing up temporarily without your parents, while they migrated to the United Kingdom (UK). The study also aimed to understand how these early childhood experiences have informed your identity and how you navigate and seek help for mental health challenges. Overall, the aim is that we can learn more about the experiences of this population to develop the evidence-base for Black-Caribbean people within a UK context.

I can appreciate that sharing your experiences may be difficult and I hope that you have not been too distressed by what we have talked about today. I also hope that you have been empowered by sharing your story with me, to better our knowledge of Black Caribbean people living in the United Kingdom (UK).

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me, Danielle Francis (researcher) by email: d.francis4@herts.ac.uk.

Alternatively, you can contact my supervisor: Dr Maja Jankowska (research supervisor) by email: m.jankowska@herts.ac.uk.

Please see below for some information of where you can get emotional support if required:

Some people feel that talking about their experiences openly can be quite therapeutic although personal information can sometimes bring up difficult feelings. As a result, if at any time you feel that your mood has worsened significantly, please contact your GP.

Although some people find it therapeutic to discuss their experiences, this can sometimes bring up difficult feelings. If you feel like you would like further support from mental health services, we would encourage you to contact your GP.

You may also find the below contacts useful:

Samaritans – available 24 hours a day can be contacted on 116 123.

AGE UK Advice line – 0800 678 1602.

Various support services for racially minoritised groups: https://mentalhealth-uk.org/black-asian-or-minority-ethnic-bame-mental-health-support-services/

Race Equality Foundation www.raceequalityfoundation.org.uk / 0207 428 1880.

Black Lives Matter UK www.ukblm.org

Appendix I: Participant recruitment poster

ARE YOU A CHILD OF THE WINDRUSH GENERATION?

Come and take part in this exciting research study!

My name is Danielle Francis and I am a Trainee Clinical Psychologist

WHAT IS IT ABOUT?

This is an opportunity to take part in a doctoral study looking at:

- The experiences of being a child of the Windrush generation, particularly those who were 'left behind' or temporarily separated from their parents, while their parents migrated to England.
- The impact of these experiences to identity and mental health.

WHO CAN TAKE PART?

- You were born in the Caribbean.
- Both of your parents migrated to the United Kingdom (UK) before you joined them at a later time.
- You were temporarily raised by grandparents, extended family members or friends while your parents migrated to the UK.
- You migrated to England between 1950's-1970's as a child (16 or younger) to join your parents.

WHAT DOES IT INVOLVE?

- 1:1 Face to face or online interview sharing your story with me.

If you or anyone you know might be interested, please get in touch with me at:
d.francis4@herts.ac.uk

University of Hertfordshire UH

This study has been ethically approved by UH: LMS/PGR/UH/0543

Appendix J – Full demographic details of participants

Participant	**Country of Birth (pre-migration)**	**Age parents migrated**	**Who were they left with?**	**Left alone of with siblings?**	**How did they travel over to Britain?**	**Age participant migrated to the Britain?**	**Geographical location settled (post-migration).**
Justin	Jamaica	7y	Godparents	Siblings- 1 brother	Aeroplane - brother	10y	Birmingham
Myrtle	Jamaica	10y	Grandmother, aunts and uncles	Alone – brother lived elsewhere in Jamaica	Aeroplane - alone	10y	London
Mark	Barbados	6y	Grandmother	Alone	Ship - alone	7y	Manchester
Grace	Jamaica	7y	Mother’s best friend	Alone	Aeroplane - alone	8y	Nottingham
John	Guyana	5y	Grandmother, aunts and uncles	Siblings – 1 brother	Aeroplane and then, ship with brother	8y	London
Linda	Jamaica	3y	Grandmother	Siblings – 2 brothers	Ship – with mother and 2 brothers	7y	Northampton
Guybo	Guyana	11y	Grandmother	Siblings – brother and sister	Aeroplane – 2 siblings	13y	London
Cheryl	Tobago	8 months	Grandparents	Alone	Aeroplane - alone	13y	London

Appendix K– Chosen interview script (Open-style, semi-structured)

Participant number/name?	Date:
Points for framing interview:	
• Hi……. Introduce myself	
• Thank you for meeting with me. This study is about your experiences as a child of the Windrush generation, particularly around being separated from your parents as they migrated to England.	
• Before we start, I would like to ask you if you consent to being recorded via video and audio/Dictaphone. This is to ensure that I can capture what we talk about today in as much detail as possible which will help me to produce the findings of the research.	
• Everything we talk about today will only be used for the purposes of the research. In the write up of this study, your personal details will be anonymised and no one other than myself and my supervisory team will have access to your personal data. All personal data will be saved securely on a password protective drive.	
• Do you have any questions and do you consent to take part and be recorded?	
• *Press record*	
• Thank you for meeting with me. The purpose of this interview is for you to share your experiences as a child of the Windrush generation, particularly around being separated from your parents as they migrated to England. • I have one question to start us off with and may prompt you at times with other questions, however I would encourage you to share as much as you like with me and whatever comes up for you as you are speaking. I also encourage you to start the interview wherever you would like to. • This interview could take between 60-120 minutes to complete, however that will vary depending on how much you share with me. We can take a break if you need to at any point.	

• If any of my questions feel uncomfortable or too distressing, please do let me know. You do not have to answer anything that you don't feel comfortable about.	
• Over the course of the interview and thereafter up until the results are analysed, you have a right to withdraw from the interview at any point and you do not have to give a reason.	
• Do you have any questions and are you read to start?	
Introductory question: • Can you tell me about growing up in the Caribbean and living without your parents and then arriving and adjusting to life in the UK and how this has influenced who you are today?	
Possible prompts: • Can you tell me about growing up in the Caribbean and your parents leaving for England? • Can you tell me about the challenges you faced living in the Caribbean without your parents? • How do you think this influenced how you are? • Can you tell me about what these experiences have meant to you in terms of how you live your life now? • How did you navigate the challenges you faced in the UK? • Can you tell me about some of the challenges or difficulties to have faced in life and how you have coped with this? • What things have helped to give you strength? • Given your identity as a Black Caribbean, what stories have been told to you about how to cope with mental health challenges? • Who/where did you learn that from? • What was that experience like for you? • Can you tell me a bit more about that? • Can you share any examples of this? • Can you tell me about what this means to you? • Can you tell me what that was like? • How did it feel… Can you tell me about… • Who did you turn to for help? • Can you tell me about family life now and how you live now?	

• During your most difficult times, can you tell me about how you sought help and what help you think you might have needed to overcome your difficulties? • What decisions will someone have to make when seeking help with depression? • How did you or others decide to go about seeking help with depression? Where do you seek help? What stopped you from seeking help? Do you know where to seek help? If sought medical / nonmedical treatment: What did you think about recommendations you received? • What was helpful or unhelpful about the recommendations received? What was similar or different to what you thought about depression? What thoughts / feelings do you have about the referral process? What were your thoughts/feelings towards the person/s that completed any assessments?	
Discuss term of ‘Windrush’? Any other terms? How you feel about this term?	
Is there anything you wanted to discuss that we have not covered yet? Ask for pseudonym name.	
STOP TAPE	
How did you find the interview?	
Thank you for taking part.	

Appendix L – Not chosen (more structured interview script).

Participant number:	Date:
Points for framing interview	Tick
• Hi……. Introduce myself • Thank you for meeting with me. This study is about your experiences as a child of the Windrush generation, particularly around being separated from your parents as they migrated to England. • Before we start, I would like to ask you if you consent to being recorded via video and audio/Dictaphone. This is to ensure that I can capture what we talk about today in as much detail as possible which will help me to produce the findings of the research. • Everything we talk about today will only be used for the purposes of the research. In the write up of this study, your personal details will be anonymised and no one other than myself and my supervisory team will have access to your data. • Do you have any questions and do you consent to take part and be recorded? • *Press record* • Thank you for meeting with me. The purpose of this interview is for you to share your experiences with me. I have one question to start us off with and may prompt you at times with other questions, however I would encourage you to share whatever you would to like to with me. • This interview will roughly take around 60-90 minutes, however that will vary depending on how much you share with me. We can take a break if you need to at any point. • If any of my questions feel uncomfortable or too distressing, please do let me know. You do not have to answer anything that you don’t feel comfortable about. • Over the course of the interview and thereafter up until the results are analysed, you have a right to withdraw from the interview at any point and you do not have to give a reason. • Do you have any questions and are you read to start?	
1. Can you tell me about where you grew up and what it was like?	
2. Can you tell me about your parents leaving you to come to the UK?	

3. Can you tell me about how you to came to live in the UK?	
4. Can you tell me any difficulties or challenges you have faced in your life and how you make sense of what happened?	
5. Can you tell me about how you manage the emotional difficulties that arise in your life?/ How have you navigated the emotional difficulties in your life?	
Prompts: What was this experience like being left with another family member? What was that experience like for you? Can you tell me a bit more about that? Can you share any examples of this? Can you tell me about what this means to you? Can you tell me what that was like?	
Is there anything you wanted to discuss that we have not covered yet?	
STOP TAPE	
How did you find this interview?	Feedback
Thank you for taking part.	End of interview

Appendix M: Transcription symbols adapted from Jefferson (2004).

Symbol	Example	What the symbol represents?
(.)		A brief pause; too short to measure in seconds
(4s)		Pause measured in seconds (e.g. 4 seconds)
…		Omitted text to signal continuation
~	And I said to him ~, no, I shouted	Didn’t finish sentence/changed what they are saying
<u>Underlining</u>	I <u>told</u> him	Emphasis on words
↓ ↑		Higher or lower pitch
Capital letters	That really HURT	Words that are louder than the surrounding speech by the same speaker
“ ”	He said “I am so sorry”.	Imitation or quoting someone else.
[ ]	I said to [name]	Removal of name for confidentiality
{gesture}		Gesture e.g. hand movements/
(2nd)	You (2nd)	Used to indicate switch to second person prose.
(3rd)	Their (3rd)	Used to indicate switch to third person prose.
(T)		Change of tense

Appendix N: Two example analyses (includes questions used for analysis, excerpts transcription and coding of interviews and reflections on interviews).

T3: John's analysis

First stage of the analysis

(Excerpts from) Context and reflective journal notes

- Third interview completed with John. I have been so struck by how positive and excited people have been to tell me their story. Listening to John speak was so insightful. He spoke in such an educative and direct tone which really helped to affirm his narrative, in how he has been shaped by his experiences. For example, it was useful to hear more about Black-Caribbean people being spiritual and how this linked in to the African epistemology research that I have been learning about. The way he spoke really helped to situate his story in context. I left this interview feeling really connected to my ancestry and what has come before me; it made me see how much of who we are is shaped by the stories that have been passed down, which helps to maintain our identity. This is something that would be useful to take forward into clinical practice, as people are so much more than the generic clinical diagnoses that are given to them. It has inspired me to continue to be curious about people's contexts.
- It was also useful to see the difference of completing this interview face to face and how different it was to the online interviews. It felt more conversational and I felt I was able to understand John's emotions more. There was lots of direct eye contact and emphasis of words to persuade me of his story. I recognised I was very affirming throughout his story telling, which encouraged him to open up more and share more about his story.

(Excerpts from) Ideas about main stories

- So keen to let me know that we are spiritual people as a Caribbean nation. Constantly emphasises this message.
- Keen to let me know that we are a system and are all connected in some way. Lots of repetition of this.
- Talks about surrogate mothers and talks about aunts as his mother.
- Speaks a lot about being connected to African slaves.
- Having brothers and sisters to get through hardship.
- Woolly hair and white women running hands – e.g. power differentials - if it were us, we would be charged with assault. I then asked him do you remember if that happened to you - he says it happened to all of us - emphasise the impact of the situation/ the magnitude of the problem.
- Due to financial strains of having to move and navigate countries - parents did not have to parent or could not parent during sixties and seventies - children had to grow up quickly and be independent. This shaped independence and ambition and perseverance.
- This particular cohort not only had to survive on their own when they were left by parents, but they also had to survive when they came to England due to all the challenges they faced -my parents showed me the route to school on the first day and I went on my own.
- I was leaning on my past experiences from where I came from not from the boy I was when I arrived - I have to make it.
- Talks about discipline and multitasking being skills cultivated from a very young age.
- Talked about inter-generational impact of teaching his own children.

Original transcript	Content-related ideas emerging themes and plots	Structure related ideas- how is language used?	Performance – why is it being performed? What does it communicate about identity?	Co-construction ideas- the local and broader contexts including reflections from researcher	CRT
	• What is being said about the experience of serial migration? • What is being said about mental health beliefs and help seeking? • As an older adult looking back, what is being said about their experiences?	• How are the stories organised (e.g. is there a beginning, middle and end)? • Does the story flow? • Is the story coherent? • Do they skip from one topic to another?	• Who is this a message for? • Why is it being said? • What emotions are present for the speaker? • How do I respond as the listener? • In what kind of a story does a narrator place herself? • How does my identity impact the stories that are told – those that are privileged and those that are not shared? • Who is this a message for?/ real/imagined audiences? • Why is it being said? • What emotions are present for the speaker? • How do I respond as the listener?	• What are the wider social, cultural, and historical contexts that the person is speaking into? • Who are the real/imagined audiences? • How is social reality constructed through interaction?	• Are there stories of racism/race (endemic/embedded?) • What is being said about whiteness or interest convergence/how is it being said/why? • Are there any counter-narratives – what/how/why are they sharing this story? • What/how/why – are they inferring about social justice/social action? • Any references to intersectionality?

			• In what kind of a story does a narrator place themselves? • What did they look like, how they expressed themselves and visual expressions too? • Do they look at me intently/do they look away/do they use hand gestures? • Are there any non-verbal cues that the speaker uses?		
John: So (.) at 12 years of age, I had to be an 18 year old from that day that speech was made (4s), because only an 18 year old can operate from that speech. I had to 'man up' and deal with it myself... (3s)...They got other things to do... far more important(.) I'm in a new country (3s)They got to prepare for me (.) They have paid money. There's no return ticket (.) We are where we are.{gestures with hand} Danielle: That's such a powerful, powerful story. I can imagine	Having to turn from a boy to a man – grow up fast – deal with it – forget the emotions, and push on.	Lots of pauses here to solidify his message and intensify it. Short sentences for impact.	Direct tone/loss of eye contact/lots of emphasis on words. Speaking to the wider British society of having to prove oneself.	Maybe the idea of good citizenship coming in here – we have to try and make it – we have paid to come here now and settle. Make the most.	Could not return due to the racism faced and little

how you being such a young adult as you say at that time that must have affected you. What do you think you learned from that speech? John: children my age in the 60's, had brought themselves up because they had no other choice other than they had to grow up fast due to finances of their parents (.) So, a lot of children were left in houses, most people, they got a ticket somebody sent them a ticket, and they had to make their way, rent their own places so their children had to grow up fast.(3s) They had no time to be babies or boys and girls. I myself, I was cooking, my parents would come home at half six and my mum would prepare the meal before work and me and my brother would take it turns to cook, as by the time my parents got home, there was no time to cook.	Learnt about having to work hard, be independent from a young age. Be self-sufficient from a young age	Pauses again help to highlight impact of growing up fast –	Tried to emphasise how important it was to grow up. This is something he has repeated a few times.		finances – systems of whiteness and oppression. Systems of oppression – financial strains made it difficult to parent – likely to do with difficult conditions of oppression System forces you to rely on yourself – wider systems of capitalism and making your own fortune – which may have been

		lets the message land with me.			quite difficult for the collective country he came from.

T6: Myrtle's analysis

First stage of the analysis

(Excerpts) Context and reflective journal notes

- Following Myrtle's interview, I felt a great sense of sadness during and afterwards. I felt the exhaustion that came from her many experiences, which she talked about having to have so much resilience for. She noted experiences of being left in Jamaica, battling over to a new country, having to navigate a new social cultural context and environment, and had a difficult reunification experience given that her parents were not able to be around for her physically and emotionally, given the harsh and economic conditions of England. This made me reflect on the narrative of the 'Strong Black Woman', who has to endure so much, until the point she can't anymore.

(Excerpts) Ideas about main stories

- Myrtle started her narrative by saying, 'as always, which is suggestive of the commonality of this experience, as suggested by CRT. She also talked about the fact that she lived with her grandparents and with many of her siblings; again a common experience. She also describes the closeness of living with the community and extended family members in the Caribbean.

- Myrtle talked about being very scared of her grandmother, although she later talked about her grandmother not being as scary as she once perceived. This made me think about social constructionism and how much our identity and sense of self and others changes over various time and contexts.
- The use of patios throughout Myrtle's narrative was effective for her story. I wondered whether it was influenced by my insider identity, as she could do this almost immediately without even having to explain what she meant. I feel it enabled her to speak authentically. However, as I am aware that the language people use can carry various meanings, it was important that I asked her what she meant by certain language, in order to capture her unique meanings.

Original transcript	Content-related ideas emerging themes and plots	Structure related ideas- how is language used?	Performance – why is it being performed? What does it communicate about identity?	Co-construction ideas- the local and broader contexts including reflections from researcher	CRT

	• What is being said about the experience of serial migration? • What is being said about mental health beliefs and help seeking? • As an older adult looking back, what is being said about their experiences?	• How are the stories organised (e.g. is there a beginning, middle and end)? • Does the story flow? • Is the story coherent? • Do they skip from one topic to another?	• Who is this a message for? • Why is it being said? • What emotions are present for the speaker? • How do I respond as the listener? • In what kind of a story does a narrator place herself? • How does my identity impact the stories that are told – those that are privileged and those that are not shared? • Who is this a message for?/ real/imagined audiences? • Why is it being said? • What emotions are present for the speaker?	• What are the wider social, cultural, and historical contexts that the person is speaking into? • Who are the real/imagined audiences? • How is social reality constructed through interaction?	• Are there stories of racism/race (endemic/embedded?) • What is being said about whiteness or interest convergence/how is it being said/why? • Are there any counter-narratives – what/how/why are they sharing this story? • What/how/why – are they inferring about social justice/social action? • Any references to intersectionality?

			• How do I respond as the listener? • In what kind of a story does a narrator place themselves? • What did they look like, how they expressed themselves and visual expressions too? • Do they look at me intently/do they look away/do they use hand gestures? • Are there any non-verbal cues that the speaker uses?		

So we lived in a largely dysfunctional home where that was really not supportive. I didn't see the trauma that was my mother was going through. She went through all kind of depression (3s) Everything, skin rashes, everything. Because she was frustrated not being able to provide for her family, and she was who I looked up to in a way, and taught me how to save, honestly to God (.) She taught me how to save and I was just thinking, how did I end up “fairly successful” [gestures]. It wasn't actually the money. It's because some of the things she taught me. You know I'm gonna give you, fivepence 5 pence, “I want you to put half of it saving, and you can spend half of it”.(.) She did it every week, half of it, half of it. And it kind of gave me that mentality. Yeah, I should be saving up should pass on to my own children now.	• Home life was difficult and she did not find it a supportive environment. Mother was also struggling and things were tough – physical symptoms. Wanting to provide for family, but conditions were hard. Teaching to be resourceful and save from a young age; grateful.	Jumps around lots of different topics; still processing how chaotic things were?	Life was really hard – and continued to be challenging when she moved here. Had adverse life events early on which continued. Mother taught her how to be resourceful and save her money – especially given the fact that money was hard to come by anyway and this would have been difficult especially given the social context.	Retrospective view on how her mother might have been coping. I didn’t see the trauma she was going through – maybe this was her understanding as an older adult now but not back then.	• Life was tough – racism faced made economic conditions very difficult. Put pressure on the family and for mother to cope. Put pressure on being able to keep the family together. Speaks to commonality of racism. Find ways to cope with oppressive systems against you.

	Importance of saving for next generation and for the future.	The active voicing here brings the memory to life. She was taught to survive the tough economic conditions of Britain at the time.			