SHARING OUR WAY

A study of Caribbean identity using Liming as culturally affirming research methodology

A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Social Sciences)

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Vamos con el polen en el viento
Estamos vivos porque estamos en movimiento

We fly with pollen in the wind
We are alive because we are in movement

Jorge Drexler

Abstract

In this thesis, two complementary strands of research are developed. The first strand seeks to analyse how people of Caribbean descent living in Aotearoa New Zealand articulate their cultural identity. The second strand explores how this analysis can be conducted through a research process that is participatory and culturally affirming. As a result, a new qualitative and culturally affirming research methodology is developed using Liming and ole talk, Caribbean practices of sharing and engaging that are repeated across the diverse ethnic, linguistic, and social contexts of the region. Caribbean identity is analysed in this thesis using strategies and tools that are part of the Caribbean cultural system, instead of defaulting to Eurocentric practices. This allowed for researcher and participants to actively construct knowledge while drawing on their cultural strengths and communicative competencies. Liming methodology offers Caribbean researchers a tool for sensemaking that is coherent with the lived experiences within the region, that, at the same time, is adaptable to the diverse contexts and cultural practices of each island. Liming methodology is not about homogenising how we construct meaning, but about looking within to draw on the diverse modes of knowledge construction that can be found in each island when people come together to share or *compartir*.

The thesis advances knowledge about how Caribbean people construct their identity in migrant contexts, especially in the framework of a small community in a non-traditional country of settlement. Results show that Caribbean ways of relating as humans were the most significant attribute in participants' representations of Caribbean culture, and the most salient area for identity negotiation, often concerning the perceived differences to New Zealand ways of engaging. Additionally, it was found that for most participants, migration required identity negotiation, which was achieved through diverse strategies, including resistance, empathy and adaptation. Othering practices and collective discourses of discrimination and privilege exerted considerable pressure on some participants, in relation to issues of race, ethnicity, and language. Finally, in-betweenness as a subject position for identity negotiation emerged as a site for creativity and resilience, but also of considerable conflict, traversed by discourses of race and place.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Anabel Fernandez Santana

Auckland, February, 2020

A mami, *por creer que no hay nada imposible.*
En todo lo que hago y todo lo que soy, estas tu.

A mi amor del mar
"yo llevo tu sonrisa como bandera
Y que sea lo que sea"
Sin ti, este viaje no hubiera sido. Literalmente.
Contigo, el viaje (el más largo) es infinitamente mejor.

A toda mi familia*. Por quererme y por entender. A mi Abu, por no faltar ni un solo domingo a nuestra cita del alma, y por no faltar ni un solo día a mi vida.*

A mis amigos de aquí y de allá*. Por quedarse siempre conmigo.*

Acknowledgements

Ehara taku toa, he takitahi, he toa takitini

The accomplishment is not mine alone, but the accomplishment of a collective

I would like to extend my sincere and deepest gratitude

To all the Caribbean people who organised and joined the limes, sharing their homes, food, music, stories and ideas to construct the knowledge contained in this study.

To my supervisor Dr. Camille Nakhid. For saying "pack your bags and come, this research is something we need to do" almost 4 years ago. For your continuous support, as a mentor and as a friend. For your patience, motivation, and inspiration. For posing the challenges and trusting I could tackle them. For believing 100% of the time that we could do this.

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To Emma. Thank you for believing deeply that there is another way, another path that we can construct and follow, to make a difference. It's contagious.

To my friends and colleagues at COMET Auckland for the continuous encouragement. The learning journey I have shared with each and all of you made this thesis better.

To Jill Poulston, for her excellent editing and proofreading work.

Ethics approval for this research was granted by AUTEC on November 9th, 2017 (APPENDIX A)

Getting the lime going

Introduction, rationale and design of the thesis

The objective of this chapter is to provide a roadmap of the thesis, and an to offer an account of why and from what position it was written. I state the research questions, objectives and structure of the study, as well as the context in which it was located, in relation to (a) the characteristics of the Caribbean community in Aotearoa and (b) New Zealand's history and policies as a receiving country of immigration.

Lime[1] [laɪm]

noun

In many English-speaking Caribbean countries, “lime” refers to a scheduled or non-scheduled event in which a group of people comes together to relax and share (talk, ideas, laughs, music, food, space, movement).

Liming [laɪmɪŋ]

past participle form of the verb “to lime”

The act of participating in a lime. Liming is a core feature of life in many Caribbean countries. It constitutes a rich cultural practice that can be used for relaxation, but also for sensemaking and networking.

Limer [ˈlaɪmər]

noun

Person who participates in a lime.

Ole Talk [ol tɔk]

noun

“Ole talk” is a Caribbean conversational practice that can occur in the context of liming. It constitutes an unstructured, yet profound mode of communication that relies on close connections and shared communicative competencies, especially around the use of humour.

[1] I have condensed these definitions from conversations with participants in the limes, and drawing on the conceptual contributions of Nakhid-Chatoor, Nakhid, Wilson, & Fernandez Santana, 2018; Fernández Santana, Nakhid, Nakhid-Chatoor, & Wilson-Scott, 2019; Winer, 2009; Maharajh & Ali, 2006; and Wendell DeRiggs, 2009.

Rationale of the study and positionality of the author

In this study, I undertake the dual task of developing a culturally affirming methodology to inform Caribbean research and utilising it to analyse how Caribbean migrants construct and negotiate their identity in Aotearoa. These two research strands are closely connected: the study can be conceived of as an endeavour to analyse Caribbean ways of being using Caribbean ways of knowing. The connection between the two (being and knowing) is what I have called *culturally affirming research*.

Framing the concept of culturally affirming research that informs this study

In this study, the concept of culture underlying the notion of *cultural affirmation* is not reliant on essentialist claims of a reified Caribbean culture, but on an understanding of the Caribbean as the evolving point of entanglement (Glissant, 1989) of diverse peoples. Through colonisation, the Caribbean was the epicentre of unprecedented movements of humans who, for the first time, were "brought together in a single field of power" (Sharma, 2015, p. 164). Over the centuries, people from Europe, Africa, East Asia and other regions converged with the indigenous people of the Caribbean islands (**Figure 1**), in a process traversed by violence and power.

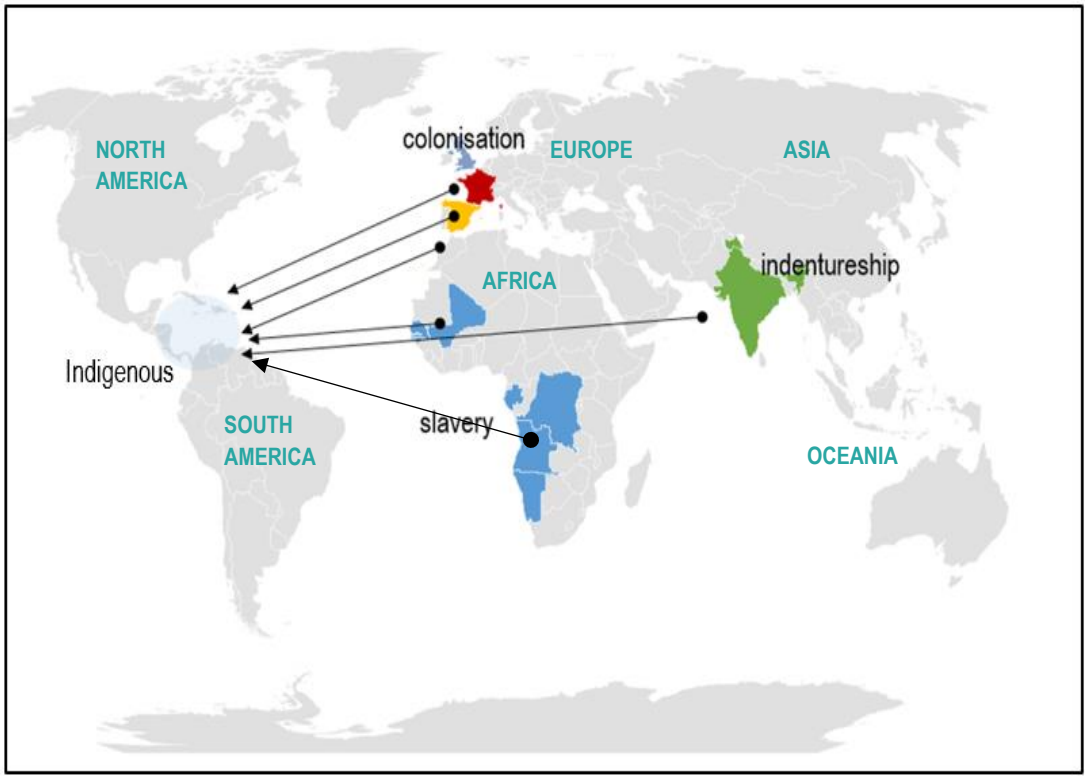

Figure 1: **Diverse origins of Caribbean ethnic groups (Hall G. M., 2005; New World Encyclopaedia, 2019)**

However, understanding the cultural systems that this convergence generated is more complex than the tracing of their discrete ancestral roots. The complexity of Caribbean

cultural systems has been explained through concepts such as creolisation (Brathwaite, 1971), transculturation (Ortiz, 1995) and hybridity (Hall, 1990). As these pivotal Caribbean thinkers have suggested, the multiple peoples that came together in the region were transmuted by their experience in the New World. This mutually transformative clash generated cultures that are both connected with and different from their ancestral origins.

The Caribbean is a region that resists conceptual bounding to fixed geographical and cultural definitions. As Meniketti (2009) has noted, the idea of "bounded space" conceived in geopolitical terms has no general utility in the Caribbean, where "place" and "space" are not interchangeable concepts. As the author adds, borders of the Caribbean are fluid, literally and figuratively. For example, demarcating "Caribbean" within the bounds of the geographical Caribbean Sea would exclude the region's diaspora, a highly mobile group of people impossible to pin down to single locations. In this research, I am more interested in understanding what it means to be Caribbean than in the geographical demarcation of the region's boundaries[2]. In this regard, I draw on the perspectives of Benítez Rojo (1985) and Glissant (1989) who define the Caribbean as a meta-archipelago and a point of entanglement, respectively, as outlined next.

In defining the Caribbean, Benítez Rojo used the image of repeating islands (Benítez Rojo, 1985) connected by non-identical repetitions to create a meta-archipelago without boundaries or centre, but always holding to a rhythm, a particular response or a *certain kind of way* that is Caribbean. Benítez Rojo proposes that the Caribbean is not just a bridge of islands divided by their different languages, but a region where

> beneath the *arbol*, *arbre*, tree, etc. lies the same island that keeps 'repeating' itself all the way to its arrival as a meta-archipelago. There's no centre or circumference; there are tropisms, common patterns, highlighted differently and then, gradually, assimilated into African, European, Indoamerican, and Asian contexts until they have reached the point at which none of them can be differentiated" (Benítez Rojo, 1985, p. 449).

Meanwhile, Glissant defines the Caribbean as a point of entanglement[3]. With this definition, the author highlights the relational experience of Caribbean people (the reality of humans with diverse ancestral origins whose lived experience is tightly interwoven) and the power of this experience to resist the dichotomies imposed by the coloniser (e.g. black/white).

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[2] From an operational point of view, participants self-identified as Caribbean. I did not establish pre-requisites for inclusion or exclusion.

[3] This concept is further explored in Chapter 2

In this thesis, I argue that the research in and about the Caribbean needs to be informed by strategies and tools that have emerged from the complex, evolving and connected entanglement (Glissant, 1989) that constitutes us as peoples, instead of defaulting to Eurocentric[4] frameworks. In using Caribbean practices as strategies for research, this study aligns itself with a worldwide decolonial movement in academia. For research practice to affirm the aspirations and needs of a community, instead of perpetuating oppressive knowledge systems that hinder its development, it needs to transform the tools that inform the inquiry process, because as Audre Lorde put it, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde, 1984, p. 111).

Positionality of the author

I undertake this study as a migrant Cuban woman living in Aotearoa. As tangata tiriti, I position myself in solidarity with the ongoing decolonial movement of tangata whenua in Aotearoa. I believe that the affirmation of the diverse cultural identities that converge in Aotearoa is key in making it a more equitable society, but this cannot occur to the detriment of the tangata whenua's reclamation of their historical and territorial rights over the land and resources. Māori concerns about migration have often been vilified, without considering the differentiated meaning immigration has for indigenous peoples who have been subjected to colonisation (Kukutai, 2017).

> Bridging the immigrant-indigenous divide is no easy task. In Aotearoa New Zealand, as in the other colonial settler societies, there is a yawning hole in policymaking and research relating to immigration; that is, the exclusion of indigenous peoples and perspectives (Kukutai & Rata, 2017, p. 35).

Māori have argued for an immigration policy that creates partnerships that are mutually beneficial for Māori and migrants. Drawing on the principle of manakitanga, Kukutai and Rata (2017) have proposed, policies can capture notions of mutual care and respect for people, honouring one another. In this study, I use manakitanga as a guiding principle for thinking about our rights and identities as migrants. For me, the affirmation of Caribbean identity and culture in Aotearoa is about who we are, and where we come

[4] The difference between European epistemologies and methodologies and Eurocentric epistemologies and methodologies are worth noting. "European epistemologies" refers to theories of knowledge that respond to the particular historical needs and ways of life of European people, whereas Eurocentrism denotes the extrapolation of these situated epistemologies to different realities, and their imposition as the universal way of generating, acquiring and validating knowledge. It is the imposition of Eurocentrism, and not the value of European epistemologies, that is questioned in this thesis.

from as Caribbean islanders, but also about the land in which we have arrived, and the place that tangata whenua have in it, as traditional custodians of the land.

Liming Methodology is developed and utilised in this study to facilitate the inquiry into what it means to be Caribbean in Aotearoa New Zealand. For me, being Caribbean is more than an object of study; it is who I am and the position from which I develop this study, alongside other members of the Caribbean community that have joined me on this journey. I was born in Cuba, a fascinating and contradictory island where *lo real maravilloso*[5] is ubiquitous. Growing up, in my family's history, Spain and Africa were taken for granted as lands of ancestral origin. We also knew that grandma's father had arrived from the Philippines sometime in the 1920s. Not much more was known, just that, as Cubans, we came from everywhere.

Recently, I took a DNA test[6] to explore my ethnicity. I was able to see that the story of my family (**Figure 2**) reproduces almost exactly the story of entanglement that is the Caribbean (**Figure 1**). Like the Caribbean, I am, in the words of Anzaldúa (1987), an *amasamiento*[7].

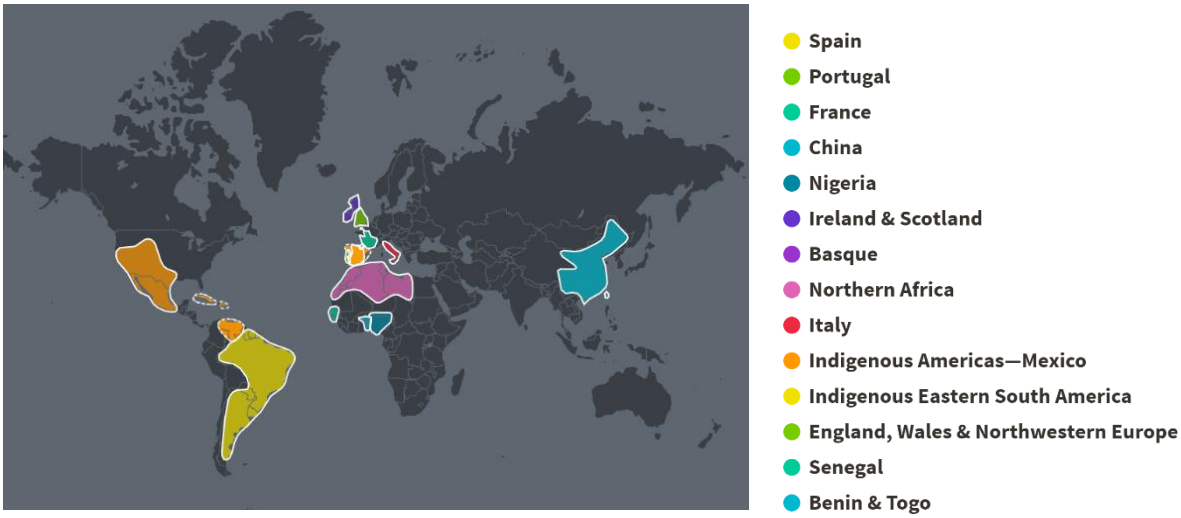

Figure 2: The map of my ethnic ancestry

I have been unable to trace back the colours of this ethnic map with precision; some of the tracks were lost through the erasure mechanisms of colonisation, including the

[5] Loosely translated as "the marvellous real." It is a concept the Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier (1967) used to signify how reality in the Caribbean and Latin American can be so improbable and surprising that it appears to be fiction.

[6] This map is offered as an approximate illustration of my ancestry and no claims are made about its accuracy of scientific validity of the methods used to obtain it.

[7] Spanish: the act of kneading

indigenous components of my ethnicity. Other traces were slowly blurred from the memory of the descendants of those who once settled in Cuba. I am now the migrant who settles in a foreign land. What have I brought with me? What do I hope to pass on to my children? It is not Europe, or Asia, or Africa, but all of them entangled in my being Cuban. Cuba is the point of entanglement of all that came. Being Cuban is what I have articulated with my sense of self, and is the subject position that conditions my way of being, knowing and doing.

Conducting this study with a methodology that affirms my culture has been a way of bringing my whole self to the research process, instead of detaching my culture from my practice as a researcher. The two positions (migrant Cuban woman - researcher) have converged in the research process through which I have sought answers to the questions that guide this study: What does it mean to be Cuban, to be Caribbean in a space that is so geographically and culturally distant? How can we explore this together, on our own terms?

My development and experience as a researcher in Cuba also influenced the position from which I undertake this study. My entire training in the social sciences was built upon Eurocentric research principles. Although from the outside, Cuba is well known for its rebellious positions against the capitalist West, our educational institutions have not been disengaged from Western modes of learning and researching. Throughout my training as a social scientist, Eurocentric research methods, in general, were not questioned or contested, despite their disconnection from the Cuban reality, ways of life, worldviews and cultural practices outside academia. Conducting research in other Caribbean countries during my master's studies, I experienced the same divide between methods and experience at a regional level. I always ended up having the best conversations and learning the most before or after the interviews, in the space where I had decentred myself from the process of knowledge construction. My time and experience living in other islands in the Caribbean, (Trinidad and Tobago, Dominican Republic, Aruba, Cayman Islands) also allowed me to experience how liming practices, albeit named differently, were central components of the islands' social fabric and encompassed similar dynamics and uses across countries.

The use of Caribbean cultural practices as a methodology allowed this study to become a space for community engagement and participation. As Caribbean islanders, both the participants and I were familiar with the practice of liming and were able to engage in it as equals to construct knowledge. Additionally, Liming Methodology allowed me to

have a voice and share my own stories, perspectives and experiences, which were contested, supported, mocked and curtailed in the same way as those of any other participant.

The Caribbean community in Aotearoa

Figure 3: Caribbean population by region (Stats New Zealand, 2018)

This study was undertaken in a small community of 1305 Caribbean people living in Aotearoa New Zealand, 528 of them in Auckland and the rest scattered from Northland to Invercargill (**Figure 3)** Although small in numbers, the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Caribbean region is represented in this community, which encompasses a wide range of national origins (**Figure 4**). The Caribbean community of New Zealand is represented institutionally by the West Indian & Caribbean Society of New Zealand (WICS). The Society works to support the culture, interests and welfare of Caribbean people in New Zealand and provides events and information for anyone interested in Caribbean culture (WICS, 2017).

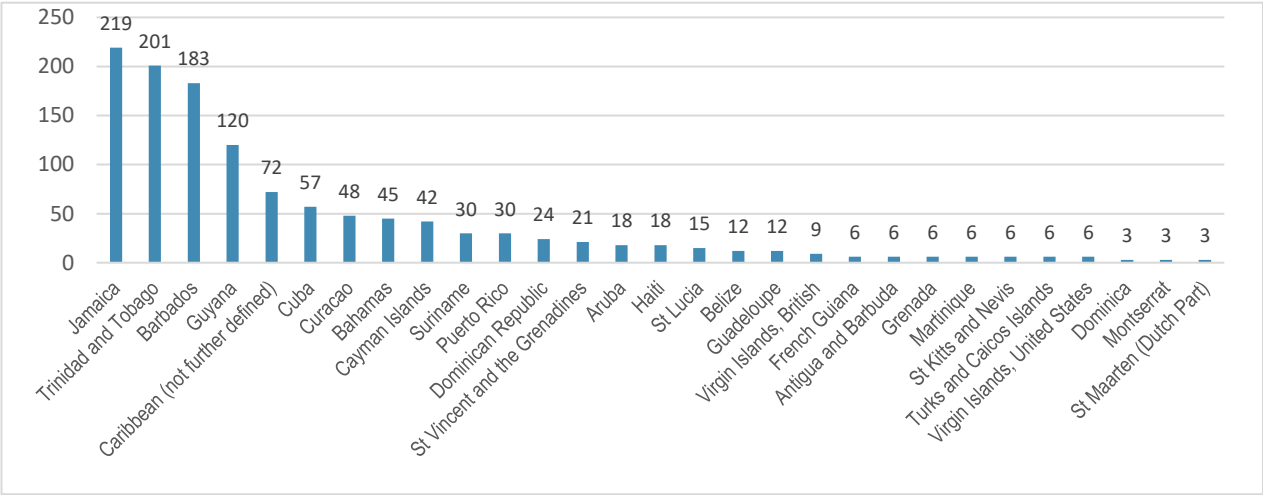

Figure 4: Country of origin of Caribbean-born people living in New Zealand (Stats New Zealand, 2018)

Migration has been a constant motif of the Caribbean story (Hall, 1999) and according to latest statistics on the region's migration patterns, at least 19% of Caribbean-born people live outside the region (OECD, 2015). As could be expected, there is a significant body of research analysing cultural identity in Caribbean diasporic enclaves. However, as **Figure 5** shows, there are few studies about cultural identification among smaller Caribbean communities (Wilson E., 2002). The location of this study in the small Caribbean community in New Zealand addresses this paucity in research, which is significant, as the experience of individuals who settle into large diasporic communities can vary considerably from the experience of those who settle in countries where there are only small and geographically disperse enclaves, as is the case with the Caribbean community in New Zealand.

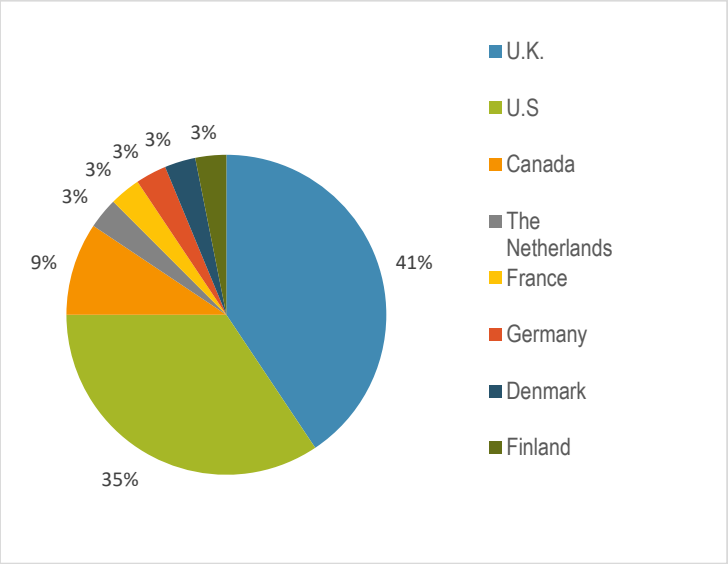

Figure 5: Geographic location of empirical studies about cultural identity in Caribbean migrant communities

(Results based on the 32 studies about this topic found in the following databases: Pro–quest (international), DART (Europe E–theses Portal) and British Library EThOS (UK)

In countries where there is a long history of Caribbean migration such as the United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (US) and Canada (OECD, 2015) the settlement of significant numbers of Caribbean people over the years has given place to extensive community networks, easily accessible cultural resources (e.g. music, food, events, and performing arts), and collective discourses of belonging. Altogether, large diasporic communities can offer a repertoire of cultural resources to choose from in the articulation of migrants' identity (Bacchus, 2012). For example, there are long-standing collective discourses around what it means to be Cuban in Miami or Puerto Rican in New York. Although these collective representations can be challenged, contested, or transformed, they arguably create historical and cultural narratives which can be used by new migrants as points of reference from which to make sense of their experiences, especially when these narratives frame historical enclaves such as the Windrush

generation[8] in the UK and the various waves of Cubans migrating to Florida. Additionally, members of large diasporic communities have relatively easy access to products, networks, spaces, practices, specialised services, food, religious celebrations, and even opportunities for business and employment relating to their home cultures, which are not available to Caribbean migrants in New Zealand. This difference can arguably have a considerable influence on the experience of migrants and, consequently, in their identification process, and in how individuals come together to build a community, as analysed in this study.

New Zealand as a migration- receiving country

Migration is also a driving force in New Zealand's history. Currently, over one-quarter of the country's population is foreign-born (OECD, 2019), firmly positioning New Zealand among the top migrant-receiving countries on the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's list. Historically, migration has been a key constituent factor of New Zealand's culture and society. Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi), the founding document of Aoteaoroa, was signed in 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and various iwi to enable British settlers and Māori people to live together in New Zealand under a common set of laws or agreements. As Spoonley and Bedford (2012) and Nakhid and Devere (2005) stated, Te Tiriti established the basis for British settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand and thus can be considered the country's first official immigration agreement. Nevertheless, further immigration policy has consistently failed to acknowledge the place of tangata whenua in Aotearoa and to include Māori in decision-making. Nakhid and Devere (2005) argued that the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi could be used as a starting point for an immigration policy that incorporates multiculturalism while guaranteeing Māori sovereignty in New Zealand.

New Zealand's immigration policies as a receiving country, have fluctuated considerably over the years and have frequently "been tainted with racial overtones" (Nakhid & Devere, 2005, p. 76). During the 19th and early 20th centuries, non-European immigration to Aotearoa New Zealand was uncommon. As Manying (2020) points out, in the 19th century, New Zealand's immigration policies were aiming a 'fairer Britain of the South Seas', and non-white migrants were regarded as undesirable in this nation-

[8] "Windrush generation" is a term often used to designate Caribbean immigrants arriving in Great Britain in the 50s and 60s, after the ship Empire Windrush, whose arrival in 1948 marked the beginnings of significant migration of Caribbean people to Great Britain

building enterprise. Chinese migration to New Zealand during the ‘gold rush era’ was a notable exception (Manying , 2020).

In general, as Kukutai and Rata (2017) pointed out, New Zealand’s official immigration policy in this period served settler colonialism by keeping the country white. Entry was readily granted to citizens of the United Kingdom, while the place of Aotearoa New Zealand in the Pacific, and the connections of Māori to other Pacific peoples were largely ignored. According to Ward and Masgoret (2008), the small number of Chinese and Indian settlers that entered the country were subjected to racist legislation and discriminatory practices. After the Second World War, immigration policies shifted in response to severe labour shortages and adopted a laissez-faire policy that made it easy for Pacific migrants to live and work in New Zealand (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). In the seventies, this changed drastically, as new policies were put in place to regulate (and effectively reduce) immigration from the Pacific. Pacific immigrants were identified as a threat and “racialised as a culturally different other” (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012, p. 131).

As Simon-Kumar (2015) argued, the Amendment to the Immigration Act of 1987 (New Zealand Government, 2020) ushered in an era of multi-ethnic population movement into New Zealand, as part of the rise of neoliberalism in New Zealand. This established a seemingly race-free meritocracy as the guiding principle of its immigration policy, through a points allocation system based on various parameters, such as age, education, and English language skills. Nevertheless, after a thorough analysis of past and current legislation on immigration, Simon-Kumar (2015) concluded that in New Zealand, the notion of “desirable migrant” framed in official discourse and policies continues to be tied to race, in an intersection with class and class mobility. The “neutrality” of the points system was also questioned by Kukutai and Rata (2017), who noted that while in theory, the points system was based on merit and not ethnicity, it included English-language criteria, whereas no points were allocated for proficiency in Te Reo Māori, an official language of New Zealand.

The “post-racial” nature of immigration in New Zealand remains a highly contested topic. On the one hand, merit-based immigration policies operate in response to the neoliberal principle that a market makes no ethnic distinction (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). On the other hand, social receptivity of migrants is highly conditioned by perceptions of ethnic and cultural proximity or difference. An empirical study of the attitudes of New Zealanders towards immigrants and immigration conducted by Ward

and Masgoret (2008) concluded that the majority of New Zealanders did not perceive immigration as a threat and had positive attitudes towards multiculturalism. The same study showed that perceptions of cultural distance (i.e., the dissimilarity between the culture of origin and the culture of contact) affected attitudes toward immigrants. In general, New Zealanders tend to perceive immigrants from some parts of the world more favourably than others, with those from countries with Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, such as Great Britain and Australia, being viewed most positively (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). This conclusion is consistent with the results of a study by Spoonley, Gendall, and Trlin (2010), which showed that participants were concerned with difference, stating that immigration was likely to overwhelm New Zealand culture. Another study by Johnston, Gendall, Trlin and Spoonley (2010) found that New Zealanders had a strong preference for migrants from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Europe, and South Africa, while there was a general feeling that too many migrants had entered New Zealand from "non-traditional sources," especially China.

Structure of the thesis

This study is comprised of two research strands that evolved concurrently: (a) the development of a culturally affirming methodology that utilises Caribbean modes of constructing knowledge as a research approach, and (b) the use of this methodology to analyse the articulation of cultural identity by Caribbean people living in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although the two research strands evolved together and recursively influenced each other, the thesis is structured in such a way that each research strand is presented as a whole, enabling the reader to navigate from literature review to findings, instead of constantly moving back and forth from the development of the methodology to the analysis of cultural identity. The thesis chapters are structured as follows:

Chapter 1 is dedicated to describing the design of the study, establishing the research questions that guide this study, as well as the research objectives. Here, I offer operational information about the limes, their location, composition, and participants. I also explain how research procedures such as recruitment, obtaining consent, and recording information, operated in this study. It should be noted that a detailed explanation of Liming Methodology is presented later as a result of the thesis, in Chapter 3.

Chapters 2 and 3 are dedicated to the development of Liming Methodology as a culturally affirming research approach.

Chapter 2 establishes the historical underpinnings of colonisation in the Caribbean and Latin America are established, through the review of literature on decolonial epistemologies and methodologies in the region. I draw on the work of authors such as Sylvia Wynter, Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano, Nelson Maldonado, Rodolfo Kusch, Édouard Glissant and Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa, to establish the concept of "culturally affirming methodologies" that I use to develop Liming Methodology as a Caribbean research approach.

Chapter 3 is divided into two parts.

Part One is dedicated to the description of liming and ole talk as cultural practices through which Caribbean people interact, share, and connect, and that are interwoven into the Caribbean people's lives and experiences. I outline how these practices, albeit with different names, are repeated throughout the region, as culturally specific modes of interaction. I explain the use of humour as a cultural competency essential to liming and

ole talk and describe how these practices have been represented in Caribbean literature and film.

Part Two explains the ways that liming and ole talk are utilised for knowledge construction in Liming Methodology. This is presented as the first results section of the thesis. Here, I lay the groundwork for the future use of Liming Methodology in academic research by analysing features such as the atmosphere that is created for knowledge construction, the role of the researcher and participants, the importance of sharing as essential to the practice of liming, and the dynamics of ole talk as the conversational component of liming. I also account for the method used for analysing and writing the data. Finally, I compare Liming Methodology with other decolonial and mainstream research approaches.

Chapters 4 to 8 are dedicated to analysing how Caribbean migrants living in New Zealand articulate their cultural identity.

Chapter 4 presents a review of literature about cultural identity. First, I account for the diverse approaches from which identity has been studied. Then, drawing on the work of Stuart Hall, I conceptualise cultural identity as a process of articulation, in which both individual and social components intervene. This establishes the theoretical foundations for the analysis of cultural identity, which is undertaken in Chapters 5 to 8.

Chapter 5 conveys the findings on the ways participants imagined and represented the Caribbean. In this chapter, I explain how the Caribbean habitus of relating and engaging as humans emerged as the most relevant attribute of our cultural identity, and I explain the features that limers associated with this habitus, including our rhythms of human connection, our practices of sharing, our approaches to physical contact, the importance of humour in our ways of relating with one another, as well as some attributes such as "tough love" and "strong mind," which participants represented as uniquely Caribbean. This chapter also presents an analysis of our concepts of family and childrearing.

Chapter 6 presents our ways of representing origin and ethnicity for identity negotiation. Here, I explain how participants attach meaning to narratives of ethnic and geographic origin, and how conflict is generated when stereotypes in others' interpretive frameworks contradict this meaning. I also convey the experience of people whose origins position them in liminal spaces.

Chapter 7 presents an analysis of how othering practices, especially concerning race and accent, have mediated the migrant experiences of some limers, and their process of

identity negotiation. I also discuss how discourses of race and racism are negotiated in response to diverse migrant journeys and previous experiences.

Chapter 8, which is based on the narratives and experiences shared in the Cuban lime, enquires about how the meaning participants assigned to migration, and the post-migration narratives of success they constructed, influenced how they experienced different aspects of their current lives in New Zealand.

Chapter 9 delves into the goals and frustrations of participants regarding our community as a space of belonging and cultural affirmation. I present participants' aspirations for closer connections and more substantial institutional support. Finally, I analyse how participants' narratives convey a strong sense of collective identity, that, to the disappointment of many, does not always translate into collective agency.

Chapter 10 is dedicated to discussing the findings on the use of Liming Methodology for knowledge construction and the articulation of cultural identity.

Finally, I present the study's conclusions and recommendations, as well as a glossary of terms to aid the understanding of words in Spanish, Te Reo Māori and Caribbean English that are used in the thesis.

Chapter 1: Design of the study

In this chapter, I establish the research questions that guide this study, as well as the research objectives I set to answer them. I offer operational information about the limes, their location, composition, and participants. I also explain how research procedures such as recruitment, obtaining consent, and recording information, operated in this study.

1.1Research questions and research objectives

The research questions that guide this study are as follows:

1. How can the articulation of Caribbean identity be analysed using a culturally affirming research methodology?
2. How do Caribbean migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand articulate their cultural identity?

Although the research strands that stem from each question are presented separately in the thesis, their development was interwoven in the research process, and one could not be undertaken without the other. The use of liming as a research methodology enabled a shared reflection about cultural identity in a research process that was open, participatory, and affirming. At the same time, the collective thinking about Caribbean cultural identity, especially regarding our ways of engaging as humans, influenced the development of Liming Methodology as a way of constructing knowledge that is coherent with and affirming of, Caribbean ways of being and relating.

As **Figure 6** shows, both research questions are addressed using data obtained in the limes. In developing Liming Methodology, I analyse the features of liming and ole talk in a research context and describe how they are used for constructing knowledge. I also examine the dynamics of the limes as events and of liming as a practice, i.e., the limes are the units of analysis. In the study of identity negotiation, knowledge construction occurs within each lime, and individual limers, their narratives and reflections are the units of analysis.

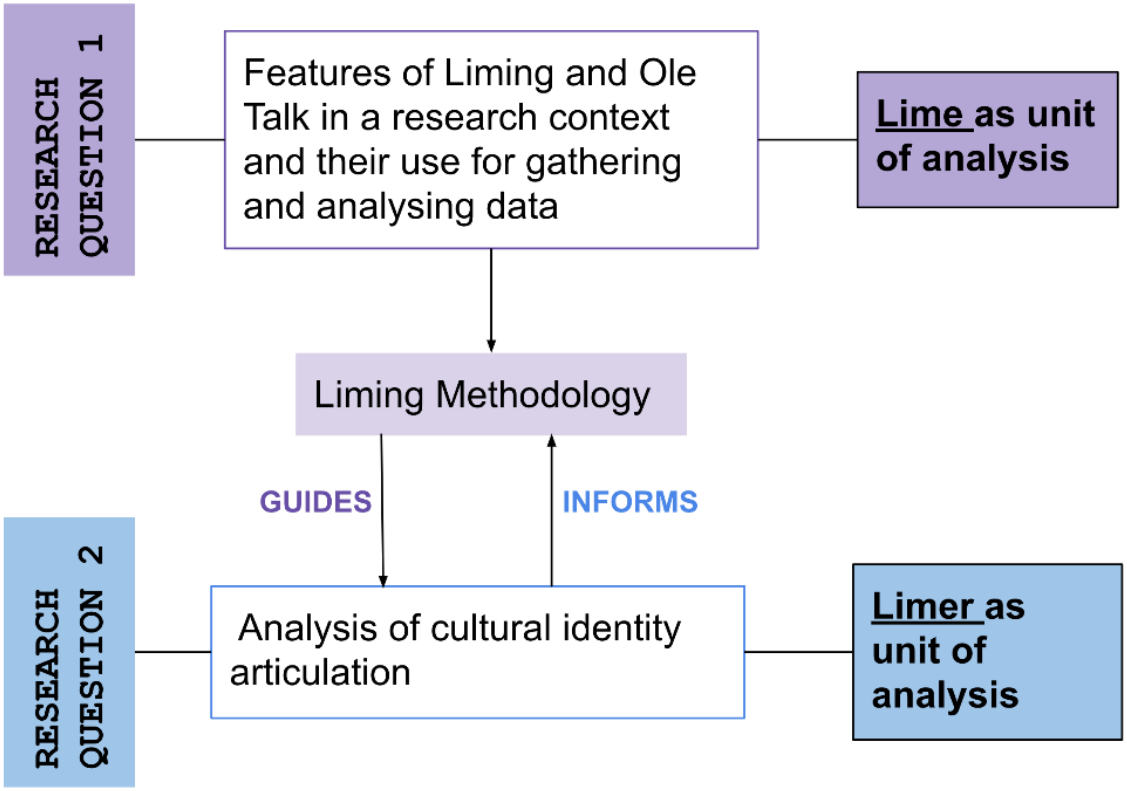

Figure 6: Identity analysis and methodology development: relationship between the research questions

1.2Research objectives

In Liming Methodology knowledge is constructed inductively. Hence, wide and non-prescriptive research objectives have been set to guide the work in each research strand:

1. **Develop a culturally affirming Caribbean research methodology based on the practice of liming, and use it to analyse the articulation of cultural identity**
   a. Describe the features of liming and ole talk as Caribbean cultural practices.
   b. Analyse the ways these features can be used as strategies for collective knowledge construction.
   c. Systematise my research experience to inform further use, development and critique of Liming Methodology as a culturally affirming research approach.
2. **Analyse how Caribbean migrants articulate their cultural identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.**
   a. Understand the processes of identity negotiation that takes place when participants shift from one cultural system to another, through the analysis

of the articulation of their senses of self with collective discourses and the negotiation of their subject positions and interpretive frameworks.

b. Understand which attributes, habitus, values products and practices participants use to imagine and represent the Caribbean.

c. Analyse how participants imagine the Caribbean community in Aotearoa, and how collective identities and senses of belonging are constructed around it.

1.3Limers and lime locations

When the limes that informed this study were organised, 1305 people were Caribbean-born or identified ethnically as Caribbean living in Aotearoa (StatsNZ, 2016). In total, 51 Caribbean people, invited through social media and word of mouth, participated in eight limes organised and hosted by Caribbean people in three cities in New Zealand, including myself (Table 1).

I originally intended to host two limes in Auckland and two Wellington, where, overall, more than half of the total Caribbean population lived, plus at least one lime in another city. However, the initial limes organised in Auckland sparked considerable interest in the Caribbean community. Since more people reached out, five limes were organised in Auckland, with a total of 26 participants. The third city was Palmerston North, where a considerable number of Caribbean students were enrolled in Massey University's postgraduate programmes.

Table 1: Limes and lime locations

City	Number of limes	Total participants
Auckland	5	27
Wellington	2	16
Palmerston North	1	8
Total	8	51

Participants self-identified as Caribbean migrants[9], which included participants born outside the region but who identified with their Caribbean heritage (**Table 2**). Although

[9] No screening was made to define participants' residence status or plans.

age was not intentionally considered as a variable, participants ranged from 18 to 85 years (**Table 2**). Some limes had homogeneous age ranges while other limes were quite diverse.

There was also a significant diversity of Caribbean origins in the limes. Countries of origin/heritage of participants included St Vincent, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Guyana, St Lucia, Grenada, Dominica, and Cuba. In most limes, participants from several nationalities came together. In all cases, a familiarity with the practice of liming (albeit some people named it differently) made the process of coming together easy and comfortable. The diversity of nationalities was reflected in the flavours of the food that was shared, the accents and expressions in the conversations that occurred, and the experiences that were brought up. One lime, however, was exclusively Cuban. This responded to participants' suggestion that speaking Cuban Spanish would enable us to share experiences with more ease and connect easily. Some Cuban participants were speakers of English as a second language but with varying levels of fluency, and few limers from English-speaking Caribbean islands were fluent in Spanish. In the ole talk fragments that I share from the Cuban lime, Spanish is maintained as the original language of the conversations. To enable non-Spanish speakers to understand the fragments from the Cuban lime, I have translated them into English, and both versions are presented side by side in the text.

Table 2: Limers, ages and origin

PARTICIPANTS	AGE RANGE	BORN IN THE CARIBBEAN
Garret's lime, Wellington		
Garret	55-65	Yes
Daisy	41-55	No
Nils	55-65	Yes
Jackie	18-25	Yes
Natalie	26-40	No
Ben's lime, Auckland		
Ben	Older than 65	Yes
Jules	Older than 66	Yes
Peter	Older than 67	Yes
Miriam	55-65	No

Rosa's lime, Palmerston North		
Rosa	26-40	Yes
Helen	26-40	Yes
Axel	18-25	Yes
Nina	26-40	Yes
Sam	26-40	Yes
Renee	26-40	Yes
Mike	26-40	Yes
Dani	26-40	Yes
Ana's lime, Wellington		
Aline	26-40	Yes
Seb	26-41	Yes
Gina	41-55	Yes
Max	55-65	Yes
Miranda	Older than 65	Yes
Robert	41-55	Yes
Randy	Older than 65	Yes
Dawson	26-40	No
Cyril	26-40	Yes
Abel	26-40	Yes
Mia	18-25	Yes
Miriam's lime, Auckland		
Derek	26-40	Yes
Anand	26-41	No
Sarah	26-42	Yes
Jason	26-44	No
Kane	26-45	Yes
Gene	41-55	No
Binny	26-40	No
Steve	26-40	Yes
Chloe's lime, Auckland		
Cathy	41-55	Yes
Alma	55-65	Yes
Sheila	55-65	Yes
Kenia	26-40	No
Oscar	26-40	Yes
Aaron	26-40	Yes

Suzie	55-65	No
Cuban lime, Auckland		
Miguel	26-40	Yes
Yandi	26-40	Yes
Linda	26-40	Yes
Carmen	55-65	Yes
Mariposa	26-40	Yes
Pamela	26-40	Yes
Amalia	26-40	Yes
Lucas' lime, Auckland		
Lucas	55-65	Yes

1.4 Liming and ole talk in research: research procedures

Liming may be named differently across the Caribbean. In Cuba, for example, liming is called *compartir*, (literally "to share" in Spanish) and ole talk is called *dar muela* which is not translatable, but refers to a mode of deep, unstructured and open-ended conversation. Based on my experience liming in different Caribbean islands and *compartiendo* in Cuba, I acknowledge the specificity and the nuances of their occurrence in each island. Still, I argue that some core features of liming are shared across many islands in the region, namely: the spontaneous nature of liming, the lack of precise timing and schedule, the importance of sharing (food, music, spaces) and the presence of humour and teasing.

In this study, the Caribbean cultural practice of liming is used as the knowledge construction strategy that informs the methodology, as explained at more length in **part 2 of Chapter 3**. The dynamics of liming guided the process through which I invited participants, obtained consent and organised, recorded and transcribed data.

Invited to lime: recruitment and participants (self) selection

As a member of the Caribbean community, I invited other community members to lime, and they often asked others to come along. Invitations were also extended through social media, using the Facebook page of the Caribbean Society. Limers were also invited directly by lime hosts, and others just arrived without prior confirmation, because they had heard "there was a lime on". This open invitation and flexible participation process are part of how liming operates as a cultural practice. Frequently,

participants did not know each other before the lime, but were quick to connect and engage with one another.

The invitation to come together was extended based on a shared understanding about the meaning of liming, what the practice entails, and what participants could expect from it. Although this information was made available in the participant information sheets (**Appendix B-b**), it seemed that few participants referred to them as sources of information. Instead, many contacted the host or me by email, messaging, or telephone, for details and questions. Seemingly, participants who accepted the invitation to lime did so due to their interest in the topic of cultural identity and because of the appeal of liming itself.

Obtaining consent and recording information

Respecting participants' privacy and ensuring that they were comfortable with their knowledge, stories and ideas being recorded during the research process is critical in Liming Methodology. In this study, informed consent involved ensuring that participants were aware of how research-related procedures (recording, analysis and writing) occurred as an added layer of sensemaking within liming. Regardless of participants' familiarity with the practice of liming, the researcher is responsible for ensuring that participants fully understand how the knowledge and experiences they share are recorded and used.

In this study, explaining the objectives and expected outcomes of the research, as well as the rationale for utilising liming as a research methodology, was done as part of the intrinsic dynamics of liming, not as a separate process. The conversation about these topics usually occurred while sharing food at the beginning of a lime, before participants gave their written or oral consent. Although consent was obtained from each limer who took part in this study, written consent was obtained only in the first lime, as it was found to interfere with the dynamics of liming; thus oral consent was obtained in the remaining limes. Information was recorded in audio and video, and recorder-free areas were created to enable participants to go "off-record" if they wished to do so.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have offered an initial explanation of the operational components of the study's design. I have stated the research questions, and the broad objectives established in response to each one. I have also provided details about the Caribbean

Migrants who joined the limes, as well as some procedures that were carried out according to the intrinsic dynamics of liming as a cultural practice. This section, which would typically be longer and more comprehensive, has been made shorter because extensive explanation about the thesis methodology is presented as a result of the study in later chapters.

Chapter 2: The importance of culturally affirming research in the Caribbean

In this chapter I analyse how colonisation has imposed Eurocentric epistemologies in academia as the universal way of knowing and thinking to the detriment of other knowledge systems. I describe how this imposition was a key component of colonisation and how its consequences are still prevalent. I also reflect on the principles of the global movement for decolonial research, and the shape it takes in Latin America and the Caribbean. I draw on the work of Latin American and Caribbean authors such as Sylvia Wynter, Rodolfo Kusch, Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, and Nelson Maldonado, who challenge the legitimacy of Eurocentric epistemologies for dealing with Latin American and Caribbean realities, and develop the steps towards culturally affirming knowledge systems for our region. Drawing on this regional body of work, I set out the ontological and epistemological underpinnings on which Liming Methodology was developed.

2.1. Colonialism a matrix of power and knowledge in Latin America and the Caribbean

The earlier Spanish *conquistadores* arrived in the territories now known as the Caribbean in 1492. The Caribbean had been inhabited for over 6000 years before the arrival of these first European colonisers, by diverse indigenous peoples, including the Taíno, Igneri, Caribs (or Kalinago), Guanahatabeyes, Ciguayos, and Macorix. These human groups "moved into the islands from a number of places on the surrounding mainlands over several millennia, and through the centuries, there was probably a good deal of coming and going, with new migrations and continuing interaction with mainland people" (Wilson S., 1997, p. 2).

In the first 200 years of Spanish colonial ventures, a large number of indigenous people in the Caribbean were massacred. Those who survived, endured the systemic marginalisation stemming from the discourses of Christian civilisation. These discourses framed the indigenous populations of the Caribbean as savages in need of salvation (Wilson S., 1997), while legitimising the expropriation of tribal lands and the stealth of their resources, but also the erasure of their tribal languages and cultures. As Quijano (2000) pointed out,

> … Europe also concentrated under its hegemony the control of all forms of subjectivity, of culture, and especially of knowledge, of the production of knowledge. Through the conquest, American populations were expropriated not only of their material resources, but also of their imaginary, symbolic world, their cognitive perspectives and the ways of producing or giving meaning to the results of their material or intersubjective experience[10]. (pp. 209–210)

To this day, those who survived, through outstanding feats of resilience and resistance, are systematically ignored in historical and contemporary accounts of Caribbean history, culture and society. However, their biological and cultural continuity is evident among descendant communities throughout the Caribbean, in contemporary oral traditions, and in cultural and religious practices (Hofman et al., 2014).

In over four centuries of colonisation, other European countries besides Spain and Portugal colonised the Caribbean, including Britain, France, Denmark and Holland. For

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[10] Spanish original: "*Europa también concentró bajo su hegemonía el control de todas las formas de subjetividad, de la cultura, y en especial del conocimiento, de la producción de conocimiento. En el proceso de la Conquista, se les expropió a las poblaciones americanas no sólo sus recursos materiales, sino también el imaginario de su mundo simbólico, sus perspectivas cognitivas y los modos de producir u otorgar sentido a los resultados de la experiencia material o intersubjetiva*." (Author's translation)

all these colonial powers, the enslavement of African men and women became a way of sourcing workforce for the extraction of raw materials in the American colonies, especially for the operation of the plantation system. More than 10 million African men and women (New World Encyclopaedia, 2019) originating from various ethnic groups[11] (Hall G. M., 2005) were forcibly brought to the Americas under horrific conditions. After the crossing, physical subjugation and symbolic repression went hand in hand. As Schmidts (2016) has noted, in an attempt to prevent uprisings, masters and traders in the islands systematically separated people belonging to the same ethnic group, and repressed everything that could potentially remind them of Africa, including their religions, languages and customs. In this context, building interconnections within diversity, as Schmidts (2016) has suggested, was a mechanism for survival. Of the Africans brought to the Caribbean

> …some believed in Allah, others in ancestor spirits and deities; some were patrilineal, others matrilineal; some spoke a Yoruba dialect, others Hausa, Ewe, Fon, or various other languages including the Bantu languages. Hence, from the time of their capture, people had to find a common language, a new social network, and a new common cultural structure in order to survive. (Schmidts, 2006, p.237)

The resilience of African people in the Caribbean, and the remarkable strategies of rebellion and resistance they developed to confront their unthinkable situation, goes far beyond narratives of victimisation and marginalisation that are frequently used to represent their history.

After the abolition of slavery in by the British Parliament in 1833 over 500,000 indentured servants from India (Roopnarine, 2005) supplanted enslaved labour to sustain the functioning of the colonial economic system. Although the indentured Indian labourers were exploited, and many did not survive the harsh conditions more three quarters remained in the Caribbean after the indentureship system was abolished in 1924 (Baboolal, 2016). Indo-Caribbeans have a strong social, cultural, and emotional presence in the region, which is especially substantial countries such as Guyana (Indo-Guyanese), Trinidad and Tobago (Indo-Trinidadians) and Suriname (Hindoestanen).

While it is true that these movements of peoples gave rise to the rich diversity that defines contemporary Caribbean societies, it was despite colonial violence that the

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[11] According to Hall G.M. (2005) these groups included the including the Babongo, originating in nowadays' Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola, the Mandé of Upper Guinea, the Gbe of Togo, Ghana, and Benin, the Akan of Ghana and the Ivory Coast, the Wolof of Senegal and the Gambia, the Igbo of south-eastern Nigeria, the Mbundu of Angola, the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria, the Chamba of Cameroon, and the Makua of Mozambique.

cultures converging in the Caribbean survived, intermixed and transformed and continue to evolve within our contemporary cultural systems. The systems of human exploitation that sustained the ventures of colonialism in the Caribbean recursively enabled and were enabled by *othering discourses of power*. The term "othering" was used by Spivak (1985) to denote the process through which an empire can define itself against those it colonises, excludes and marginalises, through imperial narratives and discourses of power. The systematic distortion and degradation of the "other" was encapsulated in dehumanising ideologies of racism, which responded to the need of the colonisers to morally validate the barbarity of slavery and the occupation of new territories as *terra nullius* (i.e. land legally deemed to be unoccupied or uninhabited by humans).

These ideologies were inserted in such a systematic way into the structures and consciousness of both metropolises and colonies that the mechanisms which generated them became invisible. Quijano (2000) argued that a naturalisation of discrimination occurs when the cognitive framework that causes it, hides the production of the idea itself, and renders an appearance of being given, non-made, and non-artificial. In this cognitive framework, the inferiority of others is portrayed as natural, thus their domination and marginalisation become a matter of natural distribution of power.

Othering knowledge systems: coloniality and Eurocentrism

Through colonisation, as Hall (1992) pointed out, Europe began to systematically describe and represent the difference between itself and its encountered others, using stereotypes, degradation, and distorted accounts of their ways of existence and, significantly, their systems of knowledge, which were represented as uncivilised and unscientific. This process, which can be denoted as Eurocentrism, led to the imposed rationalisation of social existence in colonial contexts, over other conceptions of relationships and interconnections.

Quijano (1990a, 1990b, 1999 and 2001) has outlined four underlying components of Eurocentric rationalisation, as noted by Germana (2009): first, the subjects and objects of knowledge are separated. In accordance with Cartesian gnoseology, the subject is the indeterminate, ahistorical (and therefore, universal) individual, and the object is an independent, isolated entity. Second, objectivity is framed as a condition for knowing reality. This is made possible through the bracketing of the subject, that is, the annulment of the human researcher seeking to know reality, to ensure that this reality can be analysed "as is". Third, reality is atomised, reified and differentiated into areas.

Knowledge is achieved by dividing phenomena in as many constitutive elements as is necessary for their study, leading to the separation of complex systems into discrete parts. Holistic epistemologies that do not accommodate this fragmentation are thus, by Eurocentric standards, they are archaic and unscientific. Fourth, societies are seen as homogeneous realities, moving in a unidirectional way, towards modern notions of progress and development.

Eurocentrism historically privileged a particular domain, with its unique beliefs and epistemic authorities, at the expense of others (Bowlin & Stromberg, 1997) and this privilege is far from superseded in present-day academia. Andreotti (2011) used a vivid analogy to elucidate the ways in which Eurocentric epistemologies currently operate in relation to other worldviews and approaches to knowledge construction.

> First, it is the tendency of yellow corn cobs to see other varieties as deficient or lacking (i.e., deficit theorisation of difference), which often generates the desire to help multicolored corn cobs to turn yellow (i.e., paternalism). Second, it is the tendency of some yellow corn cobs to see the color of other cobs as something superficial, often relying on the maxim "we are all the same under the kernel skin" (i.e., depoliticisation and ahistoricism), which allows the yellow corn cobs to "forget" their cultural roots and project their "substance" or "essence" (as well as their naturalised desires and aspirations) as the substance and essence, desires and aspirations universal to all corn cobs (…). Third, it is the tendency of many multicolored corn cobs that have been historically and continually exposed to such treatment to see themselves through the eyes of yellow corn cobs: to aspire to become yellow and to see themselves and other multicolored varieties as lacking and deficient (i.e., internalised oppression). Fourth, it is the tendency of some multicolored corn cobs to resist yellow ethnocentric global hegemony and categorisations by reaffirming their "color" in reversed-ethnocentric (and often locally hegemonic) ways, speaking back to power using the language and tools of the dominant variety, but remaining trapped in the logic of the yellow corn cob. (Andreotti, 2011, p. 2)

As Andreotti's corn analogy illustrates, Eurocentrism may not take the shape of explicit discrimination or exclusion, and usually operates as an underlying, less visible framework that manifests itself in the shape of paternalism, naturalisation of constructed referents, and internalised oppression. Additionally, Eurocentric frameworks are often confronted by epistemic positions that, in their essentialist negation of the Western canon, shape themselves around it.

2.2. Eurocentrism in Caribbean academia: the need for culturally affirming research in the region

In many Caribbean institutions, the colonisers' ways of producing and legitimising knowledge are deeply entrenched and invisible in their guise as universal "best practices". In the years following independence, prominent intellectuals such as Beckford (1971) and Best (1977) called for a transformation of educational and research structures in the postcolonial Caribbean, a transformation that has remained a regional challenge. Decades later, authors like Lewis and Simmons continue to suggest that

> …in this post-colonial era, universities have an important part to play in helping the shift towards more indigenous modes, but they themselves can become part of the problem, where their primary activity becomes knowledge transmission, with such knowledge and its epistemic frames inclusive of cultural assumptions all having been imported. (Lewis & Simmons, 2010, p. 338)

In this thesis I argue that an epistemic shift is indeed needed in Caribbean academia, but this shift needs to occur also at the methodological level. Challenging Eurocentrism in the Caribbean requires changing how knowledge is defined and validated, as well as the means we use to produce and acquire this knowledge.

Caribbean thought has been highly autonomous in its exploration of what it means to be Caribbean. As Rahim (2013) pointed out, authors such as Derek Walcott, Kamau Brathwaite, Édouard Glissant, Sylvia Wynter, and Antonio Benitez Rojo[12] have, from different perspectives, provided ontological underpinnings for the assertion of a Caribbean consciousness that is distinctive and autonomous in its creative capacity. From a methodological point of view, it is in the field of aesthetics and literary studies that there has been an interest in enquiring about ways of knowing that are consistent with the body of work with which scholarship in this field engages. As a result, as Rahim (2013) noted, Caribbean literature and literary analysis has developed a rich resource of autochthonous concepts and procedures (Rahim, 2013).

In the social sciences, although there have been critical appropriations of non-Caribbean methods such as critical discourse analysis, ethnography, and case studies, there is a paucity of research approaches that draw on Caribbean cultural practices and ways of engaging. A critical review of research about key Caribbean socio-cultural issues in the

[12] I will not go deeper into this vibrant body of intellectual and creative work as it is referenced later in the chapter on cultural identity

past ten years (Wilson, Nakhid, Fernandez Santana, & Nakhid-Chatoor, 2018) revealed a significant absence of culturally specific ways of researching. The authors demonstrated a significant lack of engagement with or interest in research methodologies that respond to Caribbean realities. It was found that "Caribbean feminism emerged as the only explicit and clearly defined research framework that was developed in response to the Caribbean context, albeit as an extension of the broader international feminist movement" (Wilson, Nakhid, Fernandez Santana, & Nakhid-Chatoor, 2018, p.9).

The contribution of Caribbean feminism is significant, especially in its "theorising of the intersections of Indianness, Caribbeanness, gender, and feminism, with a view toward transforming gendered political, sexual, and knowledge economies and their implications for inequities in the region" (Hosein & Outar, 2016, p. 3). This contribution is epistemological, rather than methodological, as it provides valuable concepts for critical thinking within the region, but does not go far in developing the tools for empirical research. As Kempadoo and DeShong (2013) noted, there is a paucity of materials that explicitly and consistently take up questions of how to do feminist research in the Caribbean that respond to Caribbean cultural, social, or political experiences. Consequently, Caribbean feminist research draws on participant observation, discourse or media analysis, statistical analyses, oral histories, community discussions, focus groups, archival research, interviewing, and questionnaire surveys, etc. (Kempadoo & DeShong, 2013).

In summary, Caribbean research methodologies have not reached a level of autonomy that rises to the level of the region's vast and prolific intellectual thought and creative practices. Arguably, this methodological delay is reflective of the deeply entrenched Eurocentrism that operates in our academic institutions, where social sciences often emulate the postulates of European rationality, and remain disconnected from local ways of living and knowing.

Why are we still talking about Eurocentrism after political independence?

In times when political colonisation has been largely superseded by other mechanisms of domination in Latin America and the Caribbean, academic discussion about decolonial thinking and research is often questioned: if colonialism is in the past, why is this discussion relevant in contemporary academia? In responding to this question authors such as Quijano (2013) and Maldonado-Torres (2019) suggested that we make a distinction between colonisation and coloniality. Whereas in many countries

colonisation denotes historical episodes that have been superseded by new socio-political and economical regimes (Maldonado-Torres, 2019), coloniality represents "the logic, metaphysics, ontology, and matrix of power created by the massive processes of colonisation" (Maldonado-Torres, 2019, p. 9), which have enduring consequences in post-colonial societies.

Coloniality, as defined by Quijano (1999, 2000, 2013) encompasses (a) systems of hierarchies, based on racial classifications and difference that reinforced and justified material domination, (b) systems of knowledge that universalised European ways of knowing while disenfranchising others, and (c) cultural systems, which position European modern cultures as universal standards for what it means to be human. Decoloniality was defined subsequently by Mignolo (2017) as a necessary process of epistemic reconstitution of ways of thinking, languages, and ways of life and being in the world that coloniality disavowed. With this reconstitution, Mignolo (2017) did not necessarily suggest a return to ancestral modes of knowing to inform current experience, but a process of re-thinking the relationships between knowing, doing, sensing and believing, that make us all human, outside the exclusionist rationalism of Eurocentric structures of knowledge.

Decolonial research is then, above all, a creative resourcing to autochthonous consciousness and practices for constructing knowledge. It is, therefore, not an act of rescue faced to the past, but a current and ongoing process of constructing research approaches that bring together our ways of being, doing and knowing, dimensions that were fragmented by ethnocentric knowledge systems. In the next sections I draw on decolonial thinkers such as Sylvia Wynter, Rodolfo Kusch, Edouard Glissant and Gloria Anzaldúa to set out the ontological and epistemological underpinnings on which Liming Methodology was developed.

Sylvia Wynter and the over-representation of Man as Human

The work of Sylvia Wynter undertakes a challenge of Eurocentrism that goes beyond denouncing its effects on the peoples it has marginalised, to explain the underlying mechanisms that have allowed it to operate as a knowledge system still pervasive in the post-colonial world. For Wynter, Eurocentrism was enabled by an *over-representation of Man as human.* Wynter (2003) suggested the Western bourgeoisie as an ethno-class has over-represented itself (through the category of Man) as if it were the human itself. In Wynter's conceptualisation, this over-representation is ontological and

epistemological, as it involves the naturalisation of one way of being and one way of knowing as universal, while other ways are disenfranchised.

Wynter (1995) explains that Man, as a mode of being human, becomes naturalised and loses its specificity through two epochal shifts. The first shift is ratiocentric and occurred when, during the Renaissance, the supraordinate goal of *spiritual salvation* of the medieval era was replaced by *rational redemption* as the supraordinate goal of the modern secular state. This goal was to be achieved by "the individual's actions, as a rational citizen, in ensuring the stability, growth and competitive expansion of the state" (Wynter, 1995, p. 14). *Man*, and *rational citizen* are so equated and over-represented as the only way of being human through a sustained rhetorical strategy. Before this shift, as Wynter (1995) noted, subjects of all human orders had known their physical environment only in the terms described by their modes of subjective understanding. What the revolution of humanism gradually brought about was a supposedly scientific and transculturally verifiable understanding of the Earth and the cosmos (Wynter, 1995). The second shift is biocentric. It occurred when Darwin's findings on natural selection were used as a master code that provided purely scientific grounds to validate the already established divide between the world's selected and deselected peoples. These moves resulted in conceiving Man "in such a way as to disavow other coexisting modes of being human" (Ferreira da Silva, 2015, p. 91).

According to Wynter, the overrepresentation of Man was possible because the constructed matrix of meaning that sustained it remained overseen. The structures of meaning that defined Man as one mode of being lost their specificity and were equated to human. Consequently, they operated as the symbolic centre from which the West proceeded to "invent, label, and institutionalise the indigenous peoples of the Americas as well as the transported enslaved Black Africans as the physical referent of the projected irrational/subrational Human Other to its civic-humanist, rational self-conception" (Wynter, 2003, p. 282). Coloniality, as understood within Wynter's framework, is the continued oversight of the constructed nature of Man as one mode of being human, based on a historically and culturally specific matrix of meaning.

Wynter's decolonial response to the overrepresentation of Man (Wynter, 2003) can be understood as "the retrieval of the human (us, all of us, the 'human species') from the bowels of the oversized figure of the human subject produced by modern philosophical and scientific projects, namely, Man" (Ferreira da Silva, 2015, p. 93).

Pluralistic propter nos*, strategic anti-essentialism and a new way of being human*

For Wynter (1995), once the current over-representation of Man is understood as a function of one culture-specific system, this understanding would allow us to conceive a new world view that takes the perspective of the species, concerning the interests of its well-being, instead of partial perspectives and interests. For Wynter (1995), this new pluralistic *nos* can allow us to experience each other as interaltruistic conspecifics. In can elicit the same absolute certainty that different particularistic modes of subjective understanding have evoked in the past to make us experience each other as others.

Significantly, Wynter (1995) sees the New World as a space with immense potential for the construction of the new pluralistic notion of Human. In her essay "1492: A New World view" Wynter (1995) proposed a perspective of the events of 1492 that extends beyond confrontations between "celebrants and dissidents" of the conquest. She invites us instead to see the New World as the space of possibility for a new way of being human. For Wynter, with the arrival of Europeans in the Caribbean and the Americas and the subsequent perpetration of slavery and indentureship, peoples and cultures that until then had been virtually disconnected, converged for the first time. As Sharma (2015) suggested

> There is no doubt, of course, that this coming together was asymmetrical, but it was a process that led to the creation of a world where the lives of its human inhabitants came to be (and remain) intimately connected. (p. 164)

Wynter's logic recognises the horrors unleashed by colonisation in the Americas but goes beyond their denunciation to question the operation of the semantic-biological programmes that made them possible and which activity has, since then, only changed its shape, and not its essence. Wynter (1995), as Sharma (2015) suggested, invites us to think of the Caribbean from a strategic anti-essentialist perspective, one that overthrows the limited sense of conspecificity of both celebrant and dissident visions of 1492, which in essence, continuously creates the conditions for the subjugation of the other (Wynter, 1995).

Wynter's call for a pluralistic *propter nos* can be a powerful ontological and methodological standpoint for culturally affirming research. It establishes human conspecificity as the ground on which diversity and hybridisation can be celebrated. It does so not from a position that negates cultural specificity in response to diverse experience and material conditions of existence (e.g. indigenous cultures), but from one that celebrates cultures in their autopoietic autonomy. As Ferreira Da Silva (2015)

pointed out, if we are to develop research that adopts Wynter's standpoint, "it should begin with asking different questions, methodological rather than ontological ones: instead of the question of who and what we are, we need to go deeper into the investigation of how we come up with answers to the questions" (p. 104). In this thesis, this questioning serves as a basis for the development of Liming Methodology.

Estar siendo: the possibility of a knowledge closer to our own life

The work of Rodolfo Kusch is referenced because it provides a critical framework for thinking and researching about identity in *América*[13] . Kusch is an Argentinian of European descent, but he does not adopt the categories of thought that were made in the process of structuring the colonial world (Mignolo, 2010). Instead, he turns his gaze to the interior of the world he inhabits in a dual position of local and outsider. From that position, he strives to find epistemological tools that can help overcome the fear of being ourselves and thinking on our own[14] (Kusch, 1976).

Kusch's vast body of work, especially in "*Geocultura del hombre Americano*" (Geoculture of the American Man) (Kusch, 1976), "*América profunda*" (Kusch, 2000), and "Indigenous and popular thinking in *América*" (Kusch, 2010), revolves around the tension between two forces. On the one hand, there is "*América profunda*[15]" with a consciousness that originates in the pre-ontic worldview of *América's* indigenous peoples. In *América profunda, estar nomás* (using one of two possible Spanish conjugations of "to be," roughly, "mere being") indicates a mode of existing that does not take the world instrumentally. *Estar nomás,* as an ontic position, does not intend to control the world as something outside oneself, thus producing an external, separate reality (Lugones & Price, 2010). Kusch (2010) wrote that *estar nomás* is a mode of knowing does not follow the process of moving from reality through understanding (that is, accumulating knowledge and finally returning to reality). Instead, experience is unalienated from the subject, related exclusively to the pure fact of living. As Lugones and Price (2010) pointed out, *estar*, situates one within the world, where one senses its volatility, its mutability, its instability, its bearing fruit. Thus, the logic of *estar* is

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[13] In English translations of Kusch's work, *América* is consistently spelled with an accent. This orthographic choice is aimed at marking a difference from what would be known and familiar to the English–speaking reader, at providing a certain textual resistance, making it harder to assimilate into a pre–existing understanding of this continent (Lugones & Price, 2010)

[14] Spanish original: *un miedo a ser nosotros mismos y pensar lo propio* (Author's translation)

[15] Profound America

incompatible with essentialising things and relationships. The logical movement of *estar* is connected to the seminal activity, life sources, and growth. The rhythmic thinking of *estar* eschews the coloniser's split between reason and emotion, and mind and body (Lugones & Price, 2010).

On the other hand, there is the shell of citizen progressivism that Kusch encapsulated in the concept of *ser* (the second Spanish conjugations of "to be"). "*Ser* marks a relation between subjects and objects understood as definable, fixed, having an essence, ordered in relations of cause and effect. Objects are manipulated instrumentally with an efficacious intention by the subject using technology and science" (Lugones & Price, 2010, p. lvi). Kusch's *ser,* as Mignolo (2010) pointed out, is linked with temporality and urban economy, with the logic of the market. In Europe, *ser* carries the weight of imperiality, while in *América* it carries the weight of coloniality. For Kusch, the consciousness of *ser,* imposed by the Europeans as the only way to exist, is based on the objectification of reality for its transformation, and ultimately, for its possession. Here *ser,* as the only conceivable aspiration of civilised beings, takes the form of *ser alguien* (being someone), only attainable through material possession.

About these two extremes, *ser* and *estar*, Kusch wrote: "we are in América, between opposite poles, inside and outside of ourselves[16]" (Kusch, 1976, p. 52). This duality, as Gonzalez Gozquez (1983) affirmed, was inaugurated with the sword of the conquest and matured in the heat of successive colonisations. The history of America is drawn as the conflicting itinerary of two projects that, in their deployment, weave the dense plot of our culture[17].

Ser and *estar,* as components of Kusch's understanding of *América,* are not conceived of as opposing forces, or the extremes of a continuum. Instead, *estar* pulsates underneath the field of objects and objectification that the logic of *ser* has ordered at the surface. The philosophy of *estar* operates in *América* as a constitutive force that is not limited to the indigenous. As Gonzalez Gozques (1983) affirmed, only from that area that precedes and conditions any objectification, can *América* be understood as a cultural totality. *Estar* as a rhythm of being and thinking beats at the base of America

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[16] Spanish original: "*Estamos en América, entre polos opuestos, adentro y afuera de nosotros mismos* (...)" (Author's translation).

[17] Spanish original: "*Una dualidad que se inaugura con la espada de la conquista y que se va madurando al calor de las sucesivas colonizaciones. La historia de América se dibuja como el itinerario conflictivo de dos proyectos que en su despliegue van tejiendo la gruesa trama de nuestra cultura*" (Author's translation).

and has endured since Columbus. *Estar*, systematically repressed by colonisation manifests itself only in fractured forms (Lugones & Price, 2010, p. lvi). The fracture is especially poignant in the area of science. Kusch (2010) argued that when social sciences insist on conceiving *Américan* history as a transition from a traditional society (that wields affectivity) into an industrial society (that wields rationality), they need to level all contradictions, discarding all manners of imponderables as irrelevant. Social scientists operating only on the logic of *ser,* fail to encompass *América* "insofar as they use a science that has not arisen from the same reality that surrounds them" (p. lvi)

Whereas in science, academia, politics and economy, Kusch finds a pervasive hierarchisation of *ser* over *estar,* he noted that a different conjunction occurs in the "implicit way of thinking lived every day in the street or in the countryside" (Kusch, 2010, p. 1). He claimed, then, that in order to think *América,* we need to find a formulation closer to our own lives. For Kusch it is in the playful, more intimate aspects of life, those that are further away from the logic of causality and objectification of *ser*, where a transit between *ser* and *estar* can take the form of *estar siendo*[18], a way of "knowing how to live." It is in the realm of everyday life that it is possible to uncover this playful, dynamic character of *estar siendo* as a palpitating condition of being *Américan*.

Additionally, as Lugones and Price (2010) argued, Kusch's *estar siendo* emerges as a strategic standpoint from which to think about *Américan* identities, especially identities at the borders. The logic of *estar siendo* conceived of identity not only as always in the making, but also as always unfixed, unstable, and capable of metamorphoses or transformations. *Estar siendo chicana*, for example,

> points to a subject inhabiting the instability of the cosmos and the social instability, tuned into its possibilities, intersubjectively making a stabilising, peopled, germinative habitat. (…) Peopled spaces, venues, pathways are the texture of a praxical, life-affirming knowing: a "*senti-pensamiento*[19]*"* (Lugones & Price, 2010, p. lxiii)

For the purposes of this study, several aspects of Kusch's thinking gain relevance. First, *estar siendo,* is conceptualised as a complex, pre-ontic notion of being that is not constructed in opposition to the European notion, but operates within its own logic and

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[18] The Spanish verbal form is not translatable into English. In combines both possible conjugations of the verb "to be" in Spanish, to represent a state of ongoing, shifting, unfixed, being

[19] Combination of *sentir* and *pensar,* Spanish words for feeling and thinking, respectively

defines the totality of the *Américan* being. Second, daily life and cultural practices emerge as the ambits where *estar siendo* unfurls unconstrained by the logics of *ser* that tend to permeate academic, institutional and political instances. Third, *estar siendo* provides a intricate framework for thinking about identity, especially in response to a border consciousness that does not stem from a logic of fragmentation and objectification.

Points of entanglement as sites of resistance: Glissant's Créolité and Anzaldúa's mestiza consciousness

The Martinican Édouard Glissant (1989) and the chicana writer and activist Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa (1987), write from different times, and about different contexts, and yet, their poetics and theoretical devices converge in framing points of entanglement as ambits of decoloniality. Glissant (1989) writes about the Caribbean as a point of entanglement, while Anzaldúa's work is located in the Mexico-US borderland. The authors frame both positions as sites of irreverence for reified duality.

Glissant's ontological writings revolve mainly around the experience of peoples of African descent in the Caribbean. He arrives at the point of entanglement via the analysis of two approaches to understanding the Caribbean being, which he sees as incomplete when operating on their own. The first is the approach he calls "reversion" or *retour*, with which he frames the impulse of a displaced population to go back, either physically or through the process of reproducing the old order of values in the transplanted locale. *Retour* is the obsession with a single origin that one must not alter (Glissant, 1989). "To revert is to consecrate permanence, to negate contact" (Glissant, 1989, p. 16). As Ramírez Torres (2018) pointed out, whereas movements such as Négritude, and Glissant's contemporary thinkers Aimee Césaire and Frantz Fanon unveiled the raw racialisation experienced in the trip to the metropolis, Glissant's conceptualisation of racialisation is much more tectonic. It occurs through assimilation, rather than domination. In it, the skin of the colonised is no longer a cause for repudiation but is stripped from meaning, within the exogenous identity story (Ramírez Torres, 2018). For Glissant (1989), *retour*, going back to the roots, is an incomplete ontological move to understand the Caribbean existence. It negates the transformations operated by contact and relation, but also because it has been made unfeasible by the systematic severing of the connection (symbolic and material) with the motherland.

Glissant's second approach is called *détour* or "diversion" as the "the ultimate resort of a population whose domination by an Other is concealed," it is the confrontation of mechanisms of domination that are not demarcated, but concealed and not directly tangible, or reachable. Accordingly, resistance is reactive; a type of mockery or trickery, that continues to function as if the other were listening, even after the conditions that made the detour necessary have been transformed. The real potential lies, for the author, in the point of entanglement, the conjunction *retour/detour*. This conjunction is a gesture that refuses to seek an elsewhere in its narrative of liberation and "does not look for precolonial spaces, or moments, nor does it seek narratives of future emancipation" (Gualdrón Ramírez, 2018, p. 21). Instead, it positions decolonial thinking in the present manifestation entanglement in the current reality of Caribbean peoples.

> We must return to the point from which we started. Diversion is not a useful ploy unless it is nourished by reversion: not a return to the longing for origins, to some immutable state of Being, but a return to the point of entanglement, from which we were forcefully turned away. (Glissant, 1989, p. 26)

This point of entanglement as a space for resistance is what Glissant puts forward in his invitation to shift from a centred subject (therefore in constant need of an other to define itself against) to a poetics of relationship:

> Through it we can see that the mingling of experiences is at work, there for us to know and producing the process of being. We abandon the idea of fixed being. (…) The history of a transplanted population, but one which elsewhere becomes another people, allows us to resist generalization and the limitations it imposes. Relationship (at the same time link and linked, act and speech) is emphasized over what in appearance could be conceived of as a governing principle, the so-called universal 'controlling force'. (Glissant, 1989, p. 14)

Glissant posited that Caribbean creolisation approximates the idea of relationship in a new and original dimension that allows each person to be there and elsewhere, rooted and open, lost in the mountains and free beneath the sea, in harmony and errantry (Glissant, 1989). In summary, as Gualdrón Ramírez (2018) proposed, Glissant's notion of creolisation shows the immediacy of a connection that cannot be limited to local encounters, but that links one's own identities and histories with those of others (Gualdrón Ramírez, 2018).

Gloria Anzaldúa also located her ontology of resistance at the point of entanglement as a challenge to Western dualistic thinking, this time in the Mexican American borderlands. Anzaldúa's borderland consciousness proposes a move away from the polarised positions on each side of the border (being Mexican, being American) and

into the *mestiza's* capacity to inhabit both sides at once and to question the terms of their existence.

> *Soy un amasamiento*, I am an act of kneading, of uniting and joining that not only has produced both a creature of darkness and a creature of light, but also a creature that questions the definitions of light and dark and gives them new meanings. (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 81)

Anzaldúa's point of entanglement is not just one of resistance and creativity, but also one of pungent, dual aching: the pain of being away and the pain of returning. She highlights the contradictory character of life on the border as constant *choque*, or collision. For Anzaldúa, the borderland as a point of entanglement enables active resistance, whereas on each side of the border, resistance is confrontational, and therefore reactive.

The concepts articulated by Anzaldúa (1987) such as *borderlands*, *bridging* and *nepantilism* (from an Aztec word *Nepantla*, meaning in-between, torn between ways) are a challenge to the dualistic nature of Western thinking that she frames as the origin of lasting personal and broader social wounds, which, in her view, need to be healed together (Anzaldúa, 1987). For Anzaldúa, this healing requires "the transcendence of dualistic modes of living, thinking, feeling and sensing that permeate the deepest recesses of human self and global realities" (Tamdgidi, 2008, p. 314) which can be enabled by borderland consciousness.

Chapter conclusion

Setting the epistemological foundations for the development of Liming Methodology

In this chapter, I have undertaken two interconnected tasks. First, I have challenged Eurocentric modes of constructing knowledge, demonstrating that they are based on othering ontologies and epistemologies. I have used concepts such as coloniality (Quijano, 2000), over-representation of Man (Wynter, 2003) and *ser alguien* (Kusch, 2010). These concepts are articulated from diverse schools of thought. Quijano, Wynter and Kusch use Marxism, post-structuralism and phenomenology respectively. However, they all subvert the workings of Eurocentric knowledge from their deepest epistemic layers, in a way that Maldonado-Torres (2004) qualified as heretical because they all used the structures created by Western knowledge to contest it.

Second, I have established the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of culturally affirming research. I align the ontology of culturally affirming research with Wynter's proposal of a pluralistic *propter nos* as a way of disassembling the over-

representation of Man through a notion of being human that does not lead to another over-representation. As Wynter (2003) proposed, conceiving of a pluralistic *propter nos* for the human species allows us to experience one another as diverse conspecifics, and not as *others*. I interpret Wynter's pluralistic notion of Human as one that suggests a shift from *difference* to *diversity*. In a Caribbean context, if the emphasis on difference enabled the over-representation of one mode of subjective understanding over others, the emphasis on diversity can enable (a) the autonomous material and symbolic manifestation of diverse modes of subjective understanding, and (b) the conception of the region as a point of entanglement where a relational ontology becomes as an alternative to confrontation (Anzaldúa, 1987).

Understanding the Caribbean as a point of entanglement is crucial for the development of Liming Methodology as an approach to inform culturally affirming research in the region. By embracing diversity and relationships, Caribbean methodologies have the power to challenge the knowledge system of the coloniser not by erasing it, but by containing it, transforming it, mocking it, and dismantling it to reinvent it. This relational process generates a new way of articulating knowledge, capable of affirming diverse modes of being Caribbean, and thus becoming relevant to Caribbean people's lived experiences today. In other words, Liming Methodology draws on the strategies we have found to live together in the Caribbean as a point of entanglement. This position does not ignore the fact that our coming together was traversed by violence and domination, but establishes a stance from which they can be confronted without emphasising the dualisms and boundaries that enabled domination and violence in the first place.

In synthesis, culturally affirming research methodologies are decolonial strategies for collective knowledge construction that are based ontologically on a pluralistic and interaltruistic notion of human that acknowledges diverse modes of being, while emphasising an underlying connectedness that allows us to experience each other as conspecific. Epistemologically, they affirm the ways of knowing of the community in which research operates. At the same time, their methods, techniques and tools respond to the continually evolving material realities, practices, experiences and aspirations of that community.

It is from this standpoint that I articulate Liming Methodology as a culturally affirming strategy for Caribbean research. Liming Methodology is based on cultural practices that are repeated in many Caribbean territories, and despite having different names and

forms, present a common thread that makes them a shared feature of Caribbean culture. The practices of liming and ole talk, which provide a framework for Liming Methodology, are not based on material heritage artefacts anchored in ancestral roots, but on cultural practices that stem from the point of entanglement that is the Caribbean experience.

Liming and ole talk are practices that we regularly use to address different issues of our daily lives, from cooking food to dealing with trauma. However, entering the academic research space in the Caribbean usually means leaving behind these ways of constructing knowledge. As researchers, we are expected to step out of our reality to observe as outsiders, taking on the task of dismantling it to fit foreign frameworks. In this process, as Kusch (1976) suggested, we operate within the fear of being ourselves and thinking on our own. The alternative proposed by culturally affirming research is that we bring our whole selves to the research process. Culturally affirming research involves drawing on modes of collective knowledge construction in which our role as researchers is not conflicting with or fragmented from our position as members of the community. In the next chapters, I analyse how, in my experience, this can be achieved through Liming Methodology.

Chapter 3. Using Caribbean ways of sharing for knowledge construction

Part I: Liming and ole talk as cultural practices

In this first part of Chapter 3, I describe liming and ole talk as vital cultural practices though which Caribbean people interact, share, connect and construct meaning. I describe their features, with emphasis on the use of humour and describe how these practices have been represented in Caribbean literature and cinema.

In this chapter I have formatted text as follows:

Grey Text boxes:	ole talk fragments
Blue Italics:	Researcher's journal

3.1. Liming and ole talk as cultural practices

Liming is a Caribbean way of gathering and sharing, which can be found throughout the region and in communities abroad (Clarke & Charles, 2012). It is a core activity in Caribbean peoples' daily lives, not only as a space for relaxation and leisure, but also as an ambit where meaning is negotiated, social and political discourses are elucidated and contested, and cultural products and spaces are collectively used (Fernández Santana, Nakhid, Nakhid-Chatoor, & Wilson-Scott, 2019). Significantly, it is also a critical space for community building and networking. According to Maharajh and Ali (2006) a lime can be defined as

> a scheduled or non-scheduled event where a group of people (friends, family, acquaintances etc.) takes time to 'hang out'. The concept transcends ethnicity, class and religious barriers. It is an activity geared towards relaxation, stress relief through the means of talking, eating and drinking or just doing nothing. (Maharajh & Ali, 2006, p. 4)

Limes can take place in public spaces such as the street, a restaurant, the beach, a rumshop, or anywhere there is a group activity. Several authors (Clarke & Charles, 2012; Corbin, Punnett, & Onifa, 2012) have pointed out that the concept of liming is being increasingly used in countries across the region.

> Almost everywhere you go today, people seem to understand the term and it immediately conjures pictures of people socializing or gathering informally, the exchange of stories, jokes, anecdotes, politics etc. while sharing drinks and food in a laid-back, relaxed atmosphere. (Corbin et al., 2012, p. 272)

As Fernández Santana, Nakhid, Nakhid-Chatoor and Wilson-Scott (2019) have noted, in Spanish-speaking areas of Caribbean, the practice of liming is repeated, albeit with different names, such as *bemberria*[20] in the Dominican Republic and *jangueo*[21] in Puerto Rico. These neologisms or creolisations of English/ Spanish words arguably emerged due to the inadequacy of the terms available in the colonial languages to define these Caribbean practices. In Cuba, the name assigned to the practice of liming seems to change depending on the central theme for the lime, whether it is sharing food (*comidita*), singing around a guitar (*descarga*), or just coming together to share and relax (*compartir*) (Fernández Santana et al., 2019)

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[20] Derived from the term *bembé* (short for *candomble*), a festive ritual of African origin, characterised by drum playing and dancing.

[21] Transliteration of the English 'hang out' to Spanish sound and spelling.

As suggested by Fernández Santana et al. (2019), although it may seem that this type of interaction is a common occurrence in any society, the Caribbean practice of liming can be said to be distinctive in several ways:

First, in the Caribbean, liming is "acknowledged as a kind of performing art" (Winer, 2009, p. 533). By defining it as a performing art, the author is not implying that liming occurs as a show that people can watch. Liming is an occurrence in every-day life that is highly performative. It is a mode of interaction that entails a specific use of language and requires certain communicative competencies that are learned through lived experience.

Second, liming is spontaneous, informal and lacks hierarchies. Participants can be invited to join a lime of a common acquaintance can function as a link or grant access. There are no pre-set agendas or timeframes. The shape of the lime can vary considerably depending on the setting (a home, the beach, a bar) and on the mood of the participants. A lime can be planned, or occur spontaneously when people get together or run into each other.

Third, teasing and humour are ever-present in liming practices and frequently takes the form of "teasing or good-natured insults" (Dalzell & Victor, 2014, p. 2008). This form of humour is called "fatigue" in Trinidad and Tobago, and *dar chucho* or *dar cuero*[22] in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Caribbean humour can be a way to address difficult topics or situations, an important coping mechanism, and a means of collective negotiation of meaning.

In Cuba, the role of humour in these and other interactions has been encapsulated by the concept of *choteo*, coined by Jorge Mañach in the early 20th century. The author used it to describe the Cuban aptitude for humour in the face of challenging, embarrassing or confrontational situations. "If we ask, then, the average Cuban, the Cuban of the street, to tell us what *choteo* means for them (...) they will tell us it is to make fun of everything"[23] (Mañach, 1955, p. 50). For Mañach, *choteo* is a mental attitude, a trait of character and a habit of disrespect that is expressed through mockery and aims to oppose any order, hierarchy, authority or power (Mañach, 1955). Within the

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[22]'*Chucho* (whipping stick) and *cuero* (literally leather, but also used to refer to the act of whipping) are used as a metaphor to designate the act of 'beating down' a person or a topic through mockery. The ability to give (or take) it gracefully is a highly regarded social skill in Cuba and other Caribbean countries.

[23] Spanish original: "*Si le pedimos, pues, al cubano medio, al cubano de la calle, que nos diga lo que entiende por choteo (...) nos dirá que consiste en tirarlo todo a relajo*" (Authors' translation)

specificities of each country and culture, humour is a pervasive presence in Caribbean interactions. As Glover (2013) pointed out, practitioners "regard it not as the momentary, jocular interruption of an otherwise level-headed apprehension of life's grave seriousness, but instead as an attitude, a habit, even a worldview" (p. 21).

The conversational practice called "ole talk" in Trinidad and Tobago, or *dar muela* in Cuba and Dominican Republic is an essential component of liming, although it can occur outside it.

> Ole talk transcends idle conversations, exaggeration, or plain shooting from the mouth. It can involve talk on current events, politics, culture and school days, as well as trends in behavior and fashion. Ole talk is any talk and can take place in any setting. (…) ole talk follows no rules of engagement. Talkers move with ease back and forth between topics of great importance and less so and of great importance again. One aspect of ole talk is humour. This speaks volumes of the ability of West Indians to juxtapose adversity and hardship with hilarity. One can ole talk about a hurricane and the death and destruction it brings whilst extolling the humorous nature of everyday behaviour. (Wendell DeRiggs, 2009, para.1)

The masterful use of storytelling and humour are pivotal in ole talk. Often, obtaining and sustaining attention in ole talk requires performative competencies, which are highly valued in the Caribbean. For example, in Cuba and other Spanish speaking countries, the phrase *cae bien* (positive, approximately "goes down well") or *cae mal* (negative, approximately "goes down badly") distinguishes those who are successful performers in ole talk from those who are not. *Cae bien* (positive) often involves staying on the right side of the fine line between funny teasing and being offensive or hurting someone's feelings, and requires significant empathy and ability to "read the room" and adjust the tone accordingly.

Although little academic writing has dealt with liming and ole talk, these interactions have been represented in the region's art, popular culture, film and literature as a central component of subjects' practices and lived experience. For example, the Cuban animation film for adults *Vampiros en la Habana* (Padron, 1985) humorously represents the Cuban liming culture as a way of life, often in contraposition with the attitude of European characters, as exemplified in the following scenes:

> **Spanish Manager:** [speaking on the phone with a client] Yes, I've got some boxes for you.
>
> **European Client**: Bring them right away. Right away!
>
> (Dockers argue loudly and play goblet on the boxes that are waiting to be delivered)
>
> **Spanish Manager**: [to client] Pardon? What do you say?

[to dockers] Eh! You! Silence!

[to the client] Tonight. Well, as soon as I can, we have many orders

European Client: It is important!

Spanish Manager: [to the client] Don't worry. We will give you priority. 'Cuban Lightning' is fast and efficient. Yes, goodbye.

Cuban Docker: Look at you, Galician! Talking on the phone! Who would have thought? There in Spain, there are no phones, or anything like that!

Spanish Manager: Go to hell!

(Dockers laugh, and start dancing rumba on the boxes)
...
(Later, when they are delivering the boxes)
Spanish Manager: But don't be stupid, you animal! Here it says (in English) "use no hooks" and you almost go through the box. And this box says, "this side up" and you've put it upside down.

Cuban Docker: Look at you, Galician! Here you have learned other languages and everything!

Spanish Manager: Go to hell!

Cuban Docker: Look at you, Galician! You are getting all civilised here in Cuba.

Spanish Manager: Look, you all can go straight to hell. If it weren't for us the Spaniard, you all would still be walking with feathers on your head and sticking out of your arse and you would be called *Anahacaonas, Tainos, Guanahatabeyes*[24], go to hell![25]

Ctrl + Click to watch
[link to YouTube video]

(Padron, 1985)

Figure 7: Cuban *choteo* is counterposed with Spanish manager's seriousness (Frames from Cuban animation film *Vampiros en La Habana* (Padron, 1985)

In these scenes (**Figure 7**) Cuban dockers' liming and *choteo* is counterposed with the expectations of seriousness and efficiency of their Spanish (Galician) manager. The

[24] Cuban indigenous tribes

[25] Author's transcription and translation from the film

Spanish manager's complaints and attempts of being serious are met with continuous teasing from the dockers until he loses his temper.

Literary representations of liming and ole talk also shed light on their meaning and significance in the lived experience and interactions of Caribbean people. Rahul Bhattacharya's novel *The Sly Company of People Who Care* (Bhattacharya, 2011) for example, portrays the liming culture in Guyana, which is used as the underlying structure of the story. The work of Bhattacharya reproduces the unstructured nature of liming and its importance in Caribbean life, as Carnegie (2016) as noted:

> The narrator's open-ended agenda and the innocence with which he puts himself in the way of life going on about him in this new place makes him a great candidate for inclusion in the lime, whose boundaries, in any case, are always indeterminate. People come and go from the lime and move easily from one to the next. Its fluid, open-ended structure welcomes strangers, especially those with a word to contribute, a tale to tell, a special quirkiness to stir into the mix. (…) The lime transforms dead time into something pleasurably wiled away in the delicious enjoyment of others' company. (para. 2)

Two novels by the Trinidadian writer Sam Selvon (1923-1994) offer a thought-provoking perspective on ole talk in a migrant context. *The Lonely Londoners* (Selvon, 2004), published in 1956 and *The Housing Lark* (Selvon, 1990), published in 1965, both reflect Caribbean experiences in the UK. As Chamberlain (2008) argues, Selvon uses ole talk as a narrative structure in which the narrator and the reader seem to be eavesdropping on the characters' lives and conversations, and the stories are shared in sessions of ole talk with multiple narrators (Chamberlain K. M., 2008, p. 12). In both novels, Selvon's narrative refers to three important features of ole talk as a communicative practice. First, Selvon uses ole talk's unplanned, open structure both explicitly and implicitly throughout his narrative: "you couldn't, or shouldn't, differentiate between the voices, because men only talking, throwing in a few words here, butting in there, making a comment, arguing a point, stating a view. Nobody care who listen or who talk" (Selvon, 1990, p. 123). Second, the author refers to the multiplicity of voices and perspectives shared in ole talk, with "different narrators contributing their words, comments, views, and stories to a composite audience" (Chamberlain K. M., 2008, p. 13). Third, Selvon makes it clear that ole talk is a specifically Caribbean practice. He often does that in contraposition with the European perspective: "It like a game, all of them throwing words in the air like a ball, now and then some scandalous laugh making sedate Englishers wonder what the arse them black people talking about" (Selvon, 1990, pp. 126-127).

In summary, liming is a composite of cultural practices that include the sharing of food, music, movement, dancing and conversation in the form of ole talk. In liming humour, is used as an vital tool for sense-making. Liming is an important mode of interaction for Caribbean people and is key to how we engage and connect as humans in a non-structured, non-prescriptive environment. The practice of liming in its various forms is used not only for celebration and leisure but also as a strategy for coping with adversity. With different names, this culture-specific way of coming together repeats itself throughout the Caribbean and is used for relaxation, networking, meaning construction and negotiation, political debate and building connections. In this thesis, I have developed and utilised liming as a strategy for research as detailed in the second part of the chapter. In my experience, liming enabled a process of knowledge construction that was shared, and consistent with Caribbean ways of being.

Foundational work for the development of Liming Methodology

The use of liming for research has been pioneered by the Caribbean Research Methodologies Collective of which I am a founding member. Together, we have published three articles in peer-reviewed journals, based our reflective participation on six limes that we organised or were invited to, in Auckland, Toronto, New York, Kingston, Havana and Port of Spain. This preliminary experience was vital in understanding the occurrence of liming across different Caribbean islands. Each of the papers we wrote and published together served as a steppingstone for understanding how the practice of liming could be used as a strategy for knowledge construction in research.

"An interrogation of research on Caribbean social issues: establishing the need for an indigenous Caribbean research approach" (Wilson, Nakhid, Fernandez Santana, & Nakhid-Chatoor, 2018) elucidates the need for more Caribbean research approaches that are culturally specific and respectful of the worldviews and practices of locals within the region. In "Exploring liming and ole talk as a culturally affirming methodology for researching with Caribbean people" (Nakhid-Chatoor, Nakhid, Wilson, & Fernandez Santana, 2018), we present the epistemology and ontology of liming as a Caribbean mode of interaction and discuss its potential to inform qualitative research. In "Liming and ole talk: Foundations for and characteristics of a culturally relevant Caribbean methodology" (Fernández Santana, Nakhid, Nakhid-Chatoor, & Wilson-Scott, 2019), we set the foundation for the use of liming in social research, by analysing how knowledge construction through liming took place in the limes that inform this study.

In these three papers, which are referenced in this thesis, we established (a) the need for Caribbean culturally affirming research methodologies, and the (b) the potential for liming to be used as such. In this thesis, I continued the process of knowledge construction initiated by these papers by developing Liming Methodology as a strategy for Caribbean research and utilising it in an empirical study of Caribbean cultural identity.

Part II: Developing liming as a culturally affirming methodology for Caribbean research.

In this part of the chapter, Liming Methodology is developed as a culturally affirming strategy for Caribbean research. I explain how the different research processes (e.g. bringing people together for collective knowledge construction, data analysis, and writing) responded to the intrinsic dynamics of liming. I also account for key factors that in my experience were key to enabling knowledge construction through liming, including the environment of the limes, the role of the hosts, the role of the researcher and how it intersects with her role as a limer, the different ways in which limers lead knowledge construction, and how ole talk operates as the conversational component of a lime. Finally, I present Liming Analysis as a method developed and used for the analysis of data generated in liming environments and compare Liming Methodology with other research approaches. The sections that follow are not intended as a guidebook for undertaking research using Liming Methodology, but as an account of my experience in developing and using it in this study, so that it can be applied, critiqued and transformed by others who may wish to use this research approach.

From its earliest stages, this research brought about a strong sense of connection with my community in Aotearoa. Recruitment implied getting to know Cuban and Caribbean people and, in the process, building friendships and connections. Fieldwork offered me a much-needed space for making sense of my own journey as a migrant Cuban woman. During this research, I also felt anxious and lost, sifting my research practice through a two-fold filter: am I fulfilling my responsibility with the people that shared their life experiences with me? And: is this science? It doesn't follow the script. Who wrote the script? Am I having too much of a good time for this to count as serious research?

Researcher's journal, January 2018

The development of Liming Methodology, as presented in this chapter, is based on knowledge constructed alongside 51 other Caribbean migrants in eight limes that I hosted or was invited to, in Aotearoa New Zealand. These limes brought together participants from different Caribbean nationalities, and two linguistic groups: English and Spanish. Although sometimes limers shared their views and experiences about liming as a cultural practice, the most important source of information for the development of Liming Methodology was the process of reflective engagement in liming with other members of the Caribbean community, while exploring the articulation of our cultural identity in New Zealand. The dynamics that unfolded during the limes, and how topics, experiences and ideas were shared, debated, contested, joked and laughed about, contradicted, reinforced, extended or curtailed, allowed me to gain a better understanding of how liming can inform collective and intersubjective knowledge construction among Caribbean people.

3.2. Decentring the researcher: collective and intersubjective knowledge construction in Liming Methodology

In Liming Methodology, knowledge construction can be defined as collective and intersubjective. It is collective, because new knowledge is created collaboratively, in such a way that all limers can share, debate, joke about, contradict, question and reinforce their own and each other's ideas, expertise and experiences. Additionally, knowledge is constructed in a process that is not individually led by the researcher, but that responds to the interests of all limers. Knowledge construction in Liming Methodology is intersubjective because limers are not objects of study, but agentic subjects that engage with one another to generate knowledge, in their own terms (participants join the lime due to a shared interest in the research topic, choose what

themes are relevant for discussion and the time spent in discussing each theme, as well as whether they want to engage in conversation or participate in silence). Moreover, the research process that frames knowledge construction in Liming Methodology (bringing people together, organising the limes, setting the scene for topic discussion, and shaping ole talk) is also shared among the researcher, lime hosts and limers in general, as discussed next.

Shifting away from the trope of "the neutral researcher"

In the limes, the discussion about our ways of negotiating our cultural identity in Aotearoa was relevant to me as a Caribbean migrant, as well as to me as a researcher. In this study, I positioned myself as a limer in the process of knowledge construction about the research topic. This position allowed me to engage in knowledge construction both in response to my objectives as a researcher and to my aspirations and experience as a member of my community, as the two positions were not at odds with each other. I was able to learn from others while also sharing my own experience, which established a relationship of intersubjectivity.

For me, this shift in position was not exempt from conflict, particularly because my previous academic experience has operated according to the expectations of Eurocentric research, as in my case. Although liming amongst Caribbean people felt natural and comfortable, there was a constant tension between my cultural competencies as a Caribbean (openness, sharing, humour, and teasing) and my academic training. While conducting the study, my internalisation of Eurocentric modes of doing research remained a conflict, especially regarding the expectation of neutrality put forward by Western science, as analysed by Kusch (2000, 2010). This was especially poignant when the topics discussed in the limes were contentious. The following reflection reveals the difficulty of unlearning assumptions regarding what constitutes ethical and reliable research.

> *I did not script my participation in the limes, and I did prepare a specific agenda for discussion. As ole talk unfolded, I asked some questions as many other limers did, and shared my opinions and experiences. Many times, however, I felt self-conscious about my "double positioning" while I distributed recorders around the room and fiddled with the camera. Listening to the recordings of the limes I realised that, on some occasions, when a complex or conflictual topic was at hand, I intentionally restrained my participation, even when the issue was personally relevant for me or when the conversation took a turn that strongly conflicted with my values. For example, in one*

lime, the group agreed in justifying homophobia in the Caribbean. In this instance, if my participation had not been mediated by my role as a researcher, I would have spoken against these arguments, resorting to the full arsenal of my communication skills. However, on that occasion I stayed silent.

Researcher's journal, April 2018

Observing my silence in retrospect, I understand that it was motivated by my assumption that contradicting the general opinion of the group would make the limers feel judged or uncomfortable. After all, their opinions were being recorded for a study that I was ultimately in charge of writing and publishing. On reflection, the self-imposed restraint of my authentic participation did not stem from a conflict inherent in the liming environment, but from my learned behaviours about appropriate ways to conduct research.

The trope of the neutral researcher also generated conflict between my position other limers' expectations around my role as a researcher. This conflict was openly discussed and negotiated in the limes, as exemplified in the following fragment from Rosa's lime.

"I have a question though, about the potential of bias" said **Rosa,** who was a postgraduate student herself, "because I was surprised that you shared your opinions. Do you think that is going to be a problem?"

Mike, another postgraduate student replied immediately: "I don't think her opinion influenced what we had to say, eh?" he said. "I felt I could agree with what she said or disagree."

Rosa was silent for a moment. "I completely agree" **Rosa** finally said. "It's just not a research method that I am used to, because it's new. But when you learn research methods, that's one of the things that they tell you that you have to be very careful about, especially if you are seen… and I guess that's the difference. We are all equal here, but in an interview, or in a focus group, the interviewer is seen as the expert, and even if they are not experts, they are somebody who is knowledgeable, educated, and, you know of a certain standard." Then she looked at me and asked: "What do you think?"

"I know what you're talking about" **I** said "and it's a very interesting question. I guess traditionally, I would keep my opinions to myself, come here, and I just sit here quietly…"

"That would have felt weird" **Nina** intervened. "I would have been like, 'Oh, God. What does she want me to say?'"

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 1

As represented in Rosa's reflection, the key difference she perceived between my position within the lime, and that prescribed by traditional research, was that the

dynamics of liming made us “all equal” whereas in other contexts the researcher “is seen as the expert.”

When utilising Liming Methodology, it is vital for the researcher to acknowledge this shift, because, as Nina pointed out, the traditional authority held by the researcher clashes with the dynamics of the lime. I argue that the shift in positioning is not one that can be declared or verbalised, but that needs to be enacted in the research process. In this study, this involved being willing to participate authentically in conversation with others. Positioning myself as a limer also involved responding to limers’ questions about myself and my experience as migrant. For example:

> Is Havana… is it what people make it, what you see on the tv in the movies? Is it like that?
> Do you feel uhh, umm… freedom in Cuba? Or you’re restricted?
> Are you going to try and stay, after you finish?
> What has your experience been? Is this your first group?
> So, Ana, the Cuban degree is acceptable here?
> How do you see yourself as compared to your colleagues?

In summary, I argue that for collective and intersubjective knowledge construction to occur in Liming Methodology, the trope of the neutral researcher needs to be shifted. Instead, the researcher needs to bring her whole self to the research process and be open to sharing her own experiences and ideas with other limers. When the researcher presents herself as a neutral observer of reality, her underlying assumptions still condition how the process of knowledge construction unfolds, although frequently taken for granted as “the ways to do things” in research. Conversely, when the researcher positions herself as an agentic subject constructing knowledge alongside other agentic subjects, her assumptions and ideas can be openly discussed, understood, supported or challenged by others. This positioning creates the space for all limers to have agency on the terms of their participation, have access to each other’s experiences and draw on each other for critique and reflection.

Decentring the researcher: shared agency over the research process

Among other factors, the liming environment enabled participants to have agency in the process of knowledge construction by having an active role in shaping topic discussion. Participants shaped topic discussion by (1) asking questions, (2) probing the conversation for topic expansion, and (3) moderating in-group interaction and

participation[26]. However, enabling the liming environment to operate as a collective space for knowledge construction required decentring the researcher as the leader of the research process. In this study, this decentring process required both the researcher and other limers to shift away from learned research practices and behaviours, as articulated by Aaron in the next fragment.

Aaron and I continued to discuss the dynamics of liming after Chloe's lime.

"The shadow of the researcher looms large" **Aaron** said to me on one occasion. "The knowledge that we are part of their research project. Even if the researcher does not behave in a position of authority, there is that in the back of people's minds."

ANA'S OLE TALK WITH AARON. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 2

Aaron's observation was supporter by participation patterns across the limes in this study. An analysis of these patterns showed an inversely proportional relationship between how prescriptive my intervention was, and how active other limers were in shaping ole talk. By "prescriptive" I refer to instances where I fulfilled traditional researcher roles in facilitating conversation (asking questions, stimulating topic expansion and making moderating remarks). In other words, the more I took the lead in the process of knowledge construction, the less others did (**Figure 8**).

[26] It is worth noting that these indicators have been created for analytical purposes and do not exhaustively represent the complexity of active participation in liming. Ole talk can be shaped by limers without these indicators coming into play. Miriam's lime for example, was largely driven by participants, and the conversation flowed from one topic to the other, but not many questions were asked explicitly.

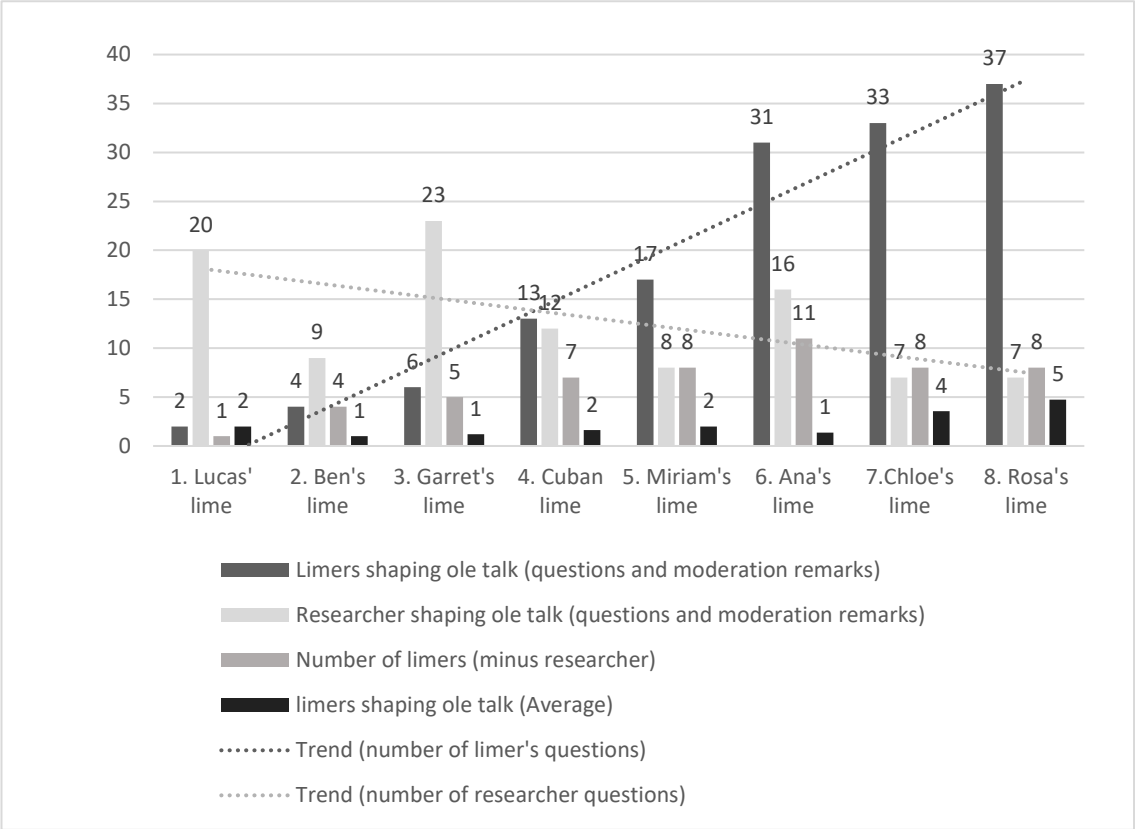

Figure 8: Researcher and participants' active intervention in shaping Ole Talk

On reflection, this worked recursively; the more active limers were in shaping the conversation and keeping it going, the less I felt the need to suggest topics and perform the role of the moderator. In Garret's lime for example, limers were comparatively less active in shaping ole talk. The next fragment shows examples of moments when the conversation wound down and, after a few moments of silence, I intervened to suggest topics for further discussion.

"We go to the game, we look for the flags, that is how I met a 100% of the West Indians that I know" **Natalie** said. "It was the first time I met Garret. The first time I met West Indians in New Zealand. I mean you look at Carl, a Barbadian fellow who lives in Wellington, living here for 40 years. He is 76. And the man is not here today 'cause he's playing cricket for his club."

There was silence for a while. Then **I** asked: "What if you don't follow cricket? Are there any other ways, spaces, available for linking up?"

"Food, flavour" responded **Garret**, and everybody laughed. "Cricket and flavour."

……

"It's a very safe country compared to anywhere else" said **Daisy.**

"They rob the shops to get cigarettes. $29 for a pack of cigarettes" **Garret** added.

The conversation died down, but nobody else brought up another topic. Participants occasionally looked at me expecting a question.

"So, when you arrived, what were the things you were struggling more with?" **I** asked after a while.

"Cicadas" responded **Nils**. "Never in my life did I hear more noise during the day"

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 3

Conducting research through liming involved learning –or unlearning- how to treat silence as a normal occurrence. In mainstream research involving group discussion, silence can be interpreted as an issue that the researcher needs to resolve If participants are silent, the researcher is usually expected to probe for further information, to ask the next question, or suggest a different topic (Davis, 2016). Conversely, in liming silence is a natural component of ole talk in liming environments, just like teasing and humour. In Garret's lime (the first one held) when there was a silence in the conversation, I felt anxious, thinking participants were losing interest. This anxiety stemmed from putting myself and my expectations at the centre of the research process. When the researcher is decentred in knowledge construction, her objectives, ideas and expectations are positioned at the same level as those of other participants, so silence is not something the researcher has to deal with. In the course of the research process, I increasingly acknowledged silence as a regular occurrence in liming. Accordingly, when I had something to share, I shared it. Otherwise, ole talk flowed freely, with silences occurring and ending when they did so naturally.

As I gained experience conducting research in a liming environment, it became more apparent that although I had organised the event, invited people and set the theme, the flow of the lime was self-regulating. In time, I stepped further away from a moderator's

role and gained confidence in researching the topic as a limer. The trend lines in **Figure 9** show that as I gained experience conducting research within a liming environment, the limes flowed more naturally and, as a result, limers had more space to shape the conversation to suit their interests for topic discussion.

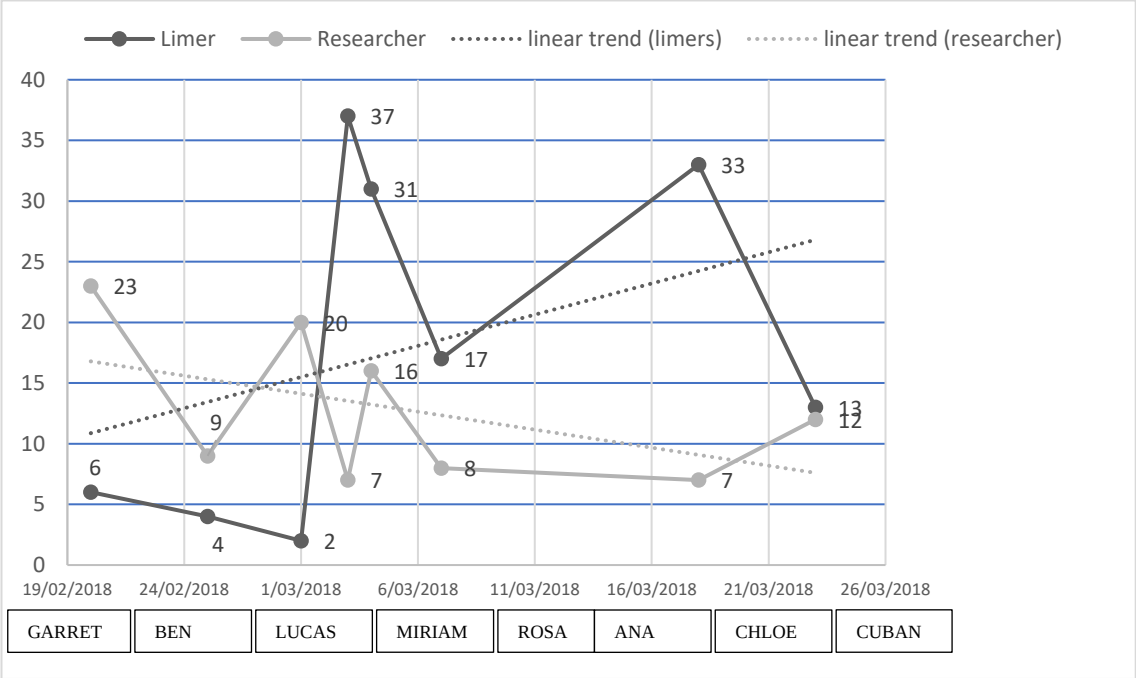

Figure 9: Reduction in prescriptive researcher's intervention overtime

A detailed account of how limers shaped ole talk

It could be argued that when participants have complete agency over topic discussion, the research question may not be addressed. My experience using Liming Methodology suggests otherwise. Limers' ability to shape and shift the conversation in response to their interests enabled the exploration of diverse dimensions of the research topic. In each lime, the themes that participants chose to discuss varied. For example, in limes where several participants were parents of small children, childrearing was discussed at length, whereas in limes with youths, leisure practices and entertainment were more salient topics. For topics that are wide in scope, such as cultural identity, this flexibility and autonomy in discussion topics was a significant advantage, when compared with research based on pre-determined themes or questions that can be relevant for some groups, but not for others.

In the limes, since participants chose the topics that they were interested in exploring in relation to the question about cultural identity, conversation was deeply connected with personal experience. Ideas and stories were shared out of a genuine interest in the

matter, rather than to fulfil the researcher's expectations. This is reflected in the following fragment, from Rosa's lime.

Mike did not speak much during the lime. Most of the time, he was lying down under a tree, listening.

"I think it's better," said **Mike**, when we started talking about liming and research, "because if you don't have too much to contribute towards one thing, then somebody else will be doing that. It's not like an interview. In an interview you feel pressured to speak about something. Forced to say certain things. You ask me a question, I don't know much but I want to give a reply, so I will tell you something, right?"

"And it will be bullshit," mumbled **Nina**, talking over **Mike**. "Bullshit is not accuracy."

"And if you don't have anything to say, somebody else will be saying it. So, you can come in when you actually have something to say" **Mike** continued.

"A valuable contribution to make," **Nina** concluded.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 4

Throughout the study, participants enacted many of the roles assigned to a moderator in mainstream group research methods (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013; Davis, 2016; Stewart & Shamdasani, 2015). Limers actively shaped the construction of knowledge during ole talk by asking questions, probing the conversation for topic expansion, and moderating in-group interactions and participation times. Limers also determined the length and direction of discussions by starting and ending the discussion of certain topics and by allocating or withdrawing their attention.

The questions limers asked can be divided into (1) personal questions aimed at getting to know other limers by gaining access to information about their lives, experiences and life stories; these questions occurred at the beginning of the lime, and were more frequent in groups where most limers did not know each other; (2) topic expansion questions which, although sometimes addressing personal experience, were mainly aimed at exploring a topic, clarifying topic-related statements, and/or requesting further information about the topic being discussed; (3) topic introduction/change questions, aimed at diverting the conversation from the topic being discussed to a new topic of interest for the limer who asked the question; the attempt to change the topic was successful or not, depending on the wider group's interest; (4) probing questions, aimed at prompting or encouraging a desired answer to prove a point or add to an ongoing argument, rather than for accessing information on a given topic, and (5) synthesis

questions, which drew on information already provided by other limer(s) or an ongoing discussion. Examples of each type of question can be found in **Appendix B**.

In addition to asking questions, limers also had agency over moderating interaction and participation times. Based on their interest in a topic, participants extended or curtailed conversations, brought topics back when ole talk diverted, and challenged interruptions. The following examples show how limers took the lead in moderating conversations, a role that is traditionally assigned to the researcher.

> "Yeah, what brought you to New Zealand man? Back on track" said **Anand** again, five minutes after he had originally asked Gabe the question, and ole talk had converted to Caribbean accents and lingo.
>
> **MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 5**

> "I want to hear what she says about it, go ahead" snapped **Chloe**, in response to Oscar's interruption of an explanation Cathy was giving about the behaviour of first- and second-generation black Caribbean people living abroad.
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 6**

> "Darling, but you have to build a paragraph, not two sentences, please" **Mariposa** asked, laughing when **Yandi** answered a question with a short statement. "There is no script, go ahead" she added.
>
> **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 7**

During ole talk, my perspectives and questions were just as likely to be refuted, talked over, listened to, engaged with, continued, or diverted to different topics depending on other limers' interests. This is illustrated in the conversation below, which show how ongoing dynamics of humour and teasing continued unaltered in a lime, after I had asked a topic-related question.

The conversation had started with **Mike** sharing that he found it annoying when people did not respond to his texts.

Sam started teasing him immediately: “So, you have feelings for the girl” **Sam** started, “and you are messaging her, but she doesn’t reply, so you start feeling like she ignored you?”

Everybody started laughing, including Mike.

“I guess if you are accustomed to somebody not doing something, it’s normal” said **Mike** trying to explain himself, but also laughing. “The person didn’t respond. That’s fine, but to me if you are having a conversation and all of a sudden it stops, did the person die? Did they have something important to do?”

“Do you find social media different in here?” **I** asked.

People kept laughing, non-stop and the question remained unanswered.

“Ana asked you a question” said **Rosa**, trying to redirect the attention, unsuccessfully.

“His time is important to him” said **Renee**. “That is why I said…” and he kept talking about Mike’s approach to texting and teasing him about it.

CHLOE’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 8

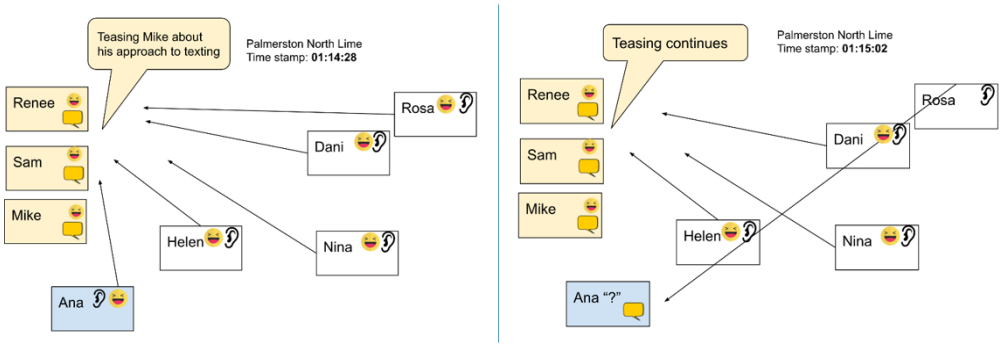

Figure 10: Unanswered topic related question: illustration of researcher's participation dynamics

In the conversation represented in **Figure 10**, Sam and Renee were teasing Mike for getting upset when people left his texts unanswered. Limers were engaged as listeners and laughing about Sam’s, Renee’s and Mike’s conversation. During a pause in their dialogue I asked a question about general use of social media, which, on reflection, diverted from the humorous dynamic that was being enjoyed by the limers. Although Rosa tried to redirect the group’s attention to my question, humour, and the ongoing discussion took priority, and my question remained unanswered until I brought it up again later in the lime.

Leading limers in shaping ole talk

In Ana's, Chloe's and Rosa's lime, ole talk was shaped mainly by participants, rather than by the researcher. In all three of these limes, one limer was especially active in leading the talk, asking several questions and moderating the conversation. Nevertheless, the ways in which the three leading limers intervened in shaping ole talk varied considerably. The descriptions of leading limers presented below are not intended as an exhaustive account of people's motivations for assuming an active role in shaping ole talk. Instead, it is an illustration of how limers can use the liming environment to address their interests and objectives, such as socialising and gaining group acceptance, exploring topics of interest, or mobilising people for action.

The performer

Renee was a man in his early 30s. He was charismatic and appeared to have a good relationship with other limers. His turns during ole talk were highly performative and humorous, and often attracted the group's attention. He frequently made polemic comments and contradicted the group. In fact, his first turn, 15 minutes into the lime was to say:

> "I beg to differ from all of you."

He frequently introduced new topics, to re-direct the conversation to a point he was trying to make. For example, he was interested in proving to the group that a perceived culture of binge-drinking in New Zealand was related to the high number of distilleries in some areas. This was disputed by many in the group, who argued that there were far more distilleries in the Caribbean and yet the drinking culture was different. However, he kept returning to his point.

"You need to understand that a lot of these towns developed" **Renee** started explaining, "like Feilding for example, was known as the… I need to get my history right and my information right. But any way, it was known for its alcohol. New Zealand a lot of places are known for its alcohol. One, it's cold, so you need something to heat you up, alcohol does that, internally. Two, they plant a lot of wheat and barley."

After that the conversation diverted to a different topic. **Renee** repeatedly tried to bring it back to his initial point: "When is the last time you went and drink alcohol in Palmerston North?"

"So, coming back to the issue of… do you know how many distilleries are there in Palmerston North?"

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 9

When he was interrupted, he frequently asked for undivided attention and received the group's support when he snapped at the interrupting person, with phrases like:

> "Hey, Hey. I started. You want me to talk? Just now.
>
> "No, let me finish."

He moderated the conversation, inviting less vocal limers to talk, although they frequently ignored him, laughing.

"Axel gonna say something now" said **Renee**, pointing towards Axel with his head. "Here's a problem right now. The more vocal people (points to himself, Sam and Rosa) are the more exposed people. These two people aren't that exposed" (points to Axel and Mike).

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 10

For the first hour and a half of the lime, his participation was mostly oriented to asking questions and making general topic-oriented remarks. However, he did not share a lot of information about himself. He explained that he did not share too much because he did not want to appear vulnerable. Talking about the teasing culture in the Caribbean, he said, laughing:

"I am exposed to these things so much, that they don't bother me anymore. It's a strengths class. I know when to be in touch with what side of me. I know my strengths and I know my weaknesses. But I don't trouble my weaknesses because they are weak! I keep on my strengths all the time. And that is the problem (all laugh). If I show my vulnerabilities, I know my people. They will prey on that. That is their strength." We all laughed.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 11

However, this position was challenged by other limers, and he was directly asked to share his own experience on issues he had brought up as questions for others, for example, about the experience of being a student in the Caribbean versus being a student in New Zealand. Initially, he joked his way out of the question:

> "It had its ups and downs, there were some challenges, but so far, it's okay. I'm a politician, I'll give you the answers that you are looking for."
>
> **ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 12**

Afterwards, towards the end of the lime, he did share his experience insightfully without being asked again.

> "Let me answer the question for real" said **Renee**. "My experience here was that I had to hit the ground running, I had to know exactly what I wanted to do had I not known what I wanted to do, which I didn't. So, I busted my way through the first semester, trying to find my foot, as to where I'm standing and where I'm going, while the pressure was on to meet deadlines. I spent, how many years out of a learning environment? A lot. And those years I spent in the bullshit environment, which is politics. Telling people what they want to hear. That doesn't work in universities, where they are looking for specific accuracy and you need to reference what you are saying."
>
> **ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 13**

I found that the liming environment had its own mechanisms for limers like Renee to ignite conversation and debate without hindering others' ability to participate, take the lead, or challenge their role at any given time. The use of humour as a regulating mechanism was critical, as it made the process of role negotiation easier. Renee's participation in the lime –performative, polemic, inquisitive- was conducive for generating rich ole talk, laughter and debate. His relationship with the group was a crucial factor in making his active participation accepted and enjoyed by others.

> *During the lime, his participation was active and at times dominant. Sometimes, it even became prescriptive, using phrases like "okay, this is the last question." However, I did not feel the need to moderate their participation. On the contrary, his intervention was fantastic to keep ole talk heated, interesting and active. When other limers felt the need to challenge his intervention, they resorted to several mechanisms and succeeded in doing so. In past research experiences that have involved group dynamics, I would have probably interpreted this type of intervention as a challenge to the group's balance. On reflection, this interpretation involves the assumption that, as a researcher, it is my role to allocate space and times for participation. From this position, allowing the*

preponderance of one member over others would seem unfair, or unbalanced. In a liming environment, however, participation flows according to the internal dynamics and interests of the group.

Researcher's journal, March 2018 (about Rosa's lime)

The topic explorer

Cathy (in Chloe's lime) and Mariposa (in the Cuban lime) led the shaping of ole talk in similar ways. As an illustration, I analyse Cathy's case as a Caribbean woman who arrived in New Zealand after a long migrant journey. She was born in the Caribbean and went to study in Europe where she met her husband, and they had a son. They came to live in New Zealand when their son was young. Her interventions in shaping ole talk were aimed at analysing one specific topic: her worry about their son growing up black in New Zealand. Exploring strategies for negotiating racial identification and coping mechanisms for experiences of discrimination was the primary aim of Cathy's participation in the ole talk. She repeatedly drew on the high-trust environment of the lime to understand other participants' views, understand their stories, and get recommendations and advice.

When **Kenia** was sharing her process of identity negotiation growing up, **Cathy** asked her question after question:

"What sort of racism did you experience?"

"Did you have a different colour than your tribe?"

"How did you feel about having to explain that you were Jamaican when you were also Māori?"

"How would you describe your ethnicity if you were asked?"

"I'm absolutely fascinated by what you're saying" **Cathy** finally responded. "You were in a really unique position, and the people that you put in these unique positions have such a burden to bear. Because they are like pioneers. And instead of being able to have acceptance from a lot of different sources they have to break down barrier after barrier. So, we have to find a way to navigate some sort of path forward. That is done by the person who's done it before."

CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 14

Cathy also made her vision and stories available for others to learn from. She directly offered advice to limers, who had just arrived in New Zealand, based on her experiences of discrimination and racism and her strategies to respond and cope.

"…when they ask where you're from, I have the choice right at that point. I choose to educate."

"…especially important about microaggressions, the things that single you out, make you feel different, make you feel not accepted they can wear you down completely."

"Take care of yourself. If you go in with no um… ability to know what is coming your way you're gonna get hurt a lot."

"You're gonna get hit and you're gonna get worn down. So, knowing that this exists I think for you it's really important."

CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 15

Cathy's intervention in shaping ole talk by asking questions and bringing up topics for discussion was not aimed at generating responses from the group but stemmed from her investment in the discussion on a topic, due to her significant personal interest.

The mobiliser

Seb was a Caribbean man in his 40s. His intervention in the lime was aimed mostly at bringing up the need to come together as a Caribbean community in Aotearoa. Thus, most of his questions were aimed at getting to know the people in the room, their journeys, their vision and their plans.

> Why New Zealand?
> Where in Jamaica are you from?
> What are you studying?
> How do you find attending university in New Zealand?
> What are your first impressions?
> How long have you been here?
> What jumps out at you?
> How many years have you been here?
> I have a question, the census that's coming up… What are you gonna put?

Before coming to New Zealand, Seb and his wife Aline lived in the US, where there was a bigger Caribbean population. There, they felt it was easier to connect with other Caribbean people and have a stronger presence as an ethnic community. They had not been able to achieve that in New Zealand although they had been personally active in organising events and contacting other Caribbean people throughout the country. During his participation in the lime, Seb kept referring to the need for a strong Caribbean community.

"Moving to New Zealand I was trying to find groups of people where we can come together" said **Seb**. "I didn't really need much of that when I was in the US, it's so big and so obvious. Here… 'oh my goodness, where are all the Caribbean people?' I mean it's, that is a major problem here. How do you get people to come together? Because I see us as pioneers but I think I need more people to sit down and think about what do you do with a title like that. If you come to somewhere and you're the first one, what do you do with it?"

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 16

For Seb this was not only important for himself and other migrants, but for creating a space of belonging that can be available for other generations. Although he, like Cathy in another lime, led processes of reflection and sense-making, his main objective was calling people to action, generating change and finding ways to dismantle the obstacles that, in his view, hindered the emergence of a more cohesive Caribbean community.

"Strategically I think what we wanted to do was to build a network here" said **Seb** towards the end of the lime. "I think we're pioneers. Anything that we say or do, that's what's gonna be written down in the land of New Zealand. So, I was thinking far ahead and all we needed was like–mind people to come together on the boat, right? Come together on the boat and let's sail. We're literally writing history as we speak! Yuh know?"

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 17

Seb's leading participation in the lime illustrates how the liming environment can create a space for limers to work towards their own aims, in this case, community agency.

The role of the hosts

Lime hosts played a vital role in this study. Most of the limes in this study were not hosted by me, but by other members of the community who generously offered their homes as venues. These hosts were outstanding practitioners of Caribbean hospitality, providing food, drinks or even accommodation for other out-of-town limers and me. Additionally, hosts adopted roles such as inviting participants and introducing them to one another, connecting the researcher with the other limers, presenting the research topic alongside the researcher, setting the scene for conversation, and providing a venue for the encounter.

> *Me and my supervisor arrived the day before the lime and spent the afternoon with Garret. Incredible showcase of Caribbean hospitality. He picked me up at the airport and immediately started talking about the lime programmed for the next day and who was coming. It didn't feel like a research conversation, but a natural way of talking when you are organising a lime together. We did some shopping that day, although Garret had already bought some salt-fish and other lime "essentials." His wife had*

even prepared callaloo soup, even though dasheen leaves are hard to find in New Zealand. He insisted on hosting us in his home and would not hear about us finding accommodation elsewhere.

Researcher's journal, January 2018

Three of the hosts had particularly active roles in organising the limes and inviting limers, who were usually their friends or acquaintances. In these cases, the hosts vouched for my research, connected me with the group, and welcomed me into the intimacy of their relationship. An existing connection of the host with other limers created a particularly high level of trust and ease. In one case, the host explicitly selected a group of people that he knew or intuited would be comfortable with each other (all middle-aged people with children, although there was diversity in their Caribbean countries of origins). The views of the host (based on past experiences and preconceptions about the behaviour of people from different islands) largely determined the composition of the limes. Outside a research context, organising or taking part in a lime implies choosing who you lime with, so this process of participant selection was not unnatural for liming, nor did it prevent additional limers from being invited by participants.

The morning after the lime, **Garret** and **I** started talking over breakfast about how it went. He said we had such a good time because everyone that came was cool. I asked him if he had thought of that when he decided who to invite.

"That's natural" **Garret** replied. "Not just for now. When you are having people over, you like 'come to lime. I'm having some people over' and they ask, 'who dey?' You don't wanna go somewhere where you gonna get vexed!"

"What if people bring more people along?" **I** asked, remembering that there were some people in the lime that he didn't know.

"I don't care if I don't know them" **Garret** said. "Strangers can come to the lime, if they behave in a way that is cool, and are mixing well. They are welcome to do everything that we do, have everything that we have."

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 18

The liming environment did not change fundamentally in limes where existing groups got together, compared to limes composed mainly of people who were meeting each other for the first time. In both cases, ole talk generated high levels of intimacy among limers, personal experiences were shared, interaction remained loose and unstructured, and humour was used as a mechanism for topic discussion. The differences consisted mainly in the dynamics of conversations, which among pre-established groups relied on

common backgrounds, shared experience, and knowledge about each other, which was woven into topic discussions.

There were limes where the host invited most of the participants. In these instances, I arrived in the lime without knowing any of the limers, except the host. This was not unusual or awkward, mainly because a relationship with the host had already been built, including discussions about the rationale of the research. In these cases, I arrived well in advance of the scheduled start of the lime to help with the preparations, but also to strengthen the connection with the host and allow extra time to get to know other limers.

> *I had never met Rosa before, although we had been in touch over video–calls and messages many times. I arrived early and went to her house before meeting the others, all her fellow students at Massey Uni. We talked and went shopping together. The others picked us up at a gas station. It was a small car, and there was seven of us, which was more funny than awkward. Sitting so closely together due to the reduced space felt natural and comfortable, and as usual humour and teasing kicked in instantly, making the situation easy. These situations are so usual back home that no one felt that it was extraordinary in any way. By the time we got to the park where the river lime was going to take place, we were already chatting and calling each other by our names.*
>
> ***Researcher's journal, April 2018***

In other cases, hosts welcomed limers in their homes but gave me complete agency to determine who the limers would be. Hosts were kept informed about the approximate number of limers that would be attending. As usual, this was flexible and unpredictable, and sometimes people showed up unannounced. This is a common and acceptable practice in liming and was considered, in terms of food and space. In these cases, the composition of the limes was more varied, made up of people who had expressed their interest in participating, through social media or word of mouth. Passive hosts usually had a closer personal relationship with me, and there was a high trust component in allowing me to organise the lime in their homes. On one occasion the host had a last-minute clash, but insisted that the lime took place in her house, although she could not be there.

> *When we limed at Miriam's house, Miriam wasn't there. Her house is a hub for young Caribbean people and she regularly hosts newly arrived islanders. That lime was organised because young Caribbean people that heard about the research wanted to come together to discuss things that were specifically relevant for our age group. I did*

not arrive too much in advance this time because I knew most limers well, and I brought the food already cooked. Miriam had left chicken in the oven for us.

Researcher's journal, March 2018

In summary, the liming environment enabled a collective and intersubjective process of knowledge construction through the decentring of the researcher and the active participation of other limers, including lime hosts. The liming environment allowed the researcher and the participants to learn from each other and co-construct meaning addressing their interests, aspirations and agendas. This collective process of meaning-making was made possible by some key factors that are analysed next.

3.3. Key components of the liming environment

Every lime is unique and a myriad of variables can influence how it unfolds: the setting (a river lime, a dinner lime, a dominoes lime, a beach lime), who the host and the participants are, how they connect (a family lime, a lime with friends or a lime that you attend without really knowing anyone), the music that is played, whether there is dancing involved, and whether good conversation flows.

Figure 11 offers background information about the limes that occurred in this study, including the existing connections between participants in each lime, the lime's gender composition and average age. In **Appendix B-a**, I provide a brief description of each lime, extracted from my research journal, to offer an additional context as to how each lime unfolded.

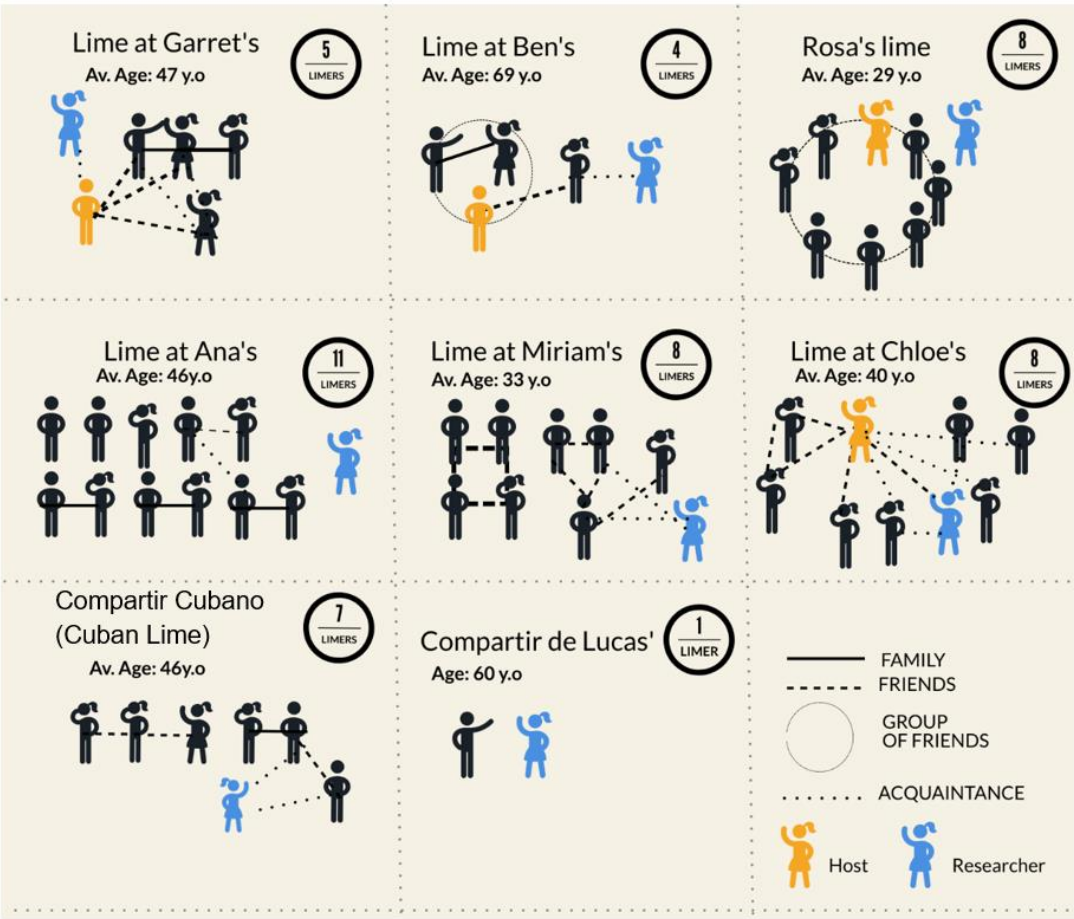

Figure 11: Lime composition and sociograms

In the following sections, I explain how, for Caribbean people, liming can be a way of co-creating meaning. I analyse knowledge construction dynamics in liming, in relation to (1) unstructured, and non-prescriptive settings as an enabling environment for liming, (2) the importance of sharing**,** especially food and music for enabling connections over

sensory memories of home. I also describe the key role other limers had in this research as hosts. Finally, I outline the features of ole talk as the conversational component of liming and explain the method I developed and used to analyse liming data.

Unstructured and non-prescriptive environments for liming

Liming is not a formal event with a structured agenda. There is no defined protocol determining how participants engage with one another, the order or time of participation, hierarchical relationships between participants, or the sequence in which events will take place. In the limes that informed this study, the environment was not intentionally structured for research in the way that would occur with focus groups or group interviews. I did not have to "create" a liming environment for this research. Liming occurred naturally as Caribbean people came together in a relaxed, non-prescriptive environment with food and music.

This is important to keep in mind, as the liming environment may be affected if the researcher tries to have too much control over the dynamics of the gathering –e.g. by imposing a structure on the conversation or controlling the timing of interactions. Not all gatherings among Caribbean people are a lime and introducing too many constraints may leave the researcher conducting a regular group interview with Caribbean people. However, considering that the researcher is likely to be involved in the organisation of the limes as host or co-host, there are some factors which, in my experience, enable the limes to flow organically, and ole talk to occur authentically, which I describe next.

Liming occurs naturally in spontaneous, open, non-prescriptive spaces. An unstructured space is not introduced for research purposes, but rather enabled as an organic component of a lime. The space where the lime takes place matters. When research is occurring in a liming environment, having a venue where people can move around and walk in and out of conversations is vital. Therefore, when an indoor venue with enough space was not available, outdoor spaces were used successfully. This was the case for two limes held at public parks, picnic style.

The process for recording the limes was set up to suit their unstructured nature. The limes were recorded through audio and video and several audio recorders were used, in different positions within the lime setting, to accommodate the spontaneous movement and simultaneous conversations that are likely to occur in liming. The video footage was not used to capture the conversation, but to record the non-dialogical dynamics of the lime: the ways that people move around, how often participants physically go in and

out of conversation groups, the role of food sharing, etc. In transcribing afterwards, the video recording was also useful for identifying the voices in the recording, as well as providing non-verbal details that were used to enrich ole talk representation in written text. In all cases, recorder-free spaces were delimited and made explicit to limers, so they were able to choose when they wanted to engage in the recorded section of the lime or when they wanted to lime "off the record." Generally, however, participants comfortably engaged in ole talk, and the presence of recording devices was minimally disruptive.

"You can't put a time on a lime" said **Derek**. "There's no way it would work." As he looked around, everyone around the table nodded.

MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 19

The limes also involved flexibility around time and participants. The start and end times of the limes were hard to predict accurately, as many limers arrived before or after the set times. Intentionally, an end time was not set for any of the limes, and limers stayed for as long as they could or wanted to. In general, I stayed until the end of the lime, to help the host clean up and to participate in the lime for as long as possible.

Commitment to participate in the limes was also kept flexible. Although many people confirmed participation beforehand, some limers arrived without prior confirmation, invited by other participants. This was encouraged in the invitation: "bring other Caribbean people along to the lime." On occasions, limers arrived after the research topic had been presented and ole talk had commenced. In these cases, they were brought up to speed by other limers or me and started taking part in ole talk without any difficulty. Food and drinks were always available and in sufficient amounts to cover unconfirmed participation.

Finally, research procedures such as explaining the research objectives and obtaining consent were integrated within the natural dynamics of liming as much as possible, to minimise disruption. I initially used printed consent forms to trial their reception in a liming context. As expected, the presence of printed forms and participant information sheets was disruptive to the dynamics of the lime, as they were interpreted as imposed expectations of formality and structure, and not organically inherent in liming. Participants suggested that it would be more appropriate to set the scene for the research

as part of the ongoing conversation, and obtain consent orally from limers. This was the strategy I followed successfully in the remaining limes[27].

In summary, a favourable liming environment was enabled by (a) a setting with enough space for limers to move around, form diverse conversation groupings and access recorder-free areas, (b) recording strategies to suit the limes' unstructured nature, (c) flexibility around start and end time for the lime, (d) flexibility around commitment and participation, and (e) a research process that was minimally disruptive of the dynamics of the lime.

The importance of sharing in establishing connections: food and music as sensory memories from home

The limes usually began with sharing food, which created the space for limers to get to know each other, build trust, and connect. Before the topic was introduced and before we started recording, ole talk while sharing food flowed freely and was not regarded as a delay or interruption, but as an integral part of the lime. This initial space for spontaneous connections proved vital to getting the lime going and creating an atmosphere of familiarity and relaxed conversation. Setting the scene for topic discussion did not disrupt this space, as participants were aware that the lime was being held in connection with a research project, and ole talk started and carried on simultaneously with food sharing.

Participants reflected on the importance of food in bringing people together to lime. This did not change when liming for research, as Nina noted. In fact, it enabled the knowledge construction process to flow more naturally, as the next fragment shows.

We had been talking about the lime for a while when **Renee** said, pointing at the leftovers still scattered on the floor. "What is the thing that brought we all here? Food!" he laughed.

"We didn't say 'research'. We said 'food,'" said **Rosa** giggling.

"Caribbean people are always hungry, eh?" added **Dani**.

"Yeah" said **Nina,** nodding and looking at me. "So, you didn't really have to go like: 'Hi, I'm duh, duh, duh… I'm doing this…' you were like, 'we are here, *leh* we eat'. That's all we need."

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 20

[27] The two ways of obtaining consent were accounted for and authorised in the ethics approval granted by AUTEC.

As captured in the following fragments, extracted from my research journal, the connection over food often started before the scheduled time for the lime. On more than one occasion I went shopping for food and ingredients and cooked alongside hosts and other limers.

Garret and I spent the morning of the lime in the market, shopping for food and ingredients. After the market, we went home and cooked together. We prepared a variety of dishes, with sauces from Cuba and other islands. In total there were at least nine different dishes that evening, including those that other limers brought.

Researcher's journal, February 2018

Ese día por la mañana nos levantamos cocinando. Mariposa y Pamela, que no viven en Auckland, se quedaron a dormir en mi casa. Mariposa se levantó temprano, para ablandar los frijoles del congrí que íbamos a llevar al compartir de por la tarde con los cubanos. El olor me despertó. Ese olor a sofrito…El olor del ajo, la cebolla y el pimiento friéndose antes de caer en los frijoles ya blandos. Mariposa trajo una barra de guayaba que tenía en su "reserva estratégica." Íbamos a guardarla para por la tarde, pero no resistimos y la probamos en el desayuno.

That morning started with our cooking. Mariposa and Pamela, who do not live in Auckland, stayed with me the night before the lime. Mariposa got up early, to cook the beans for the *congrí* that we were going to share with other Cubans that afternoon. The smell woke me up. That fragrance of *sofrito*... The fragrance of garlic, onion and pepper stir-fried before being tossed into the already soft beans. Mariposa brought a guava cheese bar that she had in her "strategic reserve." We were going to keep it for the afternoon, but we did not resist and had a little taste at breakfast.

Researcher's journal, April 2018

The food shared in the limes (**Figure 12**) was always Caribbean, with recipes from different countries in the region. This was not explicitly coordinated, as limers brought food spontaneously, even though they were told food would be provided. This resulted in a sense of connection over sensory memories from home.

PELAU (Trinidad)

SOUSE (Barbados)

JERK CHICKEN (Jamaica)

PAN CON TIMBA (Cuba)

CONGRI Y YUCA (Cuba)

Figure 12: Some of the food shared in the limes (names and origins as shared by the limer who cooked each dish)

Since most of the food had been cooked by the limers, initial conversations usually involved sharing recipes, talking about ingredients and discussing adaptations to use ingredients available in New Zealand.

Not long after food was served on the table, everyone was sitting together, eating and talking. I had cooked *yuca* (cassava) and *arroz con pollo* (rice and chicken) that morning, to share in the lime.

"This is really nice," said **Kenia** savouring the *yuca* we had just served. "The cassava, how do you make it?"

"The magic is in this," **I** replied. "It's all in the sauce. You have to crush serious amounts of garlic and add lemon juice. It's originally made with bitter orange, but you can't find that here, so you have to make do with lemon juice. Then you add hot boiling oil. It needs to be a ceramic pot or something 'cause it's very hot."

"So where do you find cassava?" **Aaron** asked.

"In the Chinese market," **I** said. "They have everything, except plantain."

"Nobody has plantain," **Suzie** lamented.

CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 21

Music and dance were also shared in the limes. Sometimes music was already on when I arrived; sometimes limers put it on once the lime has started. In some limes we danced together and often limers chose specific songs they wanted to share with others.

As with food, music represented for many limers a non-verbal connection with home. By enabling the sharing of sensory memories and experiences through music and food, liming made it possible to construct meaning and connections beyond verbal expression. It created the space for the affirmation of commonalities that cannot be fully expressed with words.

3.4. Ole talk: Caribbean conversation as a research method

Ole talk is the conversational component of a lime, although it can happen outside a liming context. In this study, ole talk functioned as a research method that is, a systematic procedure for collecting data (Somekh and Lewin, 2005). In the next sections, I analyse some of the features that make ole talk a valuable resource for knowledge construction among Caribbean people.

The open nature of ole talk provided a flexible environment for limers to interact with each other, on their own terms. For example, if the topic being discussed was not relevant or engaging, limers stayed silent or began a different conversation alongside the ongoing one. Topic selection was entirely up to the limers once the general research objective had been presented and since the lime was not time-bound, emerging topics were engaged with for as much or as little time as the limers remained interested. This generated diverse conversations which explored Caribbean cultural identity in Aotearoa from different angles, depending on what was relevant for each group. There were also themes that emerged consistently in several limes. **Figure 13** illustrates this in a map of the topics discussed in Garret's lime.

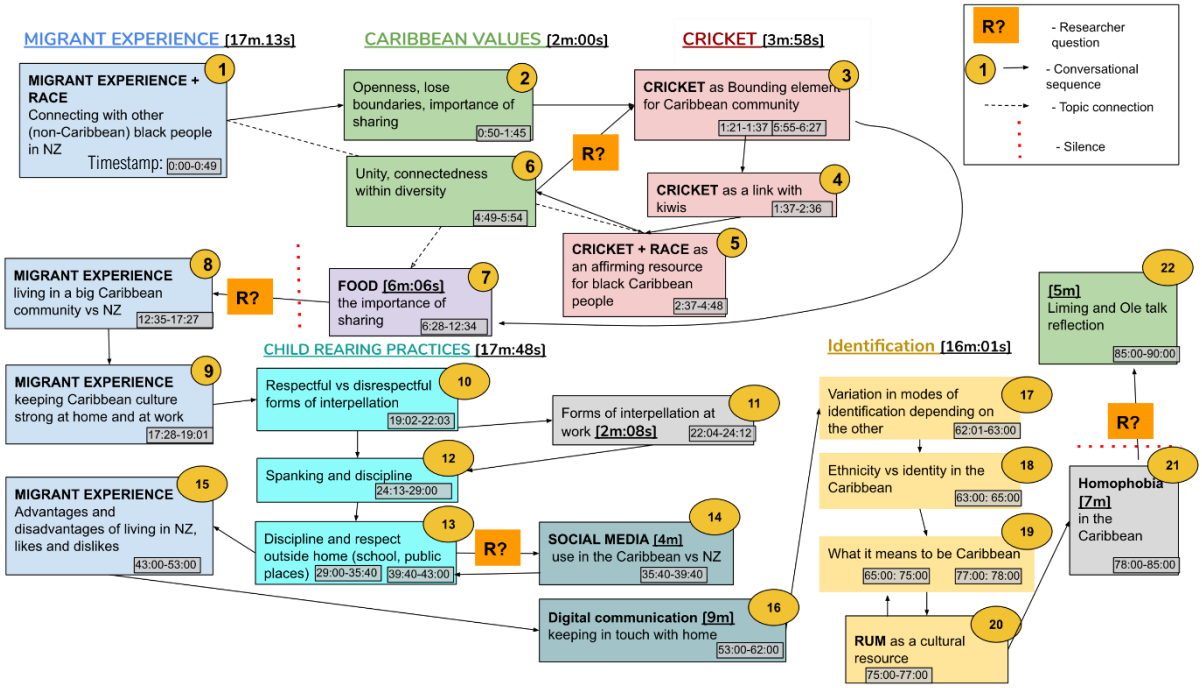

Figure 13: Illustration of ole talk as an unstructured mode of conversation: map of topics discussed in Garret's lime

Conversations flowed spontaneously, with often more than one dialogue going on at the same time. Often, one conversation group would break into sub-groups to explore a specific side of a topic, to then merge back with the other limers to continue the initial

conversations. Limers moved from one group to the other loosely and often took part in more than one conversation at the same time. The recorded areas were set up to be wide enough to capture these multi-layered conversation dynamics which, in practice, meant using multiple recorders spread around the liming space. This way, the lime was not prescribed to occur in a single group or constrained to a single area, as would be the case in a focus group. Nevertheless, people often gravitated towards the space where food was being shared.

Ole talk occurred in the limes as a highly fluid and unstructured mode of interaction. Topics changed swiftly and conversation often jumped back and forth from one to the other. Participants frequently talked over each other, especially if the topic was polemic or engaging. In most cases, this was not interpreted as an interruption, but as a normal part of the interaction. The unstructured nature of Caribbean conversation has been highlighted by authors such as Reisman (1989), who noted that, in contrast to American English, in Caribbean conversation, two or more voices are not prohibited from speaking at the same time. In addition, the introduction of a new voice is not intended to silence the person who is speaking, or to determine who will hold the floor. In the limes, this took the shape of unstructured, but highly functional conversations with distinctive features including (a) sub-grouping of discussion and multiple allocations of attention, creating multi-layered conversational structures, and (b) fluid strategies for turn-taking. These are explored in the next section with examples from the limes.

Discussion sub-groups and multiple allocations of attention

During ole talk in a group, rapidly changing conversation structures emerged within the wider group of limers. Based on interest, knowledge and experience of a topic, limers formed and dissolved discussion sub-groups in order to (1) go deeper into a specific aspect of the topic being discussed, (2) continue a conversation when others in the group had lost interest, or (3) talk about a different topic altogether. Factors such as tone of voice, loud interjections and questions also influenced the flow of conversations. The following ole talk sequences, which took place within the period of one minute in Rosa's lime, illustrate the fluid and multi-layered nature of ole talk.

Sequence 1: There were three subgroups discussing related but independent topics around alarming suicide rates in Guyana. Subgroup 1 was talking about a famous suicide case in Guyana, while subgroup two was talking about the use of guns in suicide

attempts, and the conversation of the third group was inaudible as they were out of the recorder's range.

Sequence 2: Limers in subgroup 1 changed the topic and started talking about suicide rates in New Zealand. This shows the multi-layered conversation dynamics of ole talk: topics can change in a subgroup while others continue their original conversation. The third group remained expressly out of the recording area.

Sequence 3: After I made a loud interjection in response to a surprising fact Sam shared, subgroup 1 paused their ole talk and joined the conversation in subgroup 2 for a short time. Rosa took part in the ongoing conversation in subgroup 3 adding some facts from her own experience. Her transition from one conversation to the other was fluid. Although she was taking part in a different discussion until then, her attention was also given to Sam's story, so she could comment and add to it when she joined the talk.

Sequence 4: After Sam and Rosa had finished their narratives, the topic came to an end and the limers that had originally positioned themselves in subgroups 1 and 2 came together to resume the discussion about suicide rates in New Zealand, the topic that had been paused a moment ago. While this conversation was going on, the limers in subgroup 3 who had not been taking part in any of the previous discussions and were physically removed from the rest of the group, asked a question related to the current topic, and engaged in a separate conversation about suicide rates in New Zealand with Rosa, while the wider group continued their conversation. The flow of the conversations, attention and negotiation of turns was influenced by factors such as group interest in the topic, jokes or anecdotes, performativity, tone and volume, and importantly, the use of humour. Humorous and highly performative interventions in ole talk were likely to receive uninterrupted attention from the limers.

SEQUENCE 1

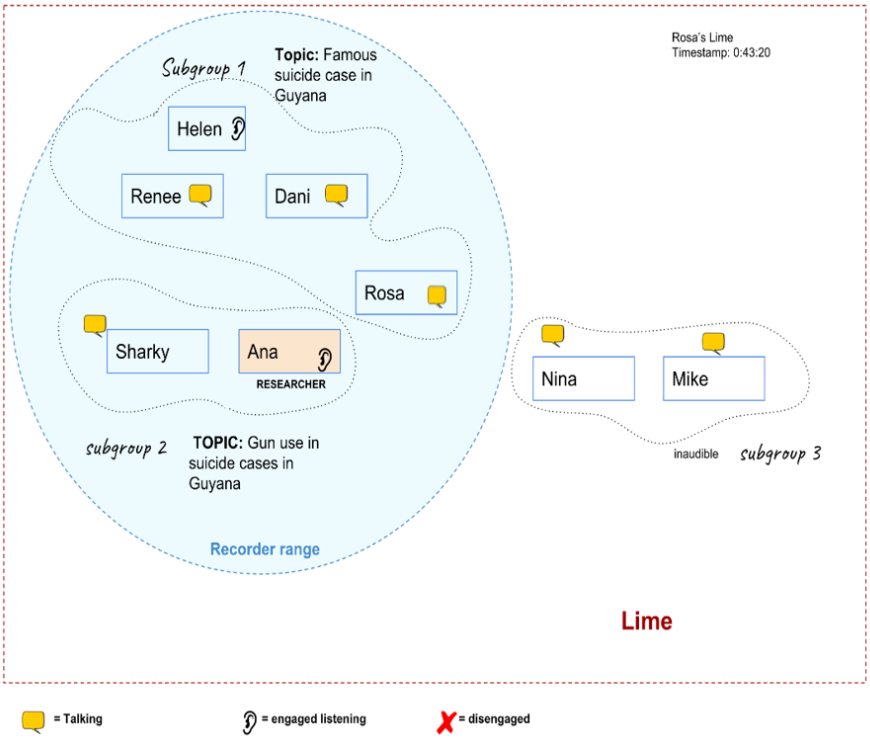

Figure 14- Ole talk sequence 1

SEQUENCE 1:

Subgroup 1:

"Some people may not want to be that open, to ventilate certain type of personal issues" **Dani** started. "And probably when they… you know, they just jump over a cliff and book a ticket to Kaieteur Falls so they can jump off the bar."

"Two girls did it right?" asked **Renee**.

"Yes, two."

Subgroup 2:

"Guyana's suicide rate is very high. I'm not even lying. Guns and shit" **Sam** said to **me**, while the other conversation was ongoing.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 22

SEQUENCE 2

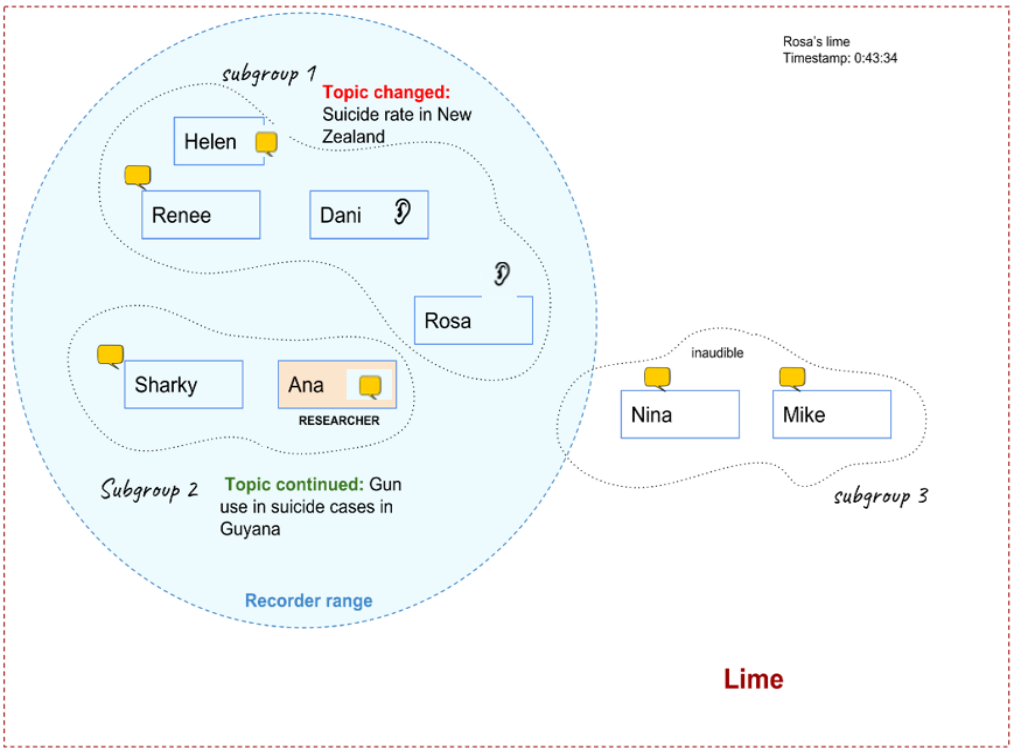

Figure 15: Ole talk sequence 2

SEQUENCE 2:

Subgroup 1:

"But New Zealand has a high suicide rate too, right?" asked **Renee**.

"Depression or something" responded **Helen**.

Subgroup 2:

"I'm not even lying. With guns, they are used so much" said **Sam.**

"Really?" **I** asked, in an unintentionally loud voice.

Most people who were taking part in the other conversation turned around and switched their attention to what Sam was saying.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 23

SEQUENCE 3

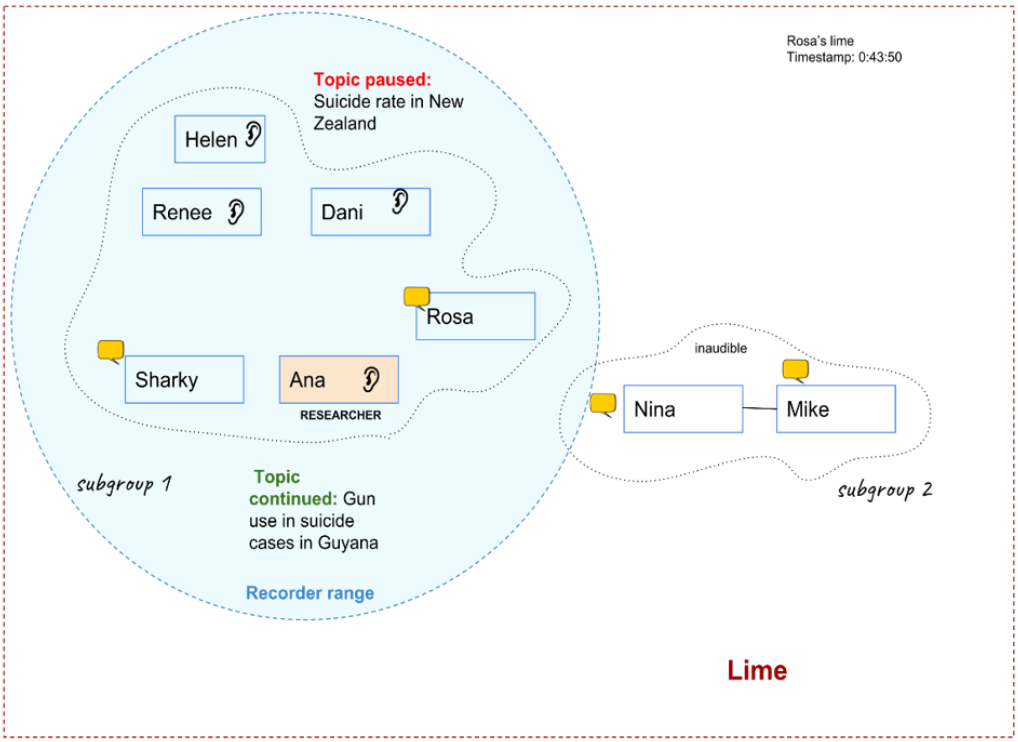

Figure 16: Ole talk sequence 3

SEQUENCE 3:

Subgroup 1:

"Suicide rate is very high. People jump off all the time in Guyana" **Sam** continued.

"That's very common in Guyana. Suicide rate, highest in the world, I read" added **Rosa**.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 24

SEQUENCE 4

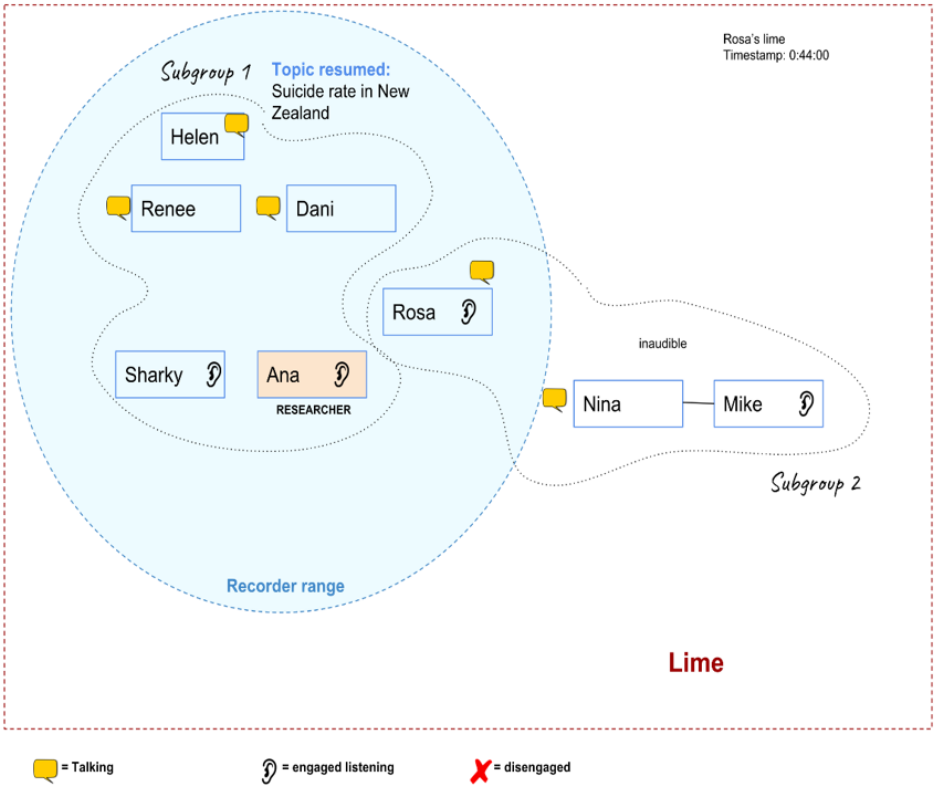

Figure 17: Ole talk sequence 4

SEQUENCE 4:

Subgroup 1:

"They are skilful people" said **Renee**, resuming the conversation about suicide rates in New Zealand, "but sometimes you don't really know when the shield is broken, buddy."

Subgroup 2:

"They have high suicide rates?" asked **Nina**, while Renee was still talking. She had been in a separate conversation with Mike until now.

"Yeah! It crazy" **Rosa** responded, turning around to talk with her.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 25

As illustrated in these fragments, the flexible nature of ole talk accommodates multiple interests in a single conversational environment. Often, when some limers took the conversation in a direction that was not engaging or relevant for others, the latter were able to continue exploring the topic of their interest for as long as necessary. The fact that limers were talking over each other was not interpreted as an interruption or competition between two topics, and the subgroups coexisted in the same space,

developing conversations on different topics for extended periods of time. Eventually, the subgroups usually merged back into a single group and joined a common conversation with the same fluidity with which that they had moved apart.

Turn-taking strategies in ole talk: gaining and maintaining the floor

In the limes, attention conferred to speakers responded to limers' interest in the topic of conversation, but also to their ability to deliver a good performance. Performative ole talk, which consistently succeeded in obtaining and maintaining attention, included the use of humour, teasing, storytelling, gesticulation and modulating the rhythm and tone of the conversation to generate momentum. In these cases, listeners became the speakers' audience, and speakers employed all their communicative competencies to keep them engaged. On occasions, performative talkers challenged others that competed with them for the group's attention, as exemplified in SEQUENCE 5.

SEQUENCE 5

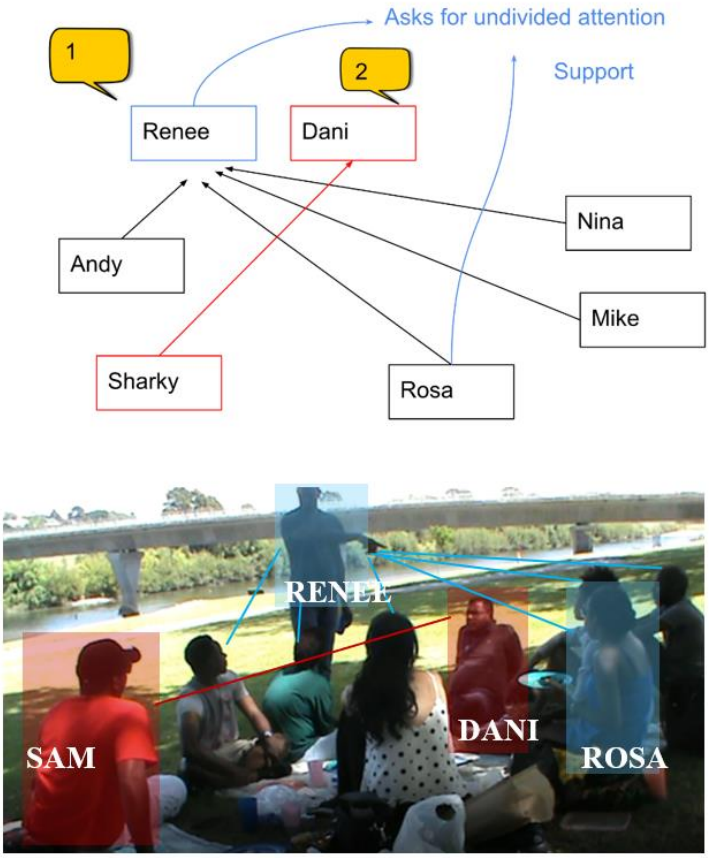

Figure 18: Ole talk sequence 5

SEQUENCE 5:

"And like… in church, last week" **Renee** started to narrate, "the pastor talked about how we were born…"

"I find it strange, you know?" **Dani** started saying "that they are the first country that allowed women to vote. Back home maybe we never had any gender difference…"

"Where did you grow up?" asked **Sam**, who had been listening to Renee until then.

"Hey, Hey. I started. You want me to talk just now?" **Renee** said to Dani, laughing, but expecting him to stop his turn.

"Hold on, hold on, let him finish" **Rosa** backed Renee. Dani looked a bit uncomfortable for a couple of seconds, looking around, cleaning his glasses, but immediately started laughing at something Renee said and made some comments about his story.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 26

This sequence illustrates how undivided attention can be explicitly negotiated in the context of performative ole talk. In this example, Renee was sharing his interpretation of how colonisation occurred in New Zealand. He was standing up, using movement, gesticulation, storytelling, humour and dramatization, and the group was highly engaged, listening and laughing. When Dani started talking about the same topic, to offer an example from the Caribbean, only Sam switched attention. Renee paused his ole talk and told Dani off for interrupting. Rosa also asked Dani to let Renee finish the story he was sharing. During Renee's ole talk, other people intervened to make comments and obtain clarification, but no one attempted to change the topic again. When Renee finished speaking, three minutes later, the conversation topic changed to a comparison between politeness in relationships in New Zealand and the Caribbean approach, which was considered more straightforward. Dani made no further attempts to get back to his story and moved on with the group.

However, unlike Dani's case, some participants were more persistent in their efforts to get the floor. In Sequence 6, Sam had the floor while he was sharing his approach to using social media back home and in New Zealand. There was a small pause in his ole talk, during which Nina started talking about the same topic, specifically about how she decided to share (or not) personal information on social media. The group switched its attention to Nina and although he tried to win the floor back with repeated interjections (e.g. "I'll be honest with you, right?" or "so, listen to this") and gesticulation, he was unsuccessful, and Nina kept the floor. He was only able to start talking again when Nina finished her delivery. In this example, the group's attention determined floor allocation

and maintenance. However, unlike Dani in the example above, by persevering to obtain the floor, Sam was eventually able to share his idea, using the first available opportunity.

SEQUENCE 6:

"Social media is good and bad" **Sam** started making his point, "it depends on how you use it. The reason why I use social media more now is because I am so far away from my friends and family."

"So, you are being more friendly with people back home? I isolate myself. No personal things, I don't talk. Don't feel like it" said **Nina** when he briefly paused. You know how you are all using your home phone number for WhatsApp? Ah. I'm using my New Zealand number for WhatsApp. Only my people have my New Zealand number for WhatsApp."

"For me…" **Sam** started, but **Nina** continued talking and held the group's attention

"Everybody else? Whatever" said **Nina**. "They message me on Facebook, what happened to your number? It down? I just don't feel like it. Maybe it's the change here, the coming and adapting to the freaking cold, the food horrible … a lot of different… my mood was in a knot."

"Right, so, for me…" **Sam** interjected again, still unable to get the floor.

"I just couldn't be bothered with talking to people" **Nina** continued. "Like 'what you doing there?' 'how long are you there for,' that kind of talk. I'm like nah. Lock off. If you know you know. If you don't know, I see you when I see you."

"I, for one…" **Sam** tried again, unsuccessfully.

"My mother tells me" **Nina** kept going. "I said, I can't tell everybody. You gonna tell somebody too. And then it's these people you don't really talk to them, you don't see them, So why I must come to you?"

"For me…" said **Sam** again.

"I don't know about what you are doing in your life. Some people just behave entitled. Record that. They are entitled to your business" **Nina** finished.

"I don't talk with half of my family" said **Sam**, finally able to get the floor. "I'm being very honest, with this."

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 27

SEQUENCE 6

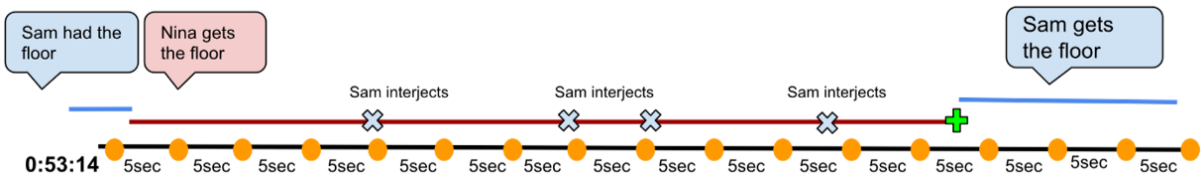

Figure 19: Ole talk sequence 6

Humour and relajo *in ole talk: resilience in sense-making*

Humour was present in one form or another throughout the limes that were carried out in this study. Liming features in the Caribbean collective imaginary as a space for relaxation and humour, or as it is called in Cuba, *relajo*[28] or *choteo* (as explained earlier in this chapter). The practices of liming and ole talk have been associated with the Caribbean laid-back or easy-going stereotype (Eriksen, 1990), and frequently evoke images of laughter and leisure.

Although liming is indeed a space for relaxation, this is not at odds with its potential for knowledge construction, sense-making, and profound reflection. When limers have a laugh together when dealing with complex issues such as slavery, race relations and discrimination in the Caribbean, it does not equate to taking the issues lightly. Humour and laughter are core resources with which we make sense of our experience and have historically enabled extraordinary feats of resilience.

The use of liming for research is not an attempt to turn it into something serious, tidy it up or formalise it. It is because of humour and *relajo*, and not despite them, that liming is such a fertile communication environment for Caribbean people. In the limes, humour frequently became a means for challenging imposed discourses and meanings, not by directly confronting them, but by mocking them and transforming them. In this sense, humour in liming can be seen as a manifestation of the type of resistance that Anzaldúa (1987) finds to occur in borderlands and points of entanglement, which is not confrontational (thus not reactive) but active and creative.

Humour sometimes took the form of teasing, just for the sake of a good laugh, especially when the limers were familiar with each other. In other instances, humour was used as a coping mechanism when discussing adverse experiences, such as racism. In these cases, shared laughter was a way of coming together in solidarity with each other's experiences and a strategy for delegitimising, sometimes through mockery, othering positions. In general, humour operated as a resource within ole talk that made the limes safe and protective environments for collective reflection about intimate and sensitive issues such as isolation, loss, suicide, sex tourism, and so forth.

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[28] *Relajo* does not have an exact English equivalent, but it refers to a state of suspension of all seriousness, usually involving the use of well–intended back and forth mockery, double meaning, and humour. It denotes a mode of joking around and not taking anything seriously. Usually involves well-meaning teasing and has shared laughter as a usual outcome. For example, a phrase like: "*Déjense de relajo*!" can be translated as "Stop joking around!"

3.5. Liming Analysis: a strategy for drawing meaning from data generated in a lime

The process of participating in eight limes during half a year was deep and enriching as a Cuban woman on a migrant journey, as a Caribbean islander and as a researcher. As I transcribe the limes, I observe that the process of knowledge construction was, in general, shared and open. I also struggle to understand accents that my second language ear does not process well and am patiently rescued by the participants who laugh at my questions and help me in good spirit. The process of developing a strategy for the analysis of the data and the presentation of the results leads me to extensive readings on methods of qualitative analysis, specifically those utilised within decolonial and indigenous methodologies. The more I read, the more I realise that the dynamics of liming (multi-layered, discontinuous, iterative, full of ideas that are articulated, questioned and re-articulated) have fundamental differences to the comprehensive stories captured and reflected upon in many indigenous methodologies. In liming, ideas bounce off each other, and are transformed in the process. An analysis that depends on finding "completeness" in the narrative of a single limer would not be consistent with this dynamic of interaction. The other end of the continuum, i.e. the fragmentation of ole talk into decontextualised themes, would strip the knowledge that was shared from its meaning.

Researcher's journal, October 2018

When utilised in research, liming data (by this, I mean data generated in a lime) needs to be organised and analysed in response to research objectives. This additional process of analysis is arguably the main distinction between liming as a cultural practice and Liming Methodology as a research approach that ultimately leads to a written text. However, for the research process to be culturally affirming, this layer of analysis needs to be coherent with the way liming and ole talk occur in the lived experience of Caribbean people.

Data analysis in qualitative research has been defined as the most complex phase of a study (Thorne, 2000). It involves creating analytical categories that reflect the experiences of participants and highlight the significance of cultural events happening in the research setting (Wan, 2018). Hence, a critical part of articulating liming as a research methodology was the development Liming Analysis a method for organising, processing, synthesising, and making sense of liming data, in response to the research objectives. In Liming Analysis, this is done while maintaining (a) the integrity of

limers' experience and narratives, and (b) the non-linear nature of ole talk. It also allows for the voice of the researcher to be woven reflectively with the voices of other limers.

This was achieved by (1) offering enough context for the experiences or ideas to be internally meaningful, as well as in relation to the topic, (2) linking the experiences back to individual limers and the wider narrative they shared, and (3) by linking the ideas and the experiences to the liming context from which they emerged. These three anchors allowed me to analyse data within and across the limes to find relationships between narratives and experiences while keeping them connected to the limers, the situation, and the specific interaction in which they emerged. In Liming Methodology, the researcher is also a limer who shares experiences and ideas, establishing a relationship of intersubjectivity with other limers. Accordingly, representing the voice of the researcher and the position from which she engages with the stories and ideas shared by other participants, is an important component of Liming Analysis.

Liming Analysis did not aim to find patterns generalisable to the entire data set. Rather, by organising liming data by topic, while keeping ole talk fragments highly contextualised, Liming Analysis made it possible to bring together similar meaning-making strategies, negotiation and coping mechanisms, and desires and aspirations that add to each other's meaning as shared experiences within the Caribbean community. This is consistent with the ideas outlined by Kovach (2009) when she noted that finding connecting threads in collective experiences is not exclusive to Western ways of knowing, as many non-Western peoples traditionally observe patterns and behaviours and making sense of those observations, in a way that is highly contextualised, particular, and that does not assume that this knowledge can be extrapolated or generalised.

Liming Analysis presents some similarities with existing data analysis strategies such as thematic analysis, but also important differences. Thematic analysis (e.g. Braun & Clarke, 2006; Gareth, Hayfield, Clarke & Braun, 2017) allows the researcher to draw from multiple sources to inform the construction of themes. Authors such as Gibson and Brown (2009) have suggested that thematic analysis can be successfully adapted to various ontological, epistemological, and methodological approaches. Nevertheless, in thematic analysis, the importance of the topic (as defined by the researcher) prevails as the criterion for collecting, organising and interpreting data. Hence, knowledge is frequently decontextualised and fragmented from the person who shared it and the

wider experience or narrative of which it is a part. For the analysis of liming data, this is an important limitation.

While in a liming context knowledge is constructed collectively through ole talk (which can include humour, silence, debate, etc.) the meaning of statements and narratives cannot be separated from the person that shared them and the context in which they were shared. For example, in a lime, depending on the context, an anecdote can be used to achieve a humorous effect, to share information, or to tease somebody. The meaning that can be drawn from this anecdote changes in each case. The meaning is also connected with other experiences the person has shared. Robert, in Ana's lime in Wellington, reflected on the importance of context when working with liming data.

> "Caribbean people like talkin' " **Robert** mused. "Tell a good yarn or a good story, because that's what we do (…). But the weight of the story, the fact that the person is telling a story…it may be powerful, expanding on it, on its importance to that person. And to the group, how they respond and come back with yet another story about the issue."
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 28**

Liming Analysis proposes a strategy for identifying connecting threads across different limers and limes while maintaining a connection between knowledge that is shared, the context in which it is shared, and the person who shared it. Next, I explain the practical workings of Liming Analysis in more detail, to enable others to use or transform them in response to the needs of their own research. The use of these strategies can be seen in practice in the chapters about cultural identity (5-9).

Liming Analysis in practice: steps and stages

Knowledge construction in Liming Analysis can be divided into four stages, which are shaped in response to the features of the liming data, as follows.

a. Liming

This is the stage when the limes take place. Participants are invited to lime and ole talk about the research topic. Themes are not set beforehand, and ole talk is not facilitated but flows spontaneously according to the dynamics of liming. Ole talk is captured in audio, on several devices distributed in the liming setting. Video is used to capture non-verbal dynamics of the lime in a way that is minimally intrusive. Recorder free areas are created to enable limers to go off record if they which to do so at any time. In this stage, raw liming data is obtained. Liming occurs organically, and is not manipulated or

adapted to fit any structure; the knowledge that is constructed collectively in this environment is organised and prepared for analysis in later stages.

b. Transcription

The purpose of transcribing the limes was to process raw liming data for analysis. The process of transcribing limes involved reducing the complexity of these interactions to the simplified format of written text, which inevitably halted the ongoing nature of these practices (ole talk frequently goes on after the lime event has finished). As Green, Franquiz, and Dixon (1997) argued, a transcript is a text that re-presents an event; it is not the event itself. Following this logic, what is re-presented is data constructed by a researcher for a particular purpose, not just talk written down. As O'Reilly and Parker (2014) noted, transcription involves making selective decisions about how what is said is included in the transcript, and what details of prosody or intonation, for example, may be reasonable to leave out. Liming Analysis does not focus on the linguistic features of narratives and reflections, but on their content, thus filling utterances such as "hum," "erm" and word repetitions etc., are not analysed, nor included in the transcripts. I included other details that are important parts of ole talk, including prosodic information (intonation, gestures, and stress patterns), talking over each other, humour, and laughter.

Participants' use of Caribbean idioms and dialects was reflected as accurately as possible when used by participants in the limes. In the case of English-speaking creole dialects, this included the use of creole orthography. This contradicts the suggestion of authors such as Roberts (1997), who recommended using standard orthography even when the speaker is using nonstandard varieties, to avoid stigmatisation. Roberts was alluding to the derogatory use of "eye dialect" specifically in the US, to indicate "poor" or "uneducated" pronunciation, especially when representing black people. In a Caribbean context, however, creole languages have historically been spaces of resistance and subversion of the coloniser's linguistic doxa. The Caribbean writer Maryse Condé (Condé, 1998) has shown how Creole languages have served as instruments of linguistic subversion as well as resistance to colonial oppression. Creole languages in the Caribbean, as argued by Balutansky and Sourieau (2017), represent the subversive process of appropriating and transforming the inherited "master" language through the creation of new techniques, styles, syntaxes, images, rhythms, and meanings. Accordingly, when used by participants, they are maintained in the written text.

To capture prosodic data, I transcribed ole talk audio recordings using table columns to note when limers talked over each other and laughed. I also used coloured shading to distinguish one conversation from another, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Prosodic data capture

Talking over each other	Sam	You go now, scrap your elbow, your mother then come, take you up, rubs the alcohol, makes you holler…
	Nina	And then cut your arse
Talking over each other	Sam	Are you going outside again? Sometimes I do get your point, people go too far, I agree.
	Nina	Tough love, tough love
	Helen	That's why you so?
Laughter	Renee	That's why I'm so tough
	Helen	I think you… there is a difference between being... articulate… I think you are sensitive, I think you are. I know you are.

In this example, there were two conversations happening at the same time. One involved Sam and Nina, who talked over each other, and the other involved Helen and Renee, in which Renee laughed in one of his turns.

c. Reflexive journaling

During the limes I kept a research journal in which I captured notes about the limes, and reflexive accounts of my personal migrant and cultural journey, which the limes brought to the surface. Journaling was one of the tools through which doing research through Liming Methodology became a critically reflexive practice (Wright & Kuper, 2019; Cunliffe, 2004; Morley, 2015). In this journal I wrote in English and Spanish, which, on reflection, revealed my emotional state; when writing about my feelings, and when reflecting about the lime I organised with other Cubans, I consistently defaulted to Spanish. Reflections that were originally written in Spanish were included in the text in this language (accompanied by an English translation). This was important because these reflections were frequently connected with personal experiences and notions of home and family, a connection that is partially lost in an English translation. Reflexive journaling was also a useful way to understand and declare the position from which I reclaimed Caribbean cultural practices as legitimate strategies for knowledge construction.

d. Analysis and writing

Data analysis and the writing up of the thesis occurred simultaneously and the two recursively influenced each other. The text structure was not established beforehand, but evolved from the experiences, narratives and dynamics emerging from the limes. When writing about the study's findings, I frequently went back to the lime recordings to contextualise participants' conversations and understand the situation in which the conversation emerged, the reaction of other limers and other relevant liming dynamics, such as the tone, use of humour, movement and position, talking over each other, etc. The codes I initially generated were transformed during the writing process; the meaning and relevance of topics changed as I brought together the experiences, stories, and ideas shared across the limes.

Although representing the rich dynamics of liming in a written text necessarily involves a simplification, I used some writing strategies to include nonverbal and contextual information, and to reflect the non-linear nature of liming, as follows.

Ole talk fragments in sequentially numbered textboxes.

I used sequentially numbered textboxes to capture the ole talk fragments that informed the analysis of findings. This allowed me to navigate back and forth in the text, to connect different parts of the narratives with each other and with the limer that shared them. This is illustrated in **Figure 20,** as follows. In ole talk fragment 90, Sheila used an exaggerated accent to mock racist British diplomats. In Ole talk fragment 115, she conversed about her experiences of racism growing up as a woman of mixed ethnicity. In ole talk fragment 132, she talks about the conflict that her British accent and her ethnic features generated in a white New Zealander. Although the fragments are presented in different sections, about different topics, by cross referencing them I keep the integrity of Sheila's narrative about her ethnicity and her experiences of discrimination. This strategy enables the organisation of knowledge and experience in a way that responds to the research objectives while maintaining unity in the account of limers'

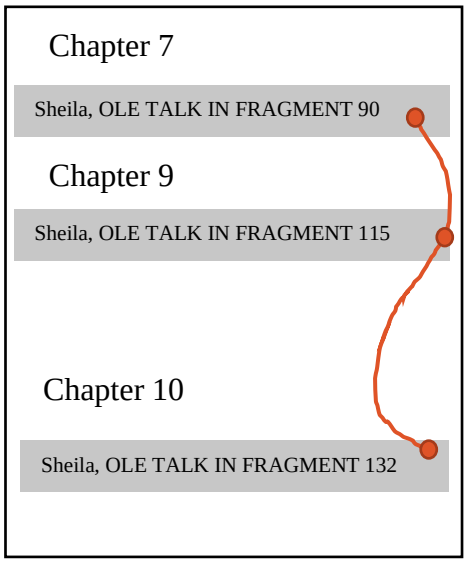

Figure 20: Different ole talk fragments shared by an individual can be connected throughout the text in liming analysis

experience. As part of this strategy, pseudonyms are used to protect limers' confidentiality.

Additionally, I have provided sociograms (**Figure 11**) in which I describe the relationships established among the limers, hosts and researcher, and list the sex and average age of the limers. To enable the reader to refer to this information for additional context, I specify the lime from which each fragment was extracted.

Narrative resources in the written representation of ole talk

In liming analysis, I used literary narrative resources to represent the nonverbal interactions that surround the ole talk, the position and movement of the limers, the tone of their voices, and their gestures. When relevant, I also offer additional context about what was happening in the lime when the conversation occurred. This is exemplified in the following fragment.

Everyone around the table had been sharing their migrant journey to New Zealand. Gabe went back to when his parents arrived in the UK from the Caribbean.

"Okay, so in the sixties" **Gabe** started locating his narrative, "big, big, big mass migration from the Caribbean. They were invited, and said that everything was going to be… they were gonna get a job, and blah, blah, blah and when they go over there…" Gabe shook his head and rolled his eyes, looking at Anand.

"They were invited" confirmed **Anand**, nodding.

"They lied to them" **Derek** added, sadly.

MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 29

Use of data processing software

I used NVivo 12 software to aid the process of inductive coding. Given the big volume of data generated in the limes, this was of great help for organising the data into topics. NVivo offers high levels of flexibility to support a range of coding strategies and I found it to be of value. Nvivo was mostly used to organise the data and generate codes and organise them by topics. In the analysis of aspects related to cultural identity, the codes worked more like shelves, where I could easily place data in English, Spanish, and English creole.

Word frequency quantification tools were not used to process data related to cultural identity, except for analyses specifically related to terminology[29]. In general, I found that analysis based on word frequency counts was not consistent with the objectives of the research and the nature of the data on cultural identity. Additionally, this type of analysis is not practical in a multilingual data set like the one in this study (the same word in different languages would be counted as two separate words). However, for analysis relating to the dynamics of Liming Methodology across the limes, some quantification tools were useful. For example, to understand the relationship between the leadership taken by the researcher in moderating the lime, compared to that of other limers, it was useful to analyse the frequency of the researcher's and limers' interventions in shaping the lime. Even in this case, this frequency analysis was the initial step of a deeper analysis of the underlying meaning of this dynamic.

Ole talk occurs without the constraints of pre-determined questions or themes. Therefore, an inductive approach to coding was used, generating and transforming codes as required, to contain the knowledge generated in the limes. I used memos, such as the one presented below, to note ideas and keep track of how the experiences shared by the limers impacted on the coding structure.

> An analysis of Kenia's experience brought me to change the structure of the codes related with notions of home. She was born in Britain to Jamaican and Māori parents and was brought up in a Māori community in Aotearoa. Meanwhile, she kept her Jamaican identity strong. This made me question and change a coding structure where, initially 'Representation of home' and 'Representation of New Zealand' featured as exclusive from each other. This division did not allow me to capture experiences of in-betweenness and the multiplicity of home-related positionings.
> **Extract from coding memo, December 2018**

Topics were generated around central organising concepts that were meaningful across the limes. Meaningfulness was not determined by how frequently topics were brought up, or by the fact that they were discussed in every lime, but by the depth and length of the discussion about the topics, their importance in the individual narrative of the participants, and their significance to the research question. My vantage point having participated in all the limes, was a significant advantage in generating topics, as the

[29] For example, to analyse the use of "West Indian" versus "Caribbean."

transcripts alone could not contain the exact tone of the discussions, the spirit of the narratives, or the liming context in which they emerged.

Distinguishing the voice of the researcher

Finally, when analysing liming data, I chose to keep my voice as a researcher and my voice as a limer distinguishable from each other, and distinguishable from the voices of other limers, instead of using a pseudonym for myself, as I did for other limers. The rationale for this is as follows: Liming Methodology challenges the hierarchy that has been established between, on the one hand, the researcher, traditionally positioned as the expert and leader of the research process and, on the other, the researched, traditionally positioned as the object of the researcher's observation, with little or no agency over the research process. In Liming Methodology, leadership in shaping the discussion is shared by all limers. At the same time, the researcher openly brings her own experiences, ideas and feelings to the lime. However, this shift away from mainstream researcher-researched dynamics did not occur without conflict in this research. On the one hand, the positioning of the researcher as a limer often clashed with participants' experience and understanding of the researcher's role, as well as with the researcher's internalised concepts based on training and previous research experience. Additionally, in this study, I was responsible for writing and presenting the results of a collective process of knowledge construction. Although this study aims to benefit the Caribbean community in general, it will have additional benefits in the form of academic advancement. All of this indicates that there are prevailing privileges and power relations that need to be analysed critically, which is not possible if the researcher's voice is not demarcated from those of others.

The stages of Liming Analysis as presented above, are synthesised in **Figure 21**.

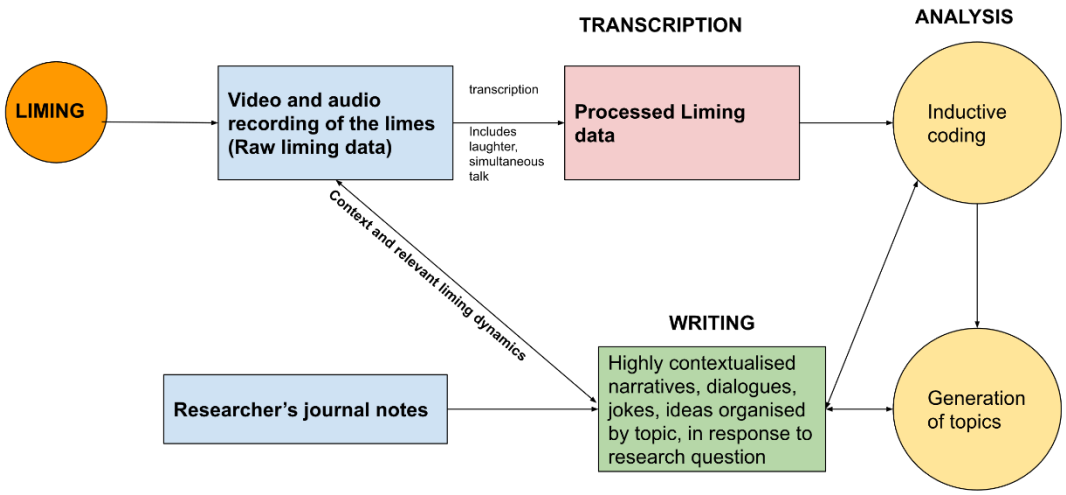

Figure 21: Meaning making process in thematic liming analysis

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have described the features of liming (with ole talk as its conversational component) as a Caribbean cultural practice and discussed how its features were used for knowledge construction in this thesis. In summary, Liming Methodology can be defined as a culturally affirming research approach by and for Caribbean people. It draws on the unstructured and non-prescriptive nature of liming to generate collective, open and safe spaces for interaction. In Liming Methodology, the researcher is decentred from the process of enquiry, which is shaped by all limers. The researcher is not a leader or facilitator, but a limer alongside others, in an environment where all involved are agentic subjects in knowledge construction. This allows the researcher to bring her whole self to the research process and share her own experiences, feelings, ideas, and stories, which are interwoven with those of others for sense-making, through the conversational practice of ole talk, which is used as a research method.

In this thesis, Liming Methodology was developed in conjunction with the analysis of cultural identity negotiation of Caribbean migrants living in Aotearoa New Zealand. The process of coming together to lime and ole talk about what it means to be Caribbean in New Zealand allowed me to understand how liming could be used for knowledge construction.

Chapter 4. Conceptualising cultural identity

The objective of this chapter is to develop the concept of cultural identity I use in this study. First, I outline how identity has been analysed from essentialist and constructivist perspectives, and in relation to individual agency and social structure as well as nation and migration. Second, I use Stuart Hall's concept of articulation to go beyond these dualistic notions of identity and construct a more complex conceptual framework to analyse the knowledge constructed in the limes.

4.1. Essentialist and constructivist concepts of identity

Essentialist theories conceptualise identities as stable sets of attributes that, in relation to the self, provide equilibrium and coherence in the course of the contingencies of existence (Erikson, 1994). In relation to collectives, as Grossberg (1996, p. 88) pointed out, essentialist approaches search for a common origin or a common structure of experience or both and try to discover the “authentic” and “original” content of identity.

Essentialist approaches are criticised for implicitly or explicitly reifying identity, and for “inventing identity categories and then acting as if they captured some kind of external reality” (Kertzer D., 2017, p. 24). Individually, this view implies that individuals are bound to neat clusters of values and attributes which define their conceptions of self and others in a way that is stable over time. Essentialist concepts of identity often imply the framing of human groups through classifications and primordial attachments that supposedly act as authentic markers of a fixed and unchangeable identity. It does not, however, consider the abilities of collective identities to be formed and changed (Spati, 2016, p. 3).

This conception of identity remains closely linked to the interest of the modern nation-states in producing categories and using them strategically in political action. “The modern state has adopted a complex apparatus, together with systematic methods for geographic mapping and archaeological cataloguing, in order to define and penetrate specific areas, populations and histories in the process of constructing the nation” (Decimo & Gribaldo, 2017, p. 5). As the authors pointed out, this apparatus mainly took shape through the construction of colonial empires (p. 5). Colonialism was underpinned by systems to convey images and ideas about the savage “others” and to appropriate their knowledge as a Western discovery, thus legitimating systems of domination, or what Foucault (1977) called “power/knowledge regimes.” The shaping and use of the concept of identity are highly political and cannot be analysed in isolation from the exercise of power.

Essentialist conceptions of identity have also been used by historically marginalised social groups to contest power, by resorting to "a strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest” (Spivak G. C., 1996). These instances are usually political, rather than theoretical, and can be used as a minority strategy for influencing mainstream society.

> Strategic essentialism in this sense entails that members of groups, while being highly differentiated internally, may engage in an essentializing and to some extent a standardizing of their public image, thus advancing their group identity in a simplified, collectivized way to achieve certain objectives. (Eide, 2010, p. 76)

Some essentialist approaches have been of great importance for Caribbean movements that privileged long-silenced voices, as in the case of Afrocentrism. As Hall (1990) explained, this view of identity has motivated an important body of passionate research and practice around the re-discovery of a regional identity and should not be neglected. Hall (1992, p. 221) explained that Afrocentric perspectives conceptualise Caribbean cultural identity…

> in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history. (p. 221)

This vision generated important Caribbean intellectual and cultural actions, of which the movement of Negritude, emerging in the francophone Caribbean and Africa in the 1930s was probably the most transcendental. Its theoretical/philosophical background has indelibly remained in the history of Caribbean thought of the twentieth century. The writings of Aimé Césaire (2013 [1939]) and Léon-Gontran Damas (1962 [1937]), each through their original poetics and telos, articulated an intellectual, political and cultural movement in rejection of the values imposed by the Western colonisers. As Singh (2004) pointed out, blacks' assertion of their own humanity against centuries of degradation and dehumanisation was inevitable as an empowering experience for creating positive ethno-racial conceptions of self and community. It has been argued, however, that these movements have been “unable to specify precisely where the highly prized but doggedly evasive essence of black artistic and political sensibility is currently located” (Gilroy, 1993, p. 31). Nevertheless, their value and historical role in the historical process of restoration and healing in the Caribbean cannot be dismissed.

Constructivist approaches conceive identity as provisional, fragmented and fluid, and aim to explain how identity and belonging are continually constructed. As Bauman put it, “the snag is no longer how to discover, invent, construct, assemble (even buy) an identity, but how to prevent it from sticking. Well-constructed and durable identity turns from an asset into a liability. The hub of postmodern life strategy is not identity building, but avoidance of fixation” (Bauman, 1996, p. 24). Another feature of

constructivist concepts of identity is that they highlight current and ongoing lived experiences as foundations for collective identities, in addition to values and narratives emerging from tradition and history.

These conceptions of identity have high theoretical value but are often too vague or elastic to be effectively operationalised for empirical research. According to Brubaker and Cooper (2000), soft definitions of identity are often routinely packaged with standard qualifiers indicating its multiplicity, instability, fragmentation, etc., and these have become so familiar and obligatory that they risk becoming mere place-holders, gestures signalling a stance rather than words conveying a meaning. This makes it difficult to locate the empirical phenomena that can, in practice, anchor the study of identity.

4.2. Structure and subjectivity in the study of migrant identity

The question of whether identity is conditioned by individual agency or by social structures is frequently underlying scholarship on the topic, as part of a wider sociological discussion on the respective role of socialisation and autonomy in shaping human behaviour. When social structures are seen as being subject to their own natural laws of historical development, as in structural-functionalism for example, humans' ways of relating to one another, acting, and thinking, are all interpreted as a consequence of the structural functioning of society. Consequently, identity is regarded as an "internalized positional designation" (Stryker, 1980, p. 60). Understanding identity as the internalisation of the roles assigned to individuals based on their position in a given social structure does not explain how individuals often challenge and transform their socially assigned roles and transform their identity and social positioning accordingly. This is what authors such as Castells (1997) address when they make a distinction between roles and identity: that roles are internalised as identities only through a process of negotiation and arrangement of meanings, through which subjects actively position themselves.

> Identities are stronger sources of meaning than roles because of the process of self-construction and individuation that they involve. In simple terms, identities organize the meaning, while roles organize the functions. (Castells, 1997, p. 7)

An alternative view of identity is offered by interpretative theories, which propose that subjects have the capacity to construct the meanings and narratives that underpin their identity, often challenging, resisting, and reinterpreting social structures.

> The self is seen as a reflexive project, for which the individual is responsible (…). We are, not what we are, but what we make of ourselves. (…) What the individual becomes is dependent on the reconstructive endeavors in which she or he engages. (Giddens, 1991, p. 75)

It is what we do with the events and structures of existence, the way we insert them into our narrative of who we are, that makes identity a relevant construct to provide coherence to human existence, not the structures or the events per se. For Giddens, life events only become meaningful insofar as they provide support for self-development, throw up barriers to be overcome, or are a source of uncertainties to be faced. This implies that identity as a coherent phenomenon presumes a narrative – the narrative of the self - particularly in the broad sense of an interpretative self-history produced by the individual (Giddens, 1991).

Authors such as Bourdieu (1972) and Giddens (1981, 1984) incorporate both subjective/agentic and structural components to their theories, in an integrative approach in which structures are seen as enacted by knowledgeable human agents, who are both the means and the outcome of the practices that constitute social systems (Giddens, 1981). By understanding social structures and human agency as interlinked and complementary components of social life, it is possible to locate the production of identity –in its various national, regional, ethnic, cultural and intimate manifestations - at the intersection of agency, classificatory power, and governmentality (Decimo & Gribaldo, 2017). This is of vital importance when studying identities in the framework of migratory experiences, where people move into a different set of (material and symbolic) structures.

The study of migrant identities requires an analysis of structural conditions that exist beyond people's subjectivity. This includes issues related to policy and legislation (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2008) but also factors such as skills and age, which can make a difference in subjects' status according to receiving countries' immigration policies.

Individual migrants' identification can be impacted by the way in which they are represented in public discourses in the receiving country, as suggested, for example by authors who discuss the impact of population censuses in the categorising of population and consequently, in the availability of officially endorsed collective identities. As Kertzer and Arel (2009) noted, although censuses are often viewed as matters of bureaucratic routine, they can play a key role in the construction of that reality. Official state certification of collective identities through a variety of official registration procedures can be seen as "a state's attempt to make a society legible" (Scott J. C., 1998, p. 2). As statistical tools for policymaking, the societal picture captured in a census can have a direct impact on the configuration of institutions, resources and opportunities that have profound effects on people's lives.

An important part of the discussion about state-endorsed social and cultural categorisation concerns issues of power and representation. Two conflicting issues come into play: on the one hand, the matter concerning which communities are sufficiently visible to have a presence in a census, or even further, a say in how the categories are designed, or on the contrary, which will be bundled together in the "other" category, has become increasingly relevant in a world with unprecedented levels of mobility. It could be argued that by reducing cultural identification to externally imposed categories, largely determined by political agendas, the structures reflected by

censuses have little relation to how individuals construct and make sense of their cultural identity. However, the societal picture drawn by censuses and other mechanisms of state-controlled surveying has a significant impact on legal, structural, bureaucratic and social conditions and criteria for membership. Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2008), for example, offered evidence on how this structuration can alter migrants' perceptions and constructions of belonging in their host country. As they pointed out, migrants' representation of their position in the country where they have settled, largely depends on the extent to which they perceive themselves to be true and desired members of society in that country, in other words, as true members of the imagined community that is their new nation.

4.3. Migration: identity in movement

Diaspora and hybridity as approaches to analyse migrant identification

As Cohen (1997) noted, the concept of diaspora highlights a sense of community with others of a similar ethnic or geographic background and a strong link with the home culture. Ang (2003, p. 2) pointed out that "claiming one's difference and turning it into symbolic capital has become a powerful and attractive strategy among those who have been marginalised or excluded from the structures of white or Western hegemony." There is value, in the context of global power relations, in the idea of a diasporic identity. It conveys, as Ang pointed out, a symbolic liberation from the position of ethnic minority (Ang, 2003). It is a move of resistance against the othering gaze of the host nation and can be used to mobilise diasporic politics and advance the agendas of migrant groups.

However, the notion of diaspora can be conflictual in that it assigns people *a priori* to diasporic groupings and assumes that the collective discourses of the corresponding diasporic community will be adopted by the migrants, based on their origins. Cultural resources and practices from home continuously emerge as important resources in migrant's cultural identification (Castells, 1997). Nevertheless, as Gilroy (1993) suggested, the reproduction of cultural traditions does not occur in an unproblematic transmission of a fixed essence through space and time, but in breaks and interruptions. Diverse representations of home can be found in the same migrant community. In the Cuban community in Miami, for example, each individual may represent a different array of symbolic attributes of the Cuba they left behind. This representation both influences and is influenced by the individuals' positionings towards the diverse discourses that coexist in the migrant *comunidad*[30], as well as back home.

Ang (2003) proposed that the concept of diaspora as a primordial link to the homeland cannot exist without a reification of ethnicity, and therefore of naturalised essentialism. Ang proposed instead, to turn to the concept of hybridity for the study of cultural identity in migrant contexts because it "is a concept that confronts and problematises boundaries, although it does not erase them. As such, hybridity always implies an unsettling of identities." (Ang, 2003, p. 150). Although Ang's conceptual discussion responds to political goals (i.e. hybridity as a notion to enable people to live together)

[30] Spanish: community

her ideas about the essentialist nature of the concept of diaspora are relevant, in as much as they highlight that identity construction in the context of migration is "unsettled" and respond to more complex factors than ethnic belonging alone. In the words of Bhabha,

> …the representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities. (Bhabha, 2012, p. 3)

Hybridity as a concept to represent migrants' identity construction is not exempt from conflict. The notion of hybridity highlights fluidity and intermixture and can lead to overlooking great differences between contemporary migratory processes. For example, the diverse material and symbolic conditions in which an Afghan refugee in Berlin and an American expatriate in Costa Rica build their identities are difficult to contain in a single concept.

Although hybridisation theories recognise the conflicting and fluid nature of migrant identities, they have often failed to apprehend the radical inequality of migrant conditions, inherent in factors such as racism, discrimination, labour and migration legislations, language barriers, cultural differences, employability, etc. For example, authors such as Abe (2018), Ibraiz and Weisbord (2013), and Tannenbaum and Tseng (2015), who analyse identity construction in "Third Culture Kids" (individuals who spent their developing years outside their home cultures), consistently celebrate these individuals' international mindedness, openness to multiculturalism, ability and willingness to pursue overseas employment, open-mindedness, global perspective and resilient personality profiles, and note how their experience of multiculturalism early in life often leads to self-definition as hybrids and citizens of the world. However, research about Third Culture Kids is limited in that it largely reflects the experience of people who grow up in expatriate environments in which hybridity is associated with cosmopolitan contexts that provide limited interactions with members of the local culture, and focussed on the children of expatriates, attending international schools (Greenholtz & Kim, 2009). The theoretical constructs devised to understand the experience of Third Culture Kids does not comprehend issues such as racism, discrimination and privilege.

Acculturation models in the study of migrant identification

Identification in migrant contexts has often been analysed as a process of acculturation. Acculturation has been broadly defined as "any change that results from contact

between individuals, or groups of individuals, and those from different cultural backgrounds" (Merton, 2014, p. vii). According to Teruya and Bazargan (2014), the processes of acculturation that occur in the context of migration can be analysed through diverse models, including assimilation, integration and multiculturalism. Each of these models offers a different outlook on how migrants negotiate their identity when they move from one cultural system (home country) to another (host country). As Modood (2014) pointed out, these models are ways of conceptualising post-immigration difference and convey an implicit sociology, a political position and a vision about the whole in which difference is to be integrated.

Assimilation

Assimilation theories emerged in the early 20th century to study acculturation of migrant populations in the US and have widely influenced the study of migrant identification worldwide. As Brown and Bean (2006) noted, classic assimilation theory assumed that, overtime, immigrants would follow a straight line towards the dominant values, behaviours, and characteristics of the host society. This is the approach taken by authors such as Gordon (1964) and Glazer and Moynihan (1963). Later theorists of assimilation such as Alba and Nee (2003) acknowledged that assimilation takes place within heterogeneous contexts and that ethnic identification is often contingent. Furthermore, proponents of the segmented assimilation theory (Zhou, 1997; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) asserted that in the US., unlike for European migrants of the past, there are now multiple possible paths of acculturation besides straightforward assimilation into the dominant culture, including selective retention of ethnicity and downward mobility through assimilation into the underclass (Jung, 2009). However, as Jung (2009) suggests, assimilation theories often fail to account for the perspective of native-born people of colour in the analysis and, by adopting the mainstream as the cultural point of destination, these theories discount the political potential of oppositional cultures.

Integration

Whereas assimilation models implicitly or explicitly advocate for the transformation of migrants to embrace the values and behaviours of the host society, integration models have been developed and used to analyse how host societies need to evolve in order to provide equitable opportunities for migrants as their newest members. As Modood (2014) pointed out,

> Integration has a number of components based on opportunities to participate which are context-specific and need to be secured by law and policy initiatives. Integration processes also has a subjective and symbolic dimension, which again will have some context-specific features, but whose features have a more general or macro character: how a minority is perceived by the rest of the country and how members of a minority perceive their relationship to society as a whole. (Modood, 2014, p. 146)

However, as Barry (2001) noted, integration models often focus on institutional and structural adjustments in relation to migrants or minorities as individual claimants and bearers of rights as equal citizens but do not recognise ethnic groups or associations as agents in the public sphere. In other words, migrants are seen as recipients of rights not as agents of change. In this sense integration models are limited in their outlook on migrants' collective agency in social action.

Multiculturalism

Pfeffer (2015) has proposed that multiculturalism can be conceived of as a model for policy, as a political theory and as an empirical fact. As the author notes, multiculturalism is a way of thinking about immigrant-based diversity at all levels of society. It is a model that unsettles the cohesion of the nation-state and the privilege of mainstream groups. As Murphy (2012) noted, much of the recent criticism towards multiculturalism has been focused on immigrant-driven diversity, in what the author has called "multicultural anxiety" (p.2). As the author pointed out, multiculturalism has been deemed a threat to the enlightenment principles of reason and universality, and as a model that gives precedence to cultural diversity "at the expense of liberalism's most fundamental commitments to individual rights and the moral equality of all human beings" (p.3). These critical positions frequently stem from ethnocentric, universalists worldviews, which regard the host countries' cultural values as enabling of a "better way" of being human, and therefore, consider cultural diversity as a threat.

Modood (2013) defines multiculturalism as "the recognition of group difference within the public sphere of laws, policies, democratic discourses and the terms of a shared citizenship and national identity" (p.2). Unlike integration models, multiculturalism does not position migrants as recipients of policies devised by others in power, but as active agents and decision-makers in society. In practice, this entails that policy, structures and institutions are not shaped in accordance with a mainstream set of values or principles. Instead, "multiculturalism is where processes of integration are seen both as two-way and involving groups as well as individuals, and as working differently for different groups" (Modood, 2014, p.149).

Limitations of the acculturation models to inform the study of migrant identification

These three models of acculturation have frequently been used as frameworks to guide the empirical study of migrant identification, often through quantitative research methods such as standardised questionnaires (Burnett-Zeigler and Bohnert, 2018; Balidemaj and Small, 2018) and scales like the Multicultural Assessment-Intervention Process (MAIP) (Pinheiro Rocha, Lawrence Meyers, Der-Karabetian & Magina, 2018). Authors like Byrne (2018) have also used acculturation models as theoretical frameworks for studies conducted using qualitative methods (interviews) and methodologies (grounded theory). Regardless of the research methods employed, these studies tend to generalise and simplify the ways in which migrants construct their identities.

For example, Byrne (2018) who studied acculturation, identity and wellbeing in Roma migrants living in Macedonia, concluded that participants chose two ways to acculturate in society: (a) integrate with the majority ethnic Macedonian community (which the author associates with positive sociocultural experiences and outcomes) or (b) follow a separatist path within purely Roma circles (which is associated with poor socio-cultural experiences, especially within the labour market). This way of interpreting migrant identification, theoretically informed by models of acculturation, regards the home and host cultures respectively as discrete and mutually exclusive ambits between which migrants move, with different rates of success in obtaining valued outcomes in their new country (e.g. employment, health, income, etc.). This perspective takes the standpoint of the host society and utilises diverse criteria to evaluate how successful migrants are in adapting to the conditions they encounter in their new country. In some cases, especially through the model of multiculturalism (Nwosu & Barnes, 2014), acculturation models can inform critical standpoints to analyse how policy in host societies can enable the equitable participation of migrants as citizens. They are, however, limited in representing the complexity, contingency and variability of migrant experience and identification.

Empirical research about Caribbean migrant communities

Recent empirical research about culture and identity in the Caribbean by authors such as Plaza (1996), McGill (2001), Doswell (2001), Forsythe-Brown (2007), Crawford (2009), Bacchus (2012), Darias Alfonso (2013), and Gibbs (2015), confirm the contingent, variable, active, and contradictory nature of cultural identity construction, as well as the importance of factors external to migrants' agency (including material conditions and other issues such as discrimination). For example, Plaza (1996) looked at strategies for identity construction in the context of social mobility in well-educated, black, Caribbean-born men living in Canada. He found that identification strategies were shaped both by cultural values arising from the history of participants' home region and by their responses to specific structures of opportunity and discrimination they encountered in Canada, the host country. His findings showed both the agentic and active nature of identity negotiation and the contradictions and tensions that migrant cultural identity construction entails. Bacchus (2012) studied identity construction in Caribbean migrant groups, including second-generation participants. She observed that increased transnational flows enabled migrant groups to develop hybrid ethnic identities comprised of selective adaptations of different cultural performances from the parents' natal country as well as from their country of residence, and can transition between co-ethnic and mainstream expectations. Migrants were found to switch or modify their ethno-racial performances based on their agendas within these boundaries, but also in response to the symbolic pressure of the environment.

Negative context conditions, for example, discrimination, hostile legal environments, etc., can trigger specific strategies of identity negotiation that privilege home culture attributes, as in the case presented by Wilson (2002). Wilson studied Afro-Caribbean women from Jamaica, The Bahamas, and Trinidad, who experienced a complex struggle with identity and adjustment in the process of migration from the Caribbean region to the US. According to the author, Afro-Caribbean women share a boldness and bravery that are both remarkable and unmistakable. They seem to have little interest in becoming American, that is, in achieving an American sense of self. Rather, they are more interested in just being their subjective selves and in using agency to theorise themselves. They associate more with a reference group orientation that is Caribbean than African American, yet they want to be accepted on their own terms and not stereotyped or misconceived.

Some studies also show how migrants use and re-signify products from popular culture in the process of articulating their identities. McGill (2001, p. 4) for example, explored how hip-hop is used by second-generation Caribbean youths as an ambit for identity construction and a tool to locate themselves ethnically and racially in the American cultural landscape. Darias Alfonso (2013), for his part, talked about the power of Cuban popular music to offer multiple representations of Cuba in the diaspora: "there are many images of the homeland brought about by their uses of music, which can be incorporated to assert a determined cultural identity" (p. 269). The author pointed out that in migrant contexts, popular music like salsa represents a less restrictive ambit for identity negotiation, allowing significant space for negotiation and movement, in contraposition with the more rigid official musical background of the Cuban Revolution.

Empirical research about Caribbean migrant communities suggests that resources associated with the home cultures remain salient, while at the same time migrants develop mechanisms for adjusting their interpretive frameworks to the new material and symbolic conditions of their lived experience. Accordingly, the notions of diaspora and hybridity in isolation are valuable but insufficient as a theoretical framework for the empirical study of cultural identity. In this study, a more suitable framework is provided by the concept of articulation.

4.4. Cultural Identity as articulation

> Identity is formed at the unstable point where the
> 'unspeakable' stories of subjectivity meet the
> narratives of history, of a culture.
> **Stuart Hall, *Minimal Selves***

In the previous sections of this chapter, I discussed how identity has been conceived of from essentialist and constructivist perspectives, and in relation to individual agency and social structure respectively. Each of these perspectives addresses important components of cultural identity, but may be limited on their own for apprehending the full complexity of identification. Here, I use Stuart Hall's concept of articulation to go beyond dualistic notions of identity and construct a more complex conceptual framework to analyse the knowledge constructed in the limes.

Hall's concept of articulation can be found across his work on diasporic identity, hegemony and cultural politics, to indicate

> …a connection or link which is not necessarily given in all cases (…), but which requires particular conditions of existence to appear at all, which has to be positively sustained by specific processes, which is not eternal but has to be constantly renewed, which can under some circumstances disappear or be overthrown, leading to the old linkages being dissolved and new connections - rearticulations - being forged. (Hall, 1985, pp. 113–114)

Applying this concept to the process of identification, Hall (1996) conceptualised identity as a point of suture

> …between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects. (Hall, 1996, p. 5)

Elsewhere, Hall (1997) defined identity as the point of intersection between the mutually constitutive fields of (a) psychic identity and drives, and (b) the social field, constituted by discursive formations and practices. What Hall (1997) called psychic identity and drives can also be conceived of as our "sense of self" (Di Plinio, Perrucci, Aleman and Ebisch, 2020, p.2). Individual's sense of self, Di Plinio, Perrucci, Aleman and Ebisch, (2020) argued, comprises intrinsic components (perception of information as belonging to oneself or as personally relevant) and extrinsic components (i.e. the experience of oneself as the source of one's own actions and their consequences, which can also be designated as agency). When our sense of self becomes articulated with social discourses (e.g. of race, gender, etc.) we adopt subject positions, which often take

the form of identity markers (e.g. black woman, feminist). We use these subject positions to inform how we represent ourselves as social and cultural subjects, individually and in relation to others.

Discourse and representation in cultural identification

The closely linked concepts of discourse and representation are vital to an understanding of the construction of cultural identity as a process of articulation. Both concepts are useful for understanding that meaning is not produced in the material world, but in our representation of what the material world is. Hence, we do not construct our identity in relation to a fixed material reality, but regarding specific representations of that reality, which are socially constructed.

Discourses are central components of cultural systems. Poststructuralists understand discourse as the way in which knowledge, subjects, behaviour, and events are depicted and defined in statements, assumptions, concepts, themes, and shared ideas, providing a framework through which we see the world (Braham, 2013). Foucault (1971), for example, wrote extensively about how discourses do not exist in isolation, but are components of a knowledge system, that is, an episteme which defines how knowledge is legitimised and what knowledge counts as valid. Discourses are present in the media (and social media), art and literature, and institutional practices. As Foucault (1971) noted, they produce practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak for example, discourses about Latinas in the US impact the experience of being Latina in the US. This means that discourses become relevant for identity construction when they become articulated with our individual sense of self. In other words, collective discourses become relevant to who we are when, through experience, we become invested in what they represent.

Representation is another key notion for the concept of identity I use in this thesis. For Hall,

> Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. Representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the 'real' world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events (…) To belong to a culture is to belong to roughly the same conceptual and linguistic universe, to know how concepts and ideas translate into different languages, and how language can be interpreted to refer to, or reference the world. (Hall, 1997, p. 1)

According to Hall (1997), representation is a crucial component of cultural systems. Through representation, culture provides maps of meaning, which are conveyed in narratives, statements, images and discourses which operate across a variety of texts and areas of knowledge. Through practice, and conditioned by material conditions, these maps of meaning are adopted to form individuals' interpretive frameworks. If our subject positions, labelled through identity markers, inform how we think about ourselves as social and cultural subjects, our interpretive frameworks inform how we experience the world, that is, how we attach meaning to our practice within a given cultural system.

4.5. Collective identities: the nuanced relationship between culture and community

If we take the concept of cultural identity developed above as a point of reference, collective identities can be understood, first, as subject positions that we share with others. In this sense, collective identities enable us to locate ourselves as social subjects, to (a) construct our sense of self and (b) relate with others meaningfully, in relation to discourses of race, culture, gender, etc. that become relevant through our lived experience. Second, collective identities can be understood as a group's consciousness about shared interpretive frameworks, in other words, the ability of a collectivity to imagine that they share a meaningful set of beliefs, ideas, attitudes, and knowledge.

People who share a collective identity can imagine themselves as a community. This can be true for a small neighbourhood or for a whole nation or region. Anderson (1983), in his seminal book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* argued that nationality, as well as nationalism are "cultural artefacts. For Anderson, nations can be thought of as communities that are imagined by their members, because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 49). Anderson (1983) also suggested that communities should be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined, in other words, the symbolic resources with which its members construct their feelings of belonging.

The concept of imagined communities is relevant for the study of migrant identities in two ways: first, for understanding how migrants imagine and represent home and often construct collective identities with others, based on common memories and

representations of the home country (e.g. Jamaicans, Cubans) or region (Caribbean, Latina). Second, for understanding how people in host societies negotiate migrants' belonging (or not) to the imagined community of the nation. This imaginary, although manifested in individual positionings and attitudes, is highly dependent on collective discourses and official policies and legislation.

The concept of community is also relevant for understanding people's ability to come together and take collective action towards the achievement of shared objectives. Authors like Melucci (1995) and more recently Klandermans, van der Toorn and van Stekelenburg (2008) and van Stekelenburg, J. & Klandermans, B. (2010) have discussed the role of collective identities in the activation of collective action. Melucci proposed that

> Individuals acting collectively "construct" their action by means of "organized" investments: they define in cognitive terms the field of possibilities and limits they perceive while at the same time activating their relationships so as to give sense to their "being together" and to the goals they pursue. (p.43).

For Melucci, collective action and collective identity are closely linked. For him, pursuing common goals relates to the construction of feelings of belonging and vice versa. Klandermans, van der Toorn and van Stekelenburg (2008) however, argue that not in all cases where a group of people has goals in common collective action is viable or desired. They argued that for collective action to occur, a sense of group efficacy is required. Efficacy is defined as the shared expectation that group-related problems can be solved by collective efforts and that participation in collective action can make a difference. The sense of a shared position and a shared understanding of the world can generate feelings of belonging to a collectivity, of being part of a community.

The notion of community to denote the process through which individuals to come together around shared aspirations, values, features or goals is useful to inform the study of collective action. However, it needs to be used with caution. Baumann (1996) has questioned the assumed congruence between culture and community. He argued that dominant discourses often equate one with the other in order to validate the typecasting of individuals into ethnic categories, in reference to a culture they are supposed to share. Baumann (1996) argued that in this cases *community* function as a conceptual bridge that connects culture with ethnos, and can lend a spurious plausibility to the assumption that ethnic minorities must share the same culture because they share an ethnic bond. This discourse conveys, on the one hand, a monolithic and reified conception of cultural identification in groups that are deemed minorities, and on the other, an expectation that

those defined as ethnic minorities must form a community and enact their culture according to the reified notion of the dominant discourse.

Nevertheless, if used critically to denote a collectivity in which individuals willingly participate on the basis of shared goals, aspirations, values, etc. instead of a stereotype of uniform commonality (Baumann, 1996) the concept of community can be useful in understanding how people come together and, when relevant, how they undertake collective action as social agents. This critical understanding of community informs how "Caribbean migrants" as a group is understood in this thesis: not as a self-evident collectivity (Baumann, 1996) but as a space of belonging to be imagined and practised in different ways by various protagonists.

Chapter conclusion

In summary, I conceptualise cultural identity in this thesis as the articulation of our sense of self with collective discourses, within cultural systems. The process of identity negotiation recursively influences and is influenced by experience. Through this process, individuals adopt (a) subject positions, used to represent themselves as social and cultural agents individually and in relation to others, and (b) interpretive frameworks, the structures of meaning they use to guide and interpret behaviour and practice (**Figure 22**). This concept emerges from the theoretical work of Stuart Hall, whose thinking and writing about culture is deeply connected with his own experience as a Caribbean migrant. It offers an analytical framework that does not reduce the process of identity negotiation in migrant contexts to subjective or structural conditionings. It acknowledges the articulation of both in relation to experience and the ongoing, unstable, contradictory nature of cultural identification. This conceptual framework is also useful to inform a critical understanding of the Caribbean migrant community as a space of belonging to be imagined and practised in different ways by various protagonists, instead of a self-evident collectivity (Baumann, 1996).

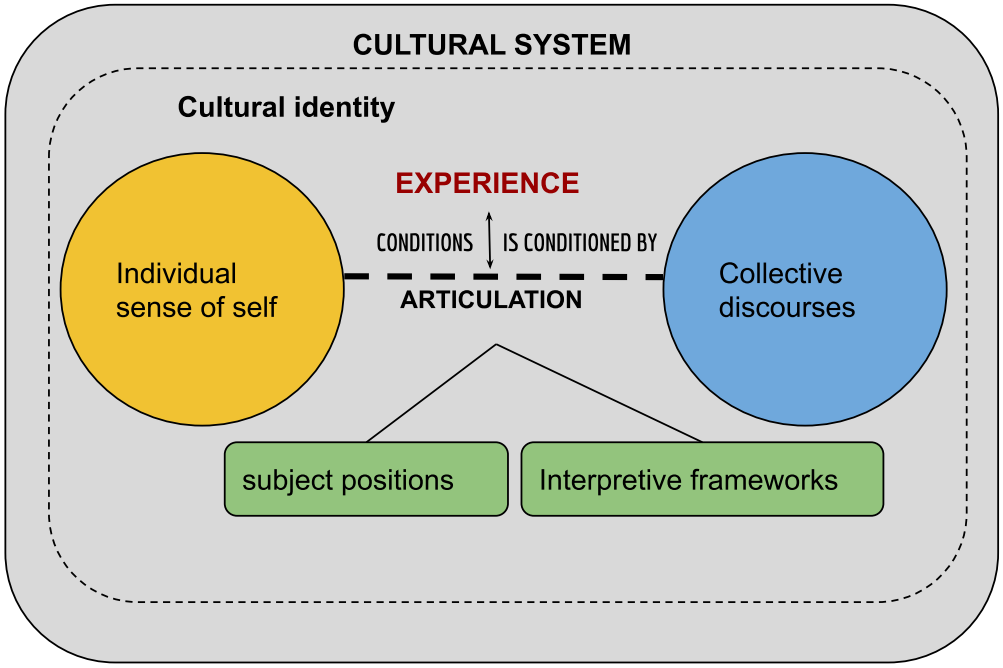

Figure 22: Conceptualisation of cultural identity

I base this concept of identity on several premises

First: there is no contradiction between the role of individual agency and social structure in the construction of cultural identity. In order to be effective, the adoption of a subject position requires not only that the subject is hailed by external discourses or structures, but that the subject invests in the position (Hall, 1996, p. 7) and finds meaning in it.

Second: defining identity as articulation implies that our positioning regarding cultural systems is not permanent; it can be dis-articulated and re-articulated in response to changes in our lived experience. The process of cultural identification is then ongoing throughout our lives and not a state to be reached.

Third: this conceptualisation acknowledges the diversity of subject positions that can exist within a cultural group (e.g. Caribbean, African American), as not all individuals will articulate their subject positions within a given cultural system in an identical way.

Fourth: identities are historically and contextually bound. "Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices" (Hall, 1996, p. 4).

Taking the concept of cultural identity developed above as a point of reference, collective identities can be understood, first, as subject positions we share with others.

I also established how collective identities could be understood as the ability of a group to imagine that they share meaningful subject positions and interpretive frameworks. People who share a collective identity often imagine themselves as a community. The concept of community can be useful to understand how people come together and how they undertake collective action as social agents. In a community, however, although collective action and collective identity are closely linked, for collective action to occur, a sense of group efficacy is required. Efficacy was defined as the expectation that group-related problems can be solved by collective efforts and that participation in collective action can make a difference.

Next, using the conceptual framework constructed in this chapter, I present the findings that respond to the following research question: “how do Caribbean migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand articulate their cultural identity?”

Chapter 5. Representing the Caribbean self from Aotearoa

In this chapter I analyse the ways in which participants represented "being Caribbean" in their conversations across the limes. Representation, as defined in the previous chapter, is the production of the meaning through language, which enables us to refer to material or imagined worlds (Hall, 1997). Thus, in this chapter I do not present objective descriptions or facts, but an analysis of the meaning constructed around discourses, practices, values, behaviours and cultural products that limers associated with their home culture and sometimes imagined as shared with other Caribbean people. First, I analyse the Caribbean habitus of establishing and maintaining human relationships, which was the most salient theme in participants' representation of "being Caribbean". I then analyse how this habitus becomes relevant in relation to child-rearing and family relations. Finally, I analyse how participants represented home through cultural products and practices such as rum, food, flavours, language, religion, liming, dance, and music. Limers often represented the Caribbean habitus of engaging in contraposition to the New Zealand dominant culture. I use "dominant culture" here in reference to Pākeha, or white New Zealanders.

In this chapter I have formatted text as follows:

Grey Text boxes:	ole talk fragments
Yellow Text boxes:	Context Note
Blue Italics:	Researcher's journal

During my first months in New Zealand, I felt that the memories of my house, my family, my street, the sea, my friends (not the category, but those two or three specific soul friends) were stronger and more salient than the experiences of my new life. What I missed badly was not abstract Cuban values, or traditions, or practices, but the way those things connected with my life. I did not miss the stereotypical Cuban way of being open and close, but the fact that my friend had a key to my house and would sometimes leave cooked food ready in my kitchen. Those significant absences, the estrangement, the sensation of immense distance, the old age of my grandparents whose last years are without me, became a veil between me and my daily life, my real life, in this country. My ideal of home became a gravitational field and for a long time I was unable to be complete here. As time passed, however, several things changed. Some of the people whose absence was so poignant also left Cuba, and they took with them a piece of what "home" meant to me. Then, I went back to Cuba to visit and arrived in a house that was no longer mine. At the same time, new people came into my life to stay. Into my "here" life. Into my "now" life. I nested, bought heavy houseware that doesn't fit in a suitcase and got a cat named Ivan. My representation of home stopped being a veil of absence and became more a lens through which I make sense of my experienced life.

Researcher's journal, February 2018

5.1. Representing the Caribbean habitus of engaging as humans

The rhythm of human connection

A shared habitus of engaging as humans emerged in the narratives and conversations across the limes as the most salient attribute that participants imagined as shared among Caribbean people. As part of this habitus, participants often referred to a swiftness in the rhythm for establishing relationships with one another that they described as characteristically Caribbean. Upon moving to New Zealand, some participants found it hard to adjust to the new rhythm.

"It's different now, because I was here for my master's in 2013, 2014 and I didn't have this group. So, it's definitely a lot different" **Helen** pondered, early in the lime, when we started talking about the things we noticed as a change upon arriving in New Zealand. "I would say, just people. Having that sense of deep relation. People, relating to people was hard. It was a big adjustment for me. It's very easy to end up being alone and not have people around."

She was silent for a moment. My experience was very similar. "For me" **I** responded, nodding, "it was not so much about not having people around, but about how your relationship with people changes. The human contacts, the dynamics here are different. The time people take to get into an intimate friendship. We do it sort of fast…"

"Yeah, yeah!" said **Helen** before I finished talking. "For me that was a big deal too. It's easy. It's kind of an easier flow to socialise, to connect with people, back home."

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 30

Helen and I perceived the rhythm of human relationships in New Zealand to be different from that of the Caribbean, where, as Helen pointed out, there is "an easier flow to socialise" and "to connect with people." This observation was articulated in different limes, not only regarding personal relationships, but also in everyday interactions with strangers. For example, when Rosa went to her usual bus stop in the morning, she would greet people and found it frustrating when they did not respond:

"You go to the bus stop, you say 'good morning', nobody responds. I kept doing it. Eventually people started to warm up and respond. But at first it was like, seriously? Just a 'good morning' is a challenge?"

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 31

Something Rosa assumed to be normal behaviour in an interaction with strangers (greeting people at the bus stop and being greeted back immediately) was a process that in New Zealand took time, causing frustration. Gina and Aline also discussed the time it had taken them to develop a relationship with their colleagues from New Zealand.

"At work I would say by now if I was in Jamaica or the US, I would be like your best friend" assured **Aline**. "It's like every time you have to start the conversation, you start from scratch. You have lunch today and you have lunch next week and it's like it's the same point you're at. You're like 'Come on! We had lunch last week! We met already!"

"And it's just boring and then I just give up. I can't bother with that" **Gina** said, rolling her eyes.

"I'm impatient, I can't deal with that. We're not getting married, I'm not buying a house with you, why…?" **Aline** continued.

"No, we not dating or anything like the 'three dates rule' or something like that" teased **Gina,** and everybody laughed.

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 32

Aline and Gina's ole talk conveys the impatience they felt, because, in their experience, relationships with New Zealanders evolved too slowly and were overly structured compared with their expectations, which made them lose interest in the engagement. Referring to New Zealand's dominant culture, Aline and Gina teasingly compared their perceptions of people's rhythm of engaging in simple everyday interactions (e.g. having lunch with colleagues) with the rhythms they associate with big life decisions (e.g. buying a house together, or getting married).

Conversely, when participants talked about relationships among Caribbean people, they often highlighted our habitus of quickly connecting with one another as a positive attribute of "who we are" in both personal and professional contexts. This is exemplified in the fragment below, in which Lucas shared his perception of his wife's experience when she moved to Cuba although she did not speak Spanish. Lucas represented the rapidity with which familiar relationships were established in Cuba as an important factor in his wife's adaptation to a new country with an unknown language.

"En Cuba los amigos míos, las vecinas… todo el mundo llegaba a la casa 'Pero ven acá chica, ¿tú no hablas español? A ver, di tal cosa'" dijo ***Lucas*** *riéndose.*

Mas tarde ***Lucas*** *me conto sobre la experiencia de su esposa cuando, debido a complicaciones en el parto, fue ingresada en un hospital en Cuba, sin saber hablar español.*

"El médico le decía 'A ver mi'ja, ¿cómo estás?'. A ellos no les interesa si habla español o no. Y entonces cuando salió del hospital, las dos semanas que estuvo en el hospital fue una transformación total; salió hablando español."

COMPARTIR DE LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 33

"In Cuba my friends, the neighbours... everyone came to the house: 'come here girl, you don't speak Spanish? Let's see, say this, and say that'" **Lucas** said smiling.

Later **Lucas** told me about his wife's experience when, due to complications in childbirth, she was admitted to a hospital in Cuba, without being able to speak Spanish.

"The doctor would say: 'Let's see, child, how are you?' They don't care if you speak Spanish or not. And then when she left the hospital, those two weeks in the hospital brought about a complete transformation; she came out speaking Spanish."

LUCAS' LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 33

In his narrative, interactions with friends and neighbours were warm and close from the start, not requiring a process of "warming up." From the moment people "came to the house" they started talking with his wife and actively encouraging her to learn new words in Spanish. Even interactions structured by professional roles (e.g. patient-nurse/ patient-doctor) were represented as warm and friendly. In Ana's lime, Gina made the same point. In the next fragment, Gina presented a one-off exchange with another Caribbean woman whom she met "just by renting her a car." She described the relationship as being immediately warm, open and meaningful enough to last beyond the face to face interaction. Gina strongly identified with this way of engaging and concluded: "that's who we are."

"That lady, I had just met her" **Gina** started. "She's from the Cayman Islands and she managed to give me so many details of who I should contact, which group. Oh, my goodness, she's still emailing me, texting me: 'how is everything, I hope you're going for it.' She's so sweet and I met her just by renting her a car. That's who we are, you know. Yeah, that's what makes us happy."

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 34

Practices of sharing

The mention of practices of sharing as an indicator of close relationships was especially recurrent in the limes with Cubans. In the extended periods of economic scarcity that the country has been through, communal solidarity has been an important coping strategy. Several Cuban limers brought up this culture of sharing as something that they missed in New Zealand.

"No es que yo en Cuba no haya sido capaz de resolver mi vida" dijo ***Mariposa*** *"pero evidentemente hay una gran diferencia cuando tú sientes que tus vecinos están ahí y son tu familia para lo que sea. No todos, pero los que de verdad los son te dan una tranquilidad, que aquí no la tengo. Eso es una realidad porque es parte de nuestra idiosincrasia porque nacemos y crecemos oyendo a nuestros padres 'Fulano, tienes un poquito de azúcar, como te fue hoy?' Y brinca el vecino y se pone a conversar contigo muchas veces para chismear pero no importa, está ahí."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 35***	"It is not that in Cuba I have not been able to sort my life" said **Mariposa**, "but obviously, there is a big difference when you feel that your neighbours are there for you, and are your family for anything you may need. Not all, but those who really care, give you peace of mind. I don't have that here. That is a reality, because it is part of our habit, because we are born and bred listening to our parents: 'So–and–so, do you have a little sugar? How was today?' And the neighbour comes over and you start talking, for gossip many times. But it doesn't matter, they are there." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 35**

Mariposa represented a familiar bond with her neighbours in Cuba built largely on sharing practices: sharing food, sharing ole talk about the day, and sharing the intimacy of their homes. In New Zealand, getting some sugar is usually a matter of walking to the dairy where you know you will find sugar. Many limers explicitly mentioned how much they appreciated having access to basic products; Mariposa explained that she now saw access to basic items such as toilet paper not as a luxury, but as a basic need. Hence, she was not idealising the fact that in Cuba she often had to seek recourse from her neighbour to get some sugar. What she missed was the close connection with her neighbours, expressed through the practice of sharing.

Lucas, who was also Cuban, shared similar feelings.

"Esas cositas que te van golpeando a cada rato" dijo ***Lucas*** *negando con la cabeza "Por ejemplo, ahora no hay huevo, ¿cómo yo resuelvo en Cuba?, al vecino '¿Oye tienes un huevito ahí que me des?' y me da 3 huevos. Aquí no tienes huevos, mi mujer está con el carro, tengo que esperar a que venga con el carro y se acuerde que tenga que comprar huevos, sino tengo que ir a buscarlos al supermercado, pero incapaz de poder ir al de al lado a pedirle un huevo."* ***COMPARTIR DE LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 36***	"Those little things hit you from time to time" said **Lucas** shaking his head. "For example, now I don't have eggs, how do I make do in Cuba? The neighbour: 'Hey, you have an egg you can spare?' and they give you three eggs. Here, I don't have eggs, my wife has the car, I have to wait for her to come with the car and remember that she has to buy eggs, otherwise I have to go and buy them in the supermarket, but I can't knock on someone's door and ask for one." **LUCAS' LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 36**

In Lucas' narrative, needing eggs was not the main problem, as he could easily buy them later. What was unusual for him was that knocking on someone's door was not an option when you needed something. In Cuba, a concrete problem (being out of eggs) is solved with the involvement of people outside his nuclear family, whereas in New Zealand he could only turn to his wife to solve the issue. Here, eggs were readily available, but the warm relationships and support (represented by the practice of sharing) were not, and this reduction in Lucas' support network had an impact on his wellbeing.

> *In my college years I was living on my own. My monthly budget, at best was the equivalent of $20. My house, being one of the few within my group where there were no "adults" in charge, was always full of young people. Sharing was often the only way of sorting a meal. We often shared a one-egg omelette in there. When we had chicken, we made a broth and then took out the cooked chicken to go into a stew and to make croquettes. At least ten croquettes with one chicken drumstick. We ground the bones to feed the cat. When I think about that time what stands out is the warmth of the dinners we organised together, sharing. Talking with other Cuban migrants about sharing, and how much we miss it here, stirred contradictory feelings: On the one hand, there is nothing dreamy about the harsh economic scarcity many Cubans have experienced, to the point of falling ill due to malnutrition. On the other hand, human connections and practices of sharing kept us afloat in an unthinkable situation and remain deeply embedded as a part of our culture.*
>
> ***Researcher's journal, May, 2018***

Although the importance of sharing (usually of food) was especially salient in the Cuban lime, non-Cuban limers also brought it up as an indicator of warm and close relationships. For example, in the lime he organised in his house with other senior migrants from Barbados, Ben reminisced about what this looked like in his childhood home.

> "You know growing up" said **Ben** "when mum served lunch, the first thing I would eat was my meat, 'cause sometimes we would get visitors, and then there was not enough. You had to cut yours in half to spread it out. And my mum had this big pot for the soup. And two more people would come in, and she added two more cups of water, and two more people would come in, and she added two more cups of water. Sometimes she had to change the pot and find a big as pot."
>
> **BEN'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 37**

In this fragment, Ben represents the Caribbean way of sharing as a central component of socialisation in family and community life. Albeit from a different angle, Ben's narrative addresses the same aspect of sharing that was most significant for Cuban limers; sharing means giving what you have, even if you only have a little.

From different circumstances and points of view, several participants agreed to represent the practice of sharing as an important component of human relations and, in some cases, a vital life strategy. Although often manifested in simple, small acts (such as giving eggs or sugar to a neighbour), the practice of sharing was associated with a sense of community and collective thinking. It involved being willing to ask for help, to provide help, and being comfortable enough with the other to reach out. These underlying dynamics created a recursive flow of goodwill that worked as a protective factor against isolation and arguably made the people involved in sharing more resilient, materially and emotionally. Participants' longing for practices of sharing upon moving to New Zealand was associated with the loss of the protective factor sharing provided, even when (as in the case of Cubans) meant an improvement in their access to goods that made the actual sharing of resources no longer necessary.

Physical contact

Another manifestation of warm and close relationships as represented in limers' narratives, was the naturalisation of physical contact in everyday interactions, in the form of hugs, kisses or gestures. The Caribbean approach to physical contact was often presented in contrast to modes of engagement associated with New Zealand's dominant culture, which were perceived as more reserved and distant. In Ana's lime in

Wellington, we discussed how physical contact became naturalised through our lived experience of growing up in the Caribbean, through the close proximity of other people in everyday situations like dancing, taking the bus, a taxi, or waiting in line to buy something.

> "When I see ten people come out of a vehicle, that's interesting" laughed **Randy**. I remember me and my dad were travelling by bus from Kingston to Old Harbour but went through Spanish Town and he says 'we're getting into this taxi' but I say 'there's already six people in it! Where am I going to sit?' I said to him. 'I'm catching the bus!'"
>
> "That taxi can hold 'bout three more!" joked **Abel** and everyone cracked up laughing.
>
> "You would think Caribbean people come here and they give up those habits" **I** responded. "Yesterday I was back in Palmerston North and we were eight people in one small car. By the time we got to the lime we were very intimate with each other. We're used to body contact."
>
> "Yes, that is the thing" **Gina** nodded. "That is the warmth we have. People don't know that, we are very friendly. Some people can find us a little over the top with our friendliness but that's what we are, who we are. We care. We have a caring heart and we cannot hide that. People have problems with it sometimes they think 'too friendly' but hey I'm not going to change that part of me."
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 38**

As represented in Randy's story about the full taxi, using a crowded means of transportation is such a regular occurrence in many Caribbean countries that close physical contact becomes ordinary, even when it is not something necessarily enjoyable (as expressed in Randy's remark "I'm catching the bus"). This was reinforced by Abel's humorous suggestion that the taxi "can hold 'bout three more." That was the spirit of my own experience of taking a ride with eight people in a small car in Palmerston North, which did not feel awkward at all, even though I had never met most of the other people. Gina connected Caribbean ease around physical contact with warmth and friendliness and reinforced it as a positive attribute; an indication that we "have a caring heart." At the same time, she indicated that this could be perceived as awkward or problematic by others ("some people can find us a little over the top," "people have problems with it sometimes they think 'too friendly'"). Her strategy, however, was to reinforce her own ways, despite what others may think ("I'm not going to change that part of me.")

Other limers shared their own experiences regarding physical contact when engaging with non-Caribbean others, especially New Zealanders. Carmen, Miguel and Mariposa

in the Cuban lime talked about some New Zealanders' reactions to greetings involving physical contact and shared their negotiation strategies when faced with negative responses or awkward situations.

"No son besuqueros como nosotros que damos besos y abrazos esas cosas" dijo ***Carmen*** *encogiéndose de hombros.*

"Mi mamá le da besos a todo el mundo" añadió ***Miguel****. "La gente se queda mirando, así como que '¿qué le pasa a ella?' y ahí le tengo que explicar a todo el mundo 'es que ella vino de Cuba, ella es así.'"*

"Pero hace bien, no cambies" Dijo ***Mariposa*** *sacudiendo la cabeza. Yo tampoco cambio. A mí no me interesa si no me quieren dar besos, yo los doy."*

"Yo pasaba pena bastante cuando llegué" continuo ***Miguel****. "Le iba a dar besos a las mujeres se me quedaban así paradas o si no me hacían así para atrás. Ya después le cogí la vuelta, cuando llegaba, fuera hombre o mujer eso era: '¿Como estas?' Ya. Muerto el perro se acabó la rabia."*

COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 39

"They are not kissers like we are. We kiss and hug, and those things" **Carmen** shrugged.

"My mum kisses everyone" **Miguel** added. "And people stare, like 'what's wrong with her?' And so, I have to explain to everyone 'She just came from Cuba, she's like that.'"

"But don't change" said **Mariposa** shaking her head. "I don't change who I am either. I don't care if they don't want to kiss me, I kiss them."

"I was so embarrassed when I arrived" **Miguel** continued. "I would kiss women, and they would just stand there awkwardly, or walk back. After that I adjusted. I just say 'how are you?' to everyone, man or woman. That's it. Dead dogs don't bite."

CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 39

Carmen, Miguel and Mariposa represented physical contact in greetings as an expression of warmth that is characteristically Cuban, even though some New Zealanders found it awkward and uncomfortable. Nevertheless, when faced with this difference of habitus around social encounters, limers responded differently. Miguel reduced the uncertainty caused by unfamiliar behaviour by adopting a "when in Rome, do as Romans do" approach to avoid uncomfortable situations. Mariposa, on the other hand, while understanding that others may find her behaviour unfamiliar, consciously decided to maintain it. This decision involved coming to terms with the differences in expectations and being prepared to process others' reactions without feeling uncomfortable.

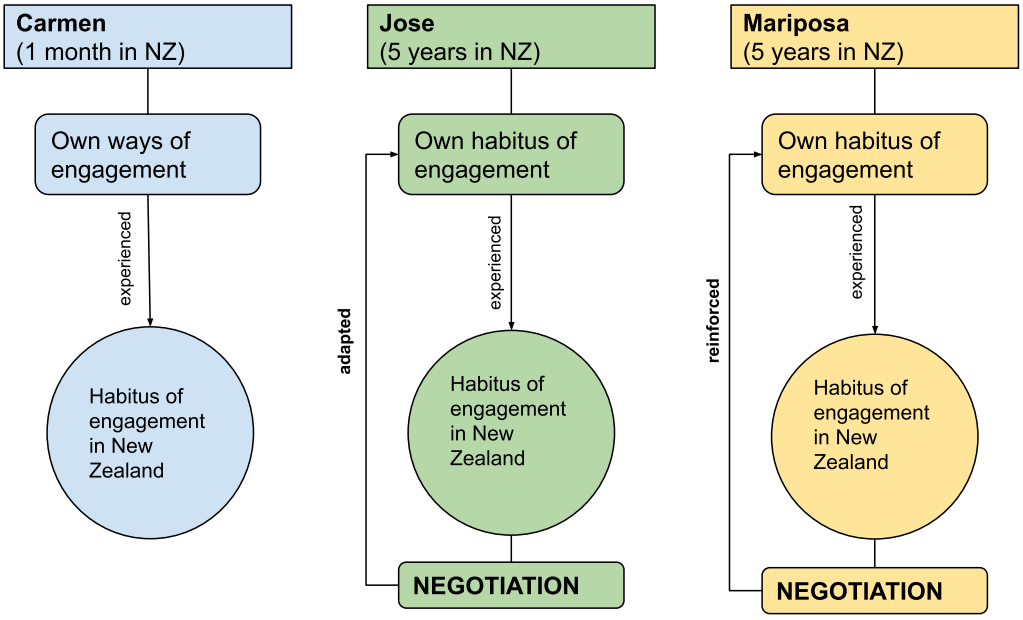

Figure 23: Coming to terms with different habitus of engagement

From the dialogue between Carmen, Mariposa and Miguel it is possible to outline three different examples of how participants came to terms with the differences between the ways of engaging learned in Cuba and those of their new country, in this case around physical contact (**Figure 23**). Carmen, who had just arrived in New Zealand when the lime took place, referred to the habitus of engagement in New Zealand's dominant culture as unfamiliar, but did not share a strategy to come to terms with the difference. On the other hand, Miguel and Mariposa, who had more time and experience in New Zealand, had found strategies to approach the differences between their ways and the ways of the other. Although leading to different behaviours, both strategies involved negotiation. Miguel adjusted his way of greeting to fit what others expected while Mariposa kept hers unchanged, regardless of others' opinions and encouraged Carmen, who arrived recently, to do the same.

Humour and relajo

It could be said that in the Caribbean "humour" is not a noun, but a practice that is omnipresent in our way of engaging with each other. The practice of humour is central in Caribbean ole talk, liming, and human engagement in general. In the limes, some participants reflected on the importance of humour in their daily life and experience. Frequently, participants reflected on humour and how they used it, in contraposition to the use of humour in New Zealand's dominant culture. Lucas, for example, talked about

relajo as something he missed dearly and had tried to find in New Zealand, unsuccessfully.

"En mi familia siempre ha predominado el relajo" dijo ***Lucas*** *con tono nostálgico, recordando su última visita a Cuba. "Desde que estábamos en el aeropuerto, hasta la salida, eso se convierte en relajo a todas horas, es algo que aquí no se tiene." Después en nuestra conversación, Lucas agrego: "Cuantas veces hay que le hago un chiste o cualquier cosa que nosotros decimos; se me quedan los ojos cruzados y yo cuando veo que no hay reacción me retiro rápidamente. Porque no entienden."* ***COMPARTIR DE LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 40***	"In my family *relajo* is always present" said **Lucas** with a nostalgic tone, thinking back to his most recent visit to Cuba. "From the airport until we left, it was *relajo* all the time. That is something that does not exist here." Later in conversation talk, he expanded on the same idea. "How many times have I tried to make a joke or anything, like we do. They look at me crossed–eyed. When I see that there is no reaction I pull back. Because they don't understand." **LUCAS' LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 40**

Lucas portrayed humour as an essential component of his habitus of relating, within his nuclear family and beyond it. When his engagement through humour was not responded to as expected, this made him feel awkward, lose interest and withdraw. Lucas perceived the different approach to humour as a general New Zealand characteristic, rather than something related to a one-off interaction ("That is something that does not exist here," "They don't understand"). During the Cuban lime, Mariposa made similar remarks.

"Sigo siendo jodedora como ustedes me ven" dijo ***Mariposa****. "Me rio hago chistes, no me importa si a los Kiwis le gusta o no, sigo siendo quien soy. Es lo que me interesa y lo que me ayuda todos los días a levantarme feliz conmigo misma a pesar de todo lo difícil que venga delante y eso realmente es importante."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 41***	I'm still the same joker, as you can see" **Mariposa** said. "I laugh, I make jokes. I don't care if Kiwis like it or not, I'm still who I am. All I care for is that it helps me every day to wake up happy with myself, despite of anything difficult that may come my way, and that really is important." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 41**

Mariposa used a concept central to the Cuban vocabulary about humour. In Cuba, *jodedera* is a way of life. Unlike a joke, it does not have a beginning or an end, but becomes a sustained attitude towards events of daily existing and a mode of interacting with others. It is both a lens for perceiving the world and a framework for living in it.

Jodedera deconstructs discourses and subverts them through humour. It trumps any pedestal through ongoing mocking. It brings people together through laughter. It creates spaces of freedom and resistance that are difficult to repress, because, after all, we are just having a laugh. *Jodedora* (female) or *jodedor* (male) are difficult words to translate literally into English, but as adjectives, they denote an ability to use humour skilfully and an inclination to do so frequently. It is generally used with a positive connotation and adds to a person's social capital. If someone is *tremendo jodedor(a)*, roughly "quite a joker" it means they are good fun to be around and have an inclination for teasing and *relajo*. *Jodedera* (note the different spelling as a noun) is the practice enacted by a *jodedor*, or *jodedora*, and is close to *relajo* in its meaning, roughly "fooling around." "*Jodedera*" refers to a practice of mocking and teasing that can involve people, institutions or discourses. It is not a structured event, but a way of engaging that is present in all aspects of Cuban life, from the home to the workplace, public spaces, social media, etc.

Mariposa represented *jodedora* as a feature that she had intentionally maintained from her home culture. In other ole talk fragments, Mariposa's narrative reflected an identity construction strategy that consisted of strengthening and building meaning around the articulation of her personal values with collective representations of the home culture (see, for example**, ole talk fragment 39**. In this case, she used humour in her strategy. For her, being *jodedora* in New Zealand, not caring whether "Kiwis like it or not," was a way of feeling "herself" in this migrant space and feeling good about it. As she added later, this was her way to cope with and confront challenging circumstances. This notion of humour as a coping mechanism and mode of confrontation is analysed in more depth in later sections, with an emphasis on confronting racism and discrimination.

Other limers, although not reflecting on humour, *relajo*, or *jodedera* directly, used it to articulate their narratives within the limes.

> In the lime, we had been sharing how we all got to New Zealand when **Gabe** said, very seriously, "I'm on a witness protection programme. I witness something really… I shouldn't be telling you this."
>
> "For real?" asked **Anand**, surprised, but smiling... then he locked eyes with Gabe, and they started laughing.
>
> "Infamous man!" exclaimed **Sarah** laughing, too.
>
> "I witnessed something really bad" **Gabe** continued, gravely. For a few moments, all limers looked at each other, in wondering silence.
>
> Then, **Gabe** cracked up laughing and shared the real story. "Nah, nah, nah" he said, still giggling. "My ex, my ex is a Kiwi. That's the reason why I come here. I don't witness... That's what I tell Kiwis, you know what I mean? And they fall for it you know."
>
> **MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 42**

In this fragment, Gabe is shown enacting what the Cubans called "*jodedera*." He used the window of opportunity created by limers' questions about his migrant journey and fabricated a story to build up to a joke and make everybody laugh. Here, *jodedera* took place like a dance in which the *jodedor* (Gabe) was the lead dancer. Gabe needed to anticipate the others' rhythms and reactions for the intended humorous effect. He needed to make us believe what he was saying, at least to some extent, so when he revealed the truth, we could laugh at ourselves. *Jodedera*, as referred to by Mariposa and enacted by Gabe, takes skill and is accordingly valued as a social ability. On the other hand, being on the receiving end of *jodedera* also requires cultural competencies which are built over time. We are conditioned, by many years of exposure, to double guess when things sound too juicy, or too punchy. If you have been tagged as a *jodedor*, those who know you well are less likely to take you seriously. Being unfamiliar with the dynamics of *jodedera* is equivalent to not knowing the moves to the dance. Gabe emphasised that when he said, at the end of the conversation, "That's what I tell Kiwis, you know what I mean? And they fall for it, you know."

In other limes, participants reinforced the practice of teasing as a way of bridging differences by means of laughing together about them. This is exemplified in the next ole talk fragment, in which Nils and Natalie joked about dietary requirements associated with her religion.

“We as a people, we tease” said **Nils**. “Nicola doesn't eat pork, and I can tease her because she doesn't eat pork.”

“And I'm not bothered by it” **Natalie** assured.

GARRET’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 43

In summary, humour and teasing, *relajo,* and *jodedera* emerged as complex cultural features that require refined communication competencies and are at the core of Caribbean modes of interaction. The use of humour and teasing is nuanced, and participants also reflected on how, when taken too far, it can have negative connotations.

Tough love, strong mind and disregard for privacy

In the previous session, warmth, closeness and a fast rhythm of engaging were represented as positive attributes of Caribbean ways of building relationships. In this session, I look at related attributes where interpretation was more nuanced, i.e. (1) “tough love” and teasing, (2) “strong mind” and bluntness, and (3) disregard for privacy when engaging in relationships. As analysed next, while some participants embraced these practices, others pointed out that they can have negative outcomes. Some suggested that dissimilar New Zealand approaches may present advantages.

In the following ole talk fragment from Rosa’s lime, “tough love” was used to represent the unimportance of politeness in our ways of engaging while signalling the existence of underlying affection.

"We can say what we really mean" said **Sam.**

"I know what you mean. I find we can be too mean though" **Helen** said, rolling her eyes.

"Yeah, we can be too mean" **I** agreed.

"I see all of that as part of the process now. In the Caribbean it's a tough love" assured **Nina**.

"That is the Caribbean thing, tough love" **Renee** seconded her.

"If you are Caribbean you have to have a tough skin. It's tough love" **Sam** added.

"Resilience man!" exclaimed **Renee.**

"This is what blows me away nowadays, how people… the world just so sensitive. Oh God" **Nina** continued.

"Thank you" nodded **Sam.**

"Excuse me? No, no, no" **Helen** said in response to Nina's remark. "I think it's a balance. Some people need to cool down their kind of... their kind of *picong*, and their kind of fat talk and craziness. Cool down. Chill. There is only so much a human being can handle."

"I don't think so" challenged **Renee**. "You need to adapt and adapt very fast."

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 44

For Sam, tough love as a way of relating led to the development of defence mechanisms, which he called "tough skin." Nina, who was presenting tough love as a positive feature of the Caribbean way of engaging, found that the alternative was to become "too sensitive" with which Sam agreed. Helen, for her part, related the concept of tough love that was being discussed with the practice of *picong*[31] and teasing. For her, there was a fine line between this well-intended teasing among friends and hurting someone's feelings. Although most limers agreed that the teasing culture, encapsulated in the concept of tough love, was harmless (especially if they had developed a tough skin over time), Helen pointed out that it can be taken too far and become "too much to handle." In response to Helen's remarks, Renee suggested that the best response to tough love was to adapt. Later in the lime, his reflections showed that his position was, in fact, more nuanced.

[31] Trinidad and Tobago English: *Picong* (also called fatigue). To heckle or tease in a clever manner or make funny double-sense remarks to a person's face.

"He can start to cry easily" **Dani** teased Renee.

"See?" **Helen** exclaimed, pointing at Dani, reinforcing her previous point. "Like you say something, and he said you are going to cry. Be cool man."

"I am exposed to these things so much, that they don't bother me anymore" said **Renee** waving his hand in dismissal.

"That's what you think" **Helen** responded.

"It's a strengths class" **Renee** added. "I know when to be in touch with what side of me. I know my strengths and I know my weaknesses. But I don't trouble my weaknesses because they are weak! I keep on my strengths all the time."

"Nothing is wrong with showing your weak side you know" stressed **Nina.**

"To who?" asked **Renee**, with a *steups.*[30]

"Anybody!" said **Nina.**

"To somebody that can't handle it and is going to abuse it like this one?" **Renee** said, looking at Dani. Everybody laughed for a while. Afterwards **Renee** continued: "That is the problem. If I show my vulnerabilities, I know my people. They will prey on that. That is their strength." Everybody laughed again.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 45

Renee, although jokingly, expressed that his understanding of the Caribbean teasing culture hindered him from showing his vulnerabilities, as they "would be preyed on" and become fuel for *picong*. Hence, a tough skin was not only developed in response to teasing, but in anticipation of it, sometimes resulting in less open relations. Renee assured that because teasing was so frequent, it had stopped bothering him, implying it had bothered him before.

> *Growing up in Cuba the worst thing I could do was to take teasing to heart. "Coger cuero" is the Cuban expression for it. Literally "take the whip." "Coger cuero" was equivalent to social doom, especially among peers. If you take teasing to heart, the teaser will identify a soft spot and it will never stop. As teasing usually occurred among friends, I found protection in the certainty that there was underlying love, so the best I could do was to laugh along and carry on. Oftentimes, however, especially when teasing touched sensitive issues, this attitude of letting go was a learned behaviour to minimise further teasing, rather than and authentically light-hearted response to it.*
>
> ***Researcher's journal, November 2018***

[32] Trinidad and Tobago English: noise made by sucking air and saliva through the teeth, and an expression of denegation or annoyance widely used in the Caribbean.

As discussed in later sections, teasing and humour can also be important coping mechanisms when dealing with challenging issues such like, for example, racism and discrimination. This section shows, however, that these practices, their uses and consequences, are nuanced and cannot be assigned a single meaning.

Participants used the term "strong mind" to denote a generalised attitude of stubbornness and pride when engaging in social relations.

> We had been talking for a while about how the group in the lime had been formed.
>
> "I heard she was here" said **Renee,** pointing **at Rosa.** "Since I reach, I heard she was here."
>
> "But you didn't reach out to me though. That is very interesting" **Rosa** responded.
>
> "This is a Caribbean thing for you" **Nina** told me, rolling her eyes. Caribbean people, everybody feel like 'why I must call you? Why you didn't call me?' Strong mind. You know how they call this? This is Caribbean strong mind. She ain't message me, so me ain't messaging she. Who can hold on the longest. I know she here, she knows I here. If she wanna reach me she can reach me. And nobody reach nobody."
>
> "You did not reach out to me" **Rosa** said again, nodding.
>
> **ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 46**

Nina explained the concept well. "Strong mind" is a dynamic in which two people want to reach out to one another, but neither does, waiting for the other to take the initiative. However, when one does eventually reach out, the relationship can continue to flow normally, as reflected in the conversation between Rosa and Renee later in the lime.

> "I sent you an email and you responded" said **Rosa**.
>
> "And we met" added **Renee**.
>
> "You bought me coffee honey!" **Rosa** said and they hugged. "We talked about politics, everything."
>
> "Now we have our little society, all is well" said **Nina** looking at them, smiling.
>
> **ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 47**

Strong mind, as described by Nina, can become especially conflictual in cases where one person feels they are consistently the one who reaches out. In Garret's lime, Nils shared how he was conflicted between wanting to know about his brothers and their families and feeling uncomfortable to always be the one to initiate contact.

“Me and my brothers are really close” said **Nils**. “We saw each other weekly. But being here, it's really frustrating for me, because they take no interest. It's so easy to WhatsApp, you can send a text in two seconds. I have to constantly be reaching out for them and they couldn't care less about me, Deb and the kids. It's really frustrating because the technology is there. It takes two seconds: ‘Hey Nick, how is everybody?’ Nothing ever comes about. And it comes to the point where it doesn’t make any sense. But I'm not like that. I actually care for my brothers, I care for their children, I care for their families. So, I have to be constantly feeling like that. You are stuck between a rock and a hard... because you do want to know what is going on with your family back home.”

GARRET’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 48

Other manifestations of Caribbean strong mind were explored in Rosa’s lime and compared to the perceived modes of New Zealand’s dominant culture. Limers discussed our difficulty with apologising and an exaggerated sense of urgency in getting our own opinion across in interactions, often to the detriment of dialogue. For Renee, this could get in the way of collective action. In later sections, this is reaffirmed as one of the factors hindering a more cohesive Caribbean community.

“Another thing they do, and we don’t do” assured **Renee,** “is to smile and say ‘sorry’. Every time they say ‘sorry’. And that de–escalates the majority of situations. Comparing to our problem in the Caribbean to here, we don’t do this. Allow one person to speak. We never ever allow one person to speak, listen to what they are saying and then rebate it. We always want to get our point there.”

“We love to argue” confirmed **Rosa.**

“We have a different way of discussing things” **I** agreed.

“And that’s why we never get nowhere” **Renee** added.

“The loudest, they feel they are the most powerful” **Nina** concluded.

ROSA’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 49

An underlying motivation appeared to be behind all the manifestations of Caribbean strong mind shown above, that is, to avoid being perceived as weak or vulnerable. Reaching out, saying sorry, compromising, listening to the other, seem to be actions that could lead to an impression of weakness. This was something that was mostly discussed in a critical light, with examples of negative consequences such as damaged family relationships and a disjointed community. The notion of strong mind seemed to contradict the spirit of sharing, as exemplified by Mariposa in **ole talk fragment 35,** as sharing involves reaching out and being comfortable doing so. This contradiction is an example of how values and practices that participants identified as Caribbean can create

tensions with one another and acquire different salience or meaning depending on the circumstances.

Another characteristic of Caribbean interactions highlighted by the limers was the disregard for privacy in personal relationships. As with tough love, participants found positive and negative attributes in this way of engaging. In summary, while in general people perceived the familiar and open way of relating as people in the Caribbean as a positive value, some found that it could lead to a disrespect for personal space.

> "There is always the one" said **Mike** "you left, and you didn't tell me."
>
> "My mother tells me" agreed **Nina**. "I said, I can't tell everybody. You wanna tell somebody? Okay. And then it's these people… you don't really talk to them, you don't see them. So why I must come to you about... I don't know about what you are doing in your life. Some people just behave entitled. Record that. They are entitled to your business."
>
> **ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 50**

What Nina was complaining about can be related to the habitus of engaging described earlier, in which sharing and caring are not limited to close relationships. This habitus also brought about an expectation to be kept up to date with plans and life events, as well as an assumption that it was acceptable to intervene in matters that, in other cultures, may be reserved for immediate family, for example, child-rearing. Referring to this issue, Nils (in Garret's lime) observed, with general agreement from other limers that "in the Caribbean everybody's business is our business." Collective approaches to childrearing are analysed in later sections.

The underlying assumption that "everybody's business is our business" was recurrently evident in the humorous narratives shared in Ben's lime, revolving around involvement in one another's love life.

"I remember once" said **Ben** "I had a friend that had a Toyota four by four truck and he said, I only use it for work, if you drop me at work you can have it for the day and then pick me up again."

"He put a mattress in the back" said **Jules**, Ben's long–time friend, rolling her eyes.

"I went away for a while" **Ben** continued "and when I came back, two years later, I see his wife and she said, 'Ben Thompson, it took six months for people to stop telling me where they saw my husband!'"

Everyone cracked up laughing.

"Because in Barbados" **Ben** explained "they know you by your car. The number is yours, everybody knows you by your number plate. He once said to me, 'I could get away with murder 'cause you would get the blame.'"

We laughed for a good while.

BEN'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 51

Set in the 1960s, the above narrative presents a picture of a small community where people not only know each other but recognise each other's number plates. In this environment, the same way that they are willing to share the same pot of soup (Ben's lime, **ole talk fragment 36**) they felt comfortable discussing each other's private business. In Cuba, Puerto Rico and other Spanish speaking countries there is a phrase to describe this environment: *pueblo chico, infierno grande* meaning literally, "small town, big hell," which signifies that the smaller a community, the more gossip there is likely to occur. Ben and Jules portrayed the situation in a humorous light. People's involvement in each other's private business was not taken as an intrusion but as part of the collective interpretive frameworks. This was reinforced by another story, later in the same lime.

"Dina's husband had a petro–tanker" said **Ben**. "Once, it was around 3.00 pm. His wife goes to pick up his kid and the kid says, 'Mum, I saw dad's truck up the road.' He had parked just around his other woman's house."

"What an idiot" said **Jules.** "That's how she found out, because someone saw the truck."

BEN'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 52

The expectation that people will get involved in each other's private business in the Caribbean is so entrenched that in Jules' comment, instead of making a value judgement about the extramarital relationship of Dina's husband, she focussed on the idiocy of exposing himself to the accustomed gossip.

As discussed in the last few pages, during the limes, participants represented the Caribbean habitus of engaging in human relationships by describing values and practices associated with this habitus, which were frequently represented as different from those of others, especially in relation to what was perceived as the habitus of relating in New Zealand's dominant culture. Some of these features, such as our inclination to establish warm, close and familiar relationships, manifested through practices of sharing, physical contact and a rapid rhythm in forming meaningful connections, were presented in a positive light. Conversely, other attributes such as tough love, strong mind, and a disregard for privacy, were presented in a more ambivalent manner. Participants used expressions of belonging when referring to practices associated with the Caribbean habitus of engaging, (i.e. "my people," "we," "ourselves," "we as a people," and "our idiosyncrasy") in the context of both positive and negative attributes. When discussing negative attributes or behaviours, limers tended to use expressions of particularity, to denote conduct that they did not want to generalise to all Caribbean people (i.e. "there is always the one," "these people," and "some people"). Participants frequently compared Caribbean modes of engaging with those they related to New Zealand's dominant culture and shared that they had come to terms with the difference between both.

Identification in difference

The Caribbean way was often shaped in contrast to the perceived differences with the New Zealand way, and limers discussed their strategies for negotiating their position between both interpretive frameworks. This is exemplified in the following ole talk fragment from Ana's lime, in Wellington, where participants joked about customs in New Zealand's dominant culture being "upside-down" with respect to their norm.

"You see" **Gina** started saying, "like they say that New Zealand is upside down. That's how we look at it, it's like upside down. So basically, when they should be casual they're not, and when they should be professional they're not. They supposed to be over there but they down there. That kind of thing."

Gina, Dawson and **Aline** laughed for a while. Then **Aline** said "It's true! It's like they try to do the opposite of normal customs. Because yuh know seh, if you're at work and yuh get drunk, yuh behave a certain way, yuh nuffi... you know what I'm saying. You know, certain things you don't do at work!"

"There are certain things you just don't do" **Seb** backed her up.

"You know, that's the thing" seconded **Gina**.

"So here, you do it at work. In fronta boss? Dat nuh supposed to happen!" **Aline** concluded.

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 53

In this fragment, Gina, outlined her ways of engaging by contesting the ways of the 'other': "when they should be casual, they're not, and when they should be professional, they're not." In these statements, the Caribbean "normal" can be found in the unmet expectation of what should be done (and is not) when engaging with New Zealand's dominant culture. Aline further specified the things she found to be the opposite of normal customs, such as drinking in the workplace in front of her boss. Similarly, instead of expressing how he expected people to behave in certain situations, Seb affirmed that there are things "you just don't do."

Unfamiliar modes of human engagement, gestures, and rhythms were often given negative connotations. For example, Rosa, who had been in New Zealand for less than a year, discussed behaviours and gestures she found "striking," and to which she attached negative meaning (see also **ole talk fragment 31**).

"For me the most striking thing when I got here was that, when I go across the road, if I'm not at a pedestrian crossing, no one would allow me to cross" said **Rosa**. "There could be rain, people don't care. They are not like, let me stop, it's pouring rain."

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 54

Arguably Rosa's interpretation was anchored to Caribbean values and practices that are the norm in her interpretive frameworks, although they respond to a context that was significantly different from that of New Zealand. Rosa interpreted people's failure to stop and allow her to cross outside of the marked pedestrian crossing as a lack of care. In the Caribbean, where there are not many clearly marked pedestrian crossings or

lights, to stop the car and allow a person to cross is often interpreted as a friendly and courteous gesture. The contrary applies too: not allowing someone to cross, especially if it is raining, can be deemed rude, pretentious and unfriendly. Rosa used this interpretive framework to interpret the behaviour she observed in New Zealand and was outraged. Something similar happened later in the same lime, in which participants spent time collectively interpreting the meaning of the "smirk."

> "Like, I've been here a month now" said **Nina** "and you know this thing when people pass you and they smile, like a kind of smirk but they don't say anything. Back home people say, hey, morning, even if it's a stranger, good night, whatever, but here they just give you a smirk. What does that smirk even mean? I don't like it."
>
> "It's like a friendly…I'm not trying to …" **Helen** started saying.
>
> "It's something to make you feel… **Dani** interjected, talking on top of Helen.
>
> "No, there's nothing friendly about it" **Rosa** snorted, shaking her head.
>
> "Not friendly, exactly, just a show…" **Dani** finished saying.
>
> "It's a pretentious smile. That's the best way to put it" posed **Sam**.
>
> "You know, the first time I came across the smirk, was home" **Rosa** commented, facing **Nina**, who immediately added:
>
> "From tourists."
>
> "Yes!" jumped **Sam.**
>
> "And I'm like, I'm not surprised, it's from tourists" **Rosa** continued.
>
> "It's like they want to say 'we come in peace' concluded **Helen**.
>
> **ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 55**

Nina, like Rosa in **ole talk fragment 54**, was trying to come to terms with her unmet expectations around human interactions. She expected a greeting and instead got a smirk, a smile whose meaning was unfamiliar. Except for Helen, all limers in the group attached negative meaning to a smirk and found it pretentious and unfriendly. It is significant that Nina and Rosa associated a smirk with the attitude of tourists visiting the Caribbean, which is thought to be arrogant and rude, adding to the negative connotation of this gesture. This group of limers, who had recently arrived in New Zealand, coped with their lack of familiarity with the country's cultural system by referring to their experiences of similar gestures back home (the smirk of tourists).[33]

[33] This does not mean that every instance of participants interpreting a gesture as disrespectful or offensive can be attributed to being unfamiliar with the ways of their new country. Some participants experienced blatant racism, discrimination and disrespect. This idea refers to unfamiliar social interactions.

In the fragment below, Seb emphasised that it took time to understand new gestures and expressions when moving to a new country. This applies to practices and values but also to small nuances of human interaction such as body language or facial expressions.

> "I believe it takes about five years for you to understand New Zealand" assured **Seb**. "It's not that easy, it takes a while to figure out and you're going to make mistakes. You're not going to learn because if you're dealing with a secretive, silent society that doesn't really say much, how are you going to figure out…? There is no facial expression. When you deh a yaad yuh can tell when sup start boil inna one man. I'm nuh necessarily haffi say nuttn but yuh see him face start change or him body language.[32] You can't see nothing here!"
>
> Later in the same lime, **Robert** made a similar point. "People don't understand you and you're always trying to figure out the other person and what makes them tick. In the Caribbean you don't have to. You know how them going to react to certain things."
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 56**

In their reflections, Seb and Robert pointed out that whereas back home they could "read" the other person's gestures and respond to them, in New Zealand, while operating in a different cultural system, they struggled to make sense and respond in an interaction when gestures and body language were unfamiliar.

For participants, coming to terms with the disjuncture between their interpretive frameworks and what they perceived as the dominant cultural system in New Zealand required time and active negotiation. This negotiation between the "own ways" and "the ways of the other" did not result in permanent positionings, but was a process of ongoing adjustment of expectations, behaviours and interpretations. As migrants accumulated experience in their new country, the meaning assigned to the perceived modes of engagement in New Zealand's dominant culture was likely to change. In the Cuban lime, for example, a dialogue between Mariposa and Amelia was illustrative of this transformation. While Amelia had arrived recently, Mariposa had been in New Zealand for over five years. She explained how her interpretation of the modes of human engagement she associated with New Zealand's dominant culture had changed over time.

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[34] Translation from Jamaican *patwuah*: When you are there, you can tell when the soup starts to boil in a man. I don't necessarily have to say anything, but you see his face, or his body language start to change.

Amelia *recordó la última vez que regreso a La Habana para estar con su padre y su familia y comparo ese ambiente con el de la casa donde vive con su casero.* *"Siempre vamos compartimos con mi papa, la mujer" dijo* ***Amelia****. "La mañana, que rico es desayunar con todo el mundo, es una sonrisa, es una calidez, es reírse, te pasas el día riéndote. Acá conviviendo con este señor en la mañana es así 'good morning', no te habla más. Después de que se toma las botellas de vino si habla, yo no entiendo eso, a mí no me cabe en la cabeza."* *"Se me está quedando sin palabras" respondió* ***Mariposa****. "No, ellos no vinieron con palabras. Al principio yo llegué criticando mucho el sistema, pero después que pasa un tiempo es hasta entendible porque nacen y crecen así. Y son buenas personas, pero que tú vas a esperar de alguien que nace y crece bajo eso. Es el choque cultural de la expresividad y la espontaneidad."* **COMPARTIR CUBANO.** **FRAGMENTO 57**	**Amelia** remembered the last time she went back home to Havana, to spend time with her father and family, and compared that environment with that of the house she and her family shared with their landlord: "We always share with my dad and his wife" **Amelia** said. "In the morning, it's so nice to have breakfast together, the smiles, the warmth, the laughter, you laugh all day long. Here, living with this man in the morning is like 'good morning', and that's it. He does not talk to you any more. Then he drinks two bottles of wine and wants to talk… I don't understand that, can't get my head around it." "They run out of words" responded **Mariposa**. "No, they don't have words to start with. When I arrived, I criticised that system a lot, but after a while you get to understand why; they grow up to be like that. They are good people, but that's how they are raised. You get a cultural shock out of the lack of expressivity and spontaneity." **CUBAN LIME.** **OLE TALK FRAGMENT 57**

In the dialogue above, Amelia resorted to her interpretive frameworks based on Cuban ways of engagement to interpret her landlord's behaviour, in comparison with her home environment in Cuba (conversation, laughter, and sharing, equals warm relationships, whereas short greetings and lack of interaction equal distant and cold relationships). On the other hand, Mariposa adjusted her initial interpretation through the experience she gained after years of living in New Zealand. Although she still saw the New Zealand way as external to her own habitus, she had reached an understanding of it that was based on intrinsic explanations (i.e. explanations based on the context from which the behaviour stemmed), rather than on comparisons with their equivalents back home.

A similar shift operated in Lucas after five years in New Zealand.

"No puedes crear una relación amistosa porque la relación amistosa es distante, no es como la nuestra" me dijo ***Lucas****. La diferencia es astronómica. Tú acabas de llegar, te acabo de conocer, pero ya tú eres parte de la familia. Tú sabes que puede tocar en esa puerta cuando te dé la gana, tú sabes que me puedes llamar a la hora que tú quieras, tú sabes que puedes pedirme el traguito de café o un huevo. Pero los Kiwis…"*

Con el tiempo, sin embargo, ***Lucas*** *ha encontrado formas de dar sentido a estas formas otras de abordar las relaciones humanas en relación con las "nuestras".*

"A ellos les encanta" dijo ***Lucas****. "Yo he llegado a la conclusión de que a ellos les gusta nuestra relación pero no saben cómo cultivarla. No tienen experiencia de cómo cultivarla, no han sido formados en el cultivo de una amistad. Entonces se encierran en su mundo y son incapaces de tomar la iniciativa, ni de responder a una iniciativa y ahí es donde se limita toda la comunicación entre ellos y nosotros."*

COMPARTIR DE LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 58

"You cannot create a friendship" **Lucas** started telling me "because friendships are distant, it is not like ours, the difference is astronomical. You just arrived, I just met you, but you are already part of the family. You know you can knock on that door whenever you feel like it, you know you can come have coffee, you can come borrow an egg. But Kiwis…"

Over time, however, **Lucas** had found ways to make sense of these clashing ways of approaching human relations in comparison to "ours".

"They love our way of connecting" affirmed **Lucas**. "I have come to the conclusion that they like our type of relationship but don't know how to cultivate it. They have no experience of how to cultivate it, they have not been brought up to cultivate friendships. Then they lock themselves in their world and are unable to take the initiative, or to respond to an initiative. And that is where all connection between them and us is limited."

LUCAS LIME.
OLE TALK FRAGMENT 58

As in Mariposa's case, Lucas's experience in New Zealand did not transform his values and practices regarding friendship, which were still articulated with a collective understanding which he represented as "ours": the Cuban way. In his ole talk with me, a Cuban migrant like him, he knew that this collective representation would also be understood by me: "You know you can knock on that door whenever you feel like it." From this subject position, he interpreted other ways of the other as "distant," "locked in their world" and "unable to take the initiative."

Lucas and Mariposa's experience in New Zealand did not bring about a transformation in their values and practices around friendship and human relations. What their experience changed was the meaning assigned to the values and practices of the other.

Based on experience and on real-life relations with New Zealanders, they had gained an understanding of their values and practices and of how they originated, considering factors such as the composition of society, childrearing, etc.

5.2. Family relations and childrearing

Family and family relations were salient topics in several limes, especially in those limes where there were new parents. Across the limes, the family of origin (the family unit in which participants grew up) were represented as points of reference for childrearing and an anchor to the physical and symbolic space of "back home." In turn, the family unit formed by participants with their partners and children was represented as a space of negotiation between, on the one hand, the values associated with childrearing and family in participants' home country and, on the other, the values associated with New Zealand's cultural system.

Families of origin: sacrifice and responsibility

Cuban limers frequently talked about a sense of responsibility towards their families back home, especially towards their material wellbeing. Narratives about family frequently emerged in relation to the notion of gratitude, and giving back, materially and affectively.

"El extrañar está en la mente" dijo ***Miguel****. "Si tú de verdad quieres ayudar a los tuyos, tienes que manejarlo en la mente. Yo llevo cinco años sin regresar a Cuba, imagínate ¿cómo no voy a extrañar? Yo viví toda la vida con esa mujer que está ahí, yo nunca tuve papa ni tuve a nadie, nosotros vivimos juntos toda la vida hasta que después empecé a estar con mujeres por ahí… pero venía y le daba su vuelta siempre. Entonces uno extraña, me fui con 22 años."*

"Esa fue una de las cosas que me ayudaron a mí también" Agrego ***Linda*** *"porque como quiera que sea prefiero estar lejos y poder ayudar a mi familia de una forma para agradecerle todo lo que hicieron por mi cuando era niña."*

"Eso es lo que te mantiene vivo" acordó ***Miguel****. "Esos recuerdos de cuanta gente en tu familia que te da la mano cuando tú eres niño que no tienen obligación de dártelo. Entonces eso es lo que te hace levantarte todos los días y decir 'Bueno, voy a meterle'. He cambiado de trabajo bastante cinco, seis, diez, quince veces, no sé y todos los días me levanto y sigo trabajando."*

COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 59

"Nostalgia is in your mind" **Miguel** said. "If you really want to help your people, you have to handle the mind. I have not returned to Cuba for five years. Imagine that, how can I not miss it? I lived my whole life with that woman over there" he said pointing at his mother, who listened to him smiling. "I never had a father. I had no-one, we lived together all our lives. Afterwards I started going around with women, but I always checked on her. Of course, I miss it, I left when I was 22."

"That was one of the things that helped me too" **Linda** added. "Because in any case, I prefer to be away and be able to help my family, and in a way thank them for everything they did for me as a child."

"That is what keeps you alive" **Miguel** agreed. "Those memories of how many people in your family who gave you a hand when you were a child, who had no obligation. So that's what makes you get up every day and say 'Well, I'm going to push for it'. I have changed jobs a lot five, six, ten, fifteen times, I don't know and every day I get up and continue to work."

CUBAN LIME
OLE TALK FRAGMENT 59

In Linda and Miguel's ole talk, the link with Cuba and their family was represented in two dimensions: on the one hand, the nostalgia of home emerged as a pull factor that fed into a myth of return. On the other hand, the material support they could offer their families while living and working in New Zealand had a bigger weight in decision making and sustained the reality of staying.

CONTEXT NOTE 1: The Special Period

The years in which all three limers were growing up are known in Cuba as the Special Period (1990–1994). After the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) plummeted, and the government's purchasing power was drastically reduced. This caused a widespread shortage of basic products and an unprecedented energy crisis. In this context, Cuban families had to resort to all kinds of alternatives to survive, which frequently implied prioritising the nourishing and welfare of children. In these years the trope of family sacrifice became deeply embedded in the collective psyche of Cuban people.

Miguel felt a strong sense of responsibility and practised gratitude towards his mother and other people in his family who supported him when he was growing up. The following narrative is an important referent for how he organised his priorities, in contrast with the perceived priorities of other people his age in New Zealand.

*"Yo nunca he andado aquí con una persona de la misma edad que yo" explico **Miguel**. "No pueden tener la mentalidad que yo tengo. Cuando yo llegue con 22 años, los muchachos de mi edad por donde yo vivía lo único que hacían era meterse drogas y estar arrebatados todo el tiempo, después iban pa la casa y mama tiene la comida ahí. Ellos no sabían lo que era tener una familia y darle de comer. Y hoy por hoy con 27 años tengo amistades mías en el gimnasio con 27 igual y se la pasan de fiesta en fiesta, yo también pero doy de comer a mi mama, a mis hijas, ayudo a mi familia en Cuba. Ellos se la pasan de fiesta en fiesta los fines de semana, con mujeres diferentes y así y todo se olvidaron de familia, ellos dicen "Yo ya salí, ahora ellos que se la busquen". Y es muy diferente."*

COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 60

"I never hung out with people my age here [In New Zealand]" **Miguel** explained. "They can't have the same mentality I have. When I got here when I was 22, where I lived back then, the boys my age all they did was get drugs and get high all the time. Then they went home to their mums and she would feed them. They did not know what it was like to have a family to feed. And today, at 27, my mates from the gym just go from party to party. Well I party too" he laughed. "But I feed my mum, my daughters, and help my family in Cuba. They just go partying on weekends, from woman to woman and they forget family. They are like, 'well, I'm out of there. They can fend for themselves'. It's very different."

CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 60

In this narrative, Miguel established his representation of self as responsible provider and supporter (for his mother, his daughters and his family back home) in contraposition with what he observed in some of his peers in New Zealand, who were provided for and supported by their families of origin. For Miguel, these positionings

and what they entailed implied a difference in mentality, which was difficult to bridge when establishing relationships with others who did not share the same values and who organised their priorities differently. Later in the lime, Mariposa, Yandi and Miguel associated the high salience of responsibility in family relations in Cuba to a sense of reciprocity: giving back, as compensation for the parental sacrifice.

*"Tu papa te crio a ti y a tu hermana?" preguntó **Yandi**.*

"Si, solo y en medio del período especial, '93, '94, que fue cuando perdimos a mi mamá. Aquí todo el mundo sabe de lo que estamos hablando. Y evidentemente uno sueña con darle una mejor vida aunque ellos no te lo pidan, porque nunca te lo van a pedir porque son buenos padres."

*"Eso nos toca a nosotros" agrego **Miguel**.*

*"Así veo a Ori en el futuro hablando de nosotros" dijo **Yandi** mirando a sus hijas que andaban correteando alrededor de nosotros."*

*"Pero está en tus manos educar bien a Ori y a Yesica" añadió **Mariposa**, "para que puedan hablar así, para que te puedan valorar de verdad."*

COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 61

"Did your dad raised you and your sister?" asked **Yandi.**

"Yes, alone and in the middle of a special period, '93, '94, which was when we lost my mum. Everyone knows what we are talking about. And obviously one dreams of giving them a better life, even if they don't ask for it. Because they will never ask for anything, because they are good parents."

"It's our responsibility" added **Miguel.**

"I see Ori in the future talking like this about us in the future" said **Yandi** looking in the direction of her daughters, who were running around us."

"But it is in your hands to educate Ori and Jessica well" posed **Mariposa**, "so they talk like that, so they truly value you."

CUBAN LIME.
OLE TALK FRAGMENT 61

The notion of family sacrifice is pivotal in Mariposa's narrative, represented through her father's story. Mariposa set her narrative of the past in the most difficult years of the Special Period, including painful experiences such as the loss of her mother. The focus of her narrative, however, was not on the difficulty of the situation as such, but on her father's sacrifice for his family, for which he did not expect anything in return. Mariposa spoke in the plural about her father's altruism, and about her wish to provide a better life for him, illustrating the parental sacrifices and filial responsibility as tropes for entire generations. Miguel's affirming remark reinforced this representation. When Yandi intervened, he shared his aspiration for future generations, who will grow in a different context, to reproduce this way of thinking. For these Cuban limers, the values of gratitude and responsibility constitute a legacy to be transmitted, even when the

upbringing of children occurs outside Cuba. Mariposa noted, however, that the transmission of these values as an active process: it was in Yandi's hands to educate his children "well" so that they would adopt the same values that defined family relationships in the imaginary of Cuban participants.

The narrative of material responsibility towards family members who remain in Cuba is not exempt from contradiction for Cuban migrants. As illustrated in the fragment below, the expectations created by this narrative can put considerable pressure on those who emigrate.

"Hay quien no ha regresado como este que está aquí" señalo ***Miguel****. Porque yo me tome la tarea de decir 'Yo no voy a poder ir' porque cuando llegué mi hermana más grande tenía un hijo, al yo pasar aquí todas mis hermanas comenzaron a parir. Imagínate eran cuatro hermanas, cada cual tiene un hijo, cuanto hay que llevar para atrás y yo dije 'Nah, mejor me quedo.'"* **COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 62**	"There are those who haven't been back at all, like me" said **Miguel**. "I made it clear: I'm not able to go back. Because when I arrived here, my biggest sister had a son. As soon as I got here, my sisters began to have children. Four sisters, each with a child. Think about how much you have to bring back. So, I said: 'Nah, I'll better stay.'" **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 62**

Although Miguel repeatedly emphasised his sense of responsibility to his family in Cuba, the idea of a return trip was coupled with a self-imposed expectation of taking gifts for each member of his extended family, which was an expense that he could not afford. For the generation of Cubans that grew up in the 90s, like Miguel, the imaginary of the relative (no matter how distant) that came home to visit from abroad, was coupled with access to products that were unreachable otherwise, and consequently, became objects of desire. Having grown up in this context, Miguel projected this expectation onto his family when he imagined his trip of return.

> *In Cuba "brought" is a kind of generic denomination of origin that adds value to any product that was not bought on the island but brought from "outside," almost always in the suitcase of a relative. The arrival of such a relative, whom one often did not know well, was mainly coupled with the intrigue and the expectation about what they would bring. When I was a child, having things from abroad (whatever it was, from a backpack or shoes, to a pencil) was desirable and a symbol of status among peers. We used to have colecciones (collections) of pieces of packaging and labels from products that were "brought." Labels were traded among children like marbles. Recently a friend published an article about the colecciones of our childhood where he wrote:*

"The art of assembling colecciones acquired sophistication and specialisation. Not every label or wrapper was collectable. A fundamental requirement was its origin, necessarily foreign. (...) The colecciones had several functions besides entertainment: they fostered olfactory imagination, which allowed you to infer the taste of a chocolate you had never tasted, after smelling again and again the little wrapping you had traded for a box of Close-Up toothpaste. Colecciones also taught us that the time when we were all (almost) equal had come to an end." [35]

Researcher's journal, January 2018

Negotiating childrearing practices: tough love, respect and consequence

In all limes, childrearing was discussed as an important meaning-making space and salient field of negotiation. This topic was especially important for recent parents, although younger limers also looked back on how they were raised and reflected on the meaning and outcomes of their parents' modes of childrearing. On occasions, these reflections revealed conflicts with perceived discourses and practices of parenting in New Zealand.

In this section, I analyse several ole talk fragments in which participants constructed meaning around childrearing in Garret's lime in Wellington. Of the five participants in this lime, four were parents, and two had children under five. I focus on the process of sense-making represented in stories and experiences shared by three limers: Natalie, Garret and Nils. Their conversation revolved around concepts of respect, discipline, boundary setting, and consequences within parenting practices, and around the collective approach to childrearing. Their narratives present different strategies for negotiating practices and subject positions around childrearing when, having settled in New Zealand, there is a disjuncture between participants' interpretive frameworks for childrearing and what they perceive as the discourses about childrearing in the country's dominant cultural system. Then, I analyse how similar issues are discussed in Rosa's lime, in Palmerston North, from the perspective of young adults looking back to their childhood and how they were raised.

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[35] *El arte de coleccionar colecciones fue adquiriendo sofisticación y especialización. No toda etiqueta o envoltura era coleccionable. Un requisito fundamental era su origen, necesariamente foráneo. (...) Las colecciones además de entretenimiento cumplieron varias funciones. Fomentaron en otros la imaginación olfativa, que te permitía inferir el sabor de un chocolate que nunca habías probado, luego de oler una y otra vez aquel "nailito" cambiado por una caja de* pasta dental Close-Up. También nos enseñaron que el tiempo en que todos éramos (casi) iguales había llegado a su fin (Gallego, 2019).

Ole Talk about childrearing started in Garret's lime when Natalie and Nils shared that they perceived the ways children engage with adults in New Zealand as disrespectful, specifically because of the connotation they gave to children calling adults by their first names.

"Like the kids here in New Zealand, calling me by my first name…" **Nils** exemplified. "In St. Vincent if a kid comes and calls you by your first name…"

"Oh, yes" agreed **Natalie** "I just had this conversation this other day. I can't deal with it."

"That is how we grew up" **Nils** affirmed. "You are 'uncle.' You may not even know the man too good."

"Here, my husband's actual aunties and uncles are like … 'my name is Kate.' No, no, no. **Natalie** continued, "I am calling his aunties and uncles, 'aunty' and 'uncle'. I cannot bring myself to do otherwise."

"It's just wrong" said **Daisy** and **Nils** in unison.

"My nieces here in New Zealand call my husband 'Garry'" **Natalie** said. " 'cause he don't care, but they call me 'aunty', 'cause they know if they call me anything other than that…"

"Then you'll say to him, you ain't playing marbles with them" joked **Nils**, bringing in a Caribbean reference.

"But my problem is Joss" **Natalie** worried. "My boy is growing up in a place where it's okay to call your neighbours 'Jane'. Ernest and Jane, who are a retired couple that live next door. Where for me, you may not be calling them 'aunty' and 'uncle' but you sure are calling 'Mr' and 'Mrs' but they don't wanna be called that."

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 63

This fragment exemplifies how the interpretive frameworks for childrearing, adopted by limers within the cultural system "back home," clashed with the interpretive frameworks of others, within the New Zealand cultural system. In Natalie's interpretive frameworks, something that might seem insignificant (the ways adults are addressed by children) was a code that carried a deeper meaning. The fact that the conversation turned into a broader debate on respect and collective/ individualistic approaches to childrearing is illustrative of this. Calling an adult that is not a family member "uncle" or "aunty" is a symbol of respect and conveys a sense of familiarity that validates the adult's ability to intervene in the education of the child. This constitutes a pivotal component in the participants' collective discourse around childrearing.

When it came to herself as the interpellated adult, Natalie held her ground and asked children to call her "aunty." However, when it came to how Joss, her four-year-old son, addressed others, she was willing to compromise. On the one hand, she assigned great

importance to her children being raised “in a West Indian manner,” as she remarked during the lime.

> “We still have a large West Indian presence in my household” **Natalie** assured, “even though we are not immersed in it, and my children are not immersed in it, it is important for me to know, for them to know, where they come from. For them to be brought up in a West Indian manner. The morals, the values, because I think they are different than the morals and the values here.”
>
> **GARRET’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 64**

On the other hand, she understood that the mainstream cultural system in New Zealand, the country where Joss was growing up, would have a significant impact on the development of his interpretive frameworks. Additionally, she was empathetic towards others’ expectations and frames of meaning and willing to make concessions to respect them. The process of negotiation, however, was not exempt from conflict.

> “So how do you?”… **I** started asking, after **Natalie** presented her dilemma.
>
> “I respect what they say. You know what I mean?” she asked. “I try and... you know… like it or not.”
>
> “Yeah” acknowledged **Garret** nodding.
>
> “Even though I am calling her ‘Mrs Merkel’ because, you know what I mean?”
>
> “Yes, you can't” **Garret** agreed.
>
> “You know what I mean?” **Natalie** continued. “Like Greg's family friends live not too far from us. And they are like our children's Wellington grandparents. I said: ‘I feel like he should be calling you ‘nanny’. For us it's ‘nanny’. But I respect what they say. Really close friends, who are older people. I feel my kids should call her ‘nana’, or ‘aunty’, but she’s not comfortable, because she’s not related. And I said: ‘but you are in your sixties.’ I’m having a hard time with my small, small child. But she insisted. This is what she wants, so this is what they do. So, he’s calling her that and I cringe every time I hear that” **Natalie** acknowledged.
>
> “It cringes me too” **Nils** seconded her. “My kids, I don’t care” Nils concluded. “They call our good friends ‘uncle’ and ‘aunty.’”
>
> “Of course,” said **Natalie** “which is what we grew up doing.”
>
> **GARRET’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 65**

Natalie’s ole talk revealed a disjuncture between two conflicting interpretive frameworks. On the one hand “what they say,” “what she wants,” and “what they do,” and on the other hand, “what I feel,” “for us…,” and what “we grew up doing.” One is anchored in the cultural system that Natalie grew up with, and associations with back home, and the other one, with the cultural system of the country where she was raising her children.

Several ideas surface in Natalie's response to the tension between these two positions, as reflected in **ole talk fragments 63** and **65**. First, the meaning she assigned to the ways in which her child addressed adults close to her family (i.e. "uncle," "aunty," "nana," or the first name) was not changed when she engaged with a different cultural system as part of her migrant experience. Second, the shift in her parenting practices (allowing her young son to call adults by their first name) responded to empathy with the other, not to a change in her subject position. Third, the shift in her practices was not definitive but took the form of a contingent mix of compromise and resistance. On the one hand, Natalie insisted that children call her "aunty," and on the other hand, she gave in and allowed her small child to call close adults by their first names. Finally, the shift in her practices did not respond to a change in Natalie's own interpretive frameworks but was aimed at minimising clashes with the interpretive frameworks of others and, therefore, generating conflict.

A similar tension surfaced later in the lime, when ole talk addressed the topics of physical punishment, parental respect and collective approaches to child-rearing.

"All of us grew up with the hand in our butt when we did something wrong, never did it again. We are better for it" said **Natalie.**

"And there's a difference between arse–cutting and child abuse, and some people get confused" **Daisy** was quick to clarify to the agreement of everyone in the room.

For **Garret** the notion of respect for parents was associated not only with the child's action, but also with the implication those actions had for their parents' image in the community.

"And them, feeling shame, they smack you for them feeling shame, and for what you do, two cut arse you get" said **Garret**, and proceeded to exemplify with a story from his childhood in St Vincent.

"A guy was chasing my uncle" **Garret** started, laughing in anticipation. "My uncle was pelting at a dog. I remember … my grandmother. He pelted at this dog. And this guy named Cain said, 'You! Boy from Mr Jack! Why you pelting at the dog?' And he… he was a troublesome kid you know? And he [the uncle] asked him [Mr Cain] 'And why you killed your brother Abel on the breadfruit tree?' Cause that's the story of how Cain killed Abel. And he was furious. And he go and tell my grandmother. And my grandmother give him a cut–arse right in front of this guy. 'Cause the worse thing you can ever do you know? He didn't even cursed. He only told him, 'why you killed your bother Abel on that breadfruit tree?' Because his name was Cain. And you get your arse cut for that."

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 66

The man in the story knew the boy and went out of his way to tell his mother about what he perceived as inadequate behaviour (first pelting the dog and then mocking him

when he was reprehended). In the story, it is acknowledged that bringing shame to parents is the "the worst thing you can ever do" and has consequences (in this case, a spanking) which are presented as appropriate to the situation. The story, which was received among the limers with laughter and approval, illustrated shared meaning around physical punishment (which Daisy, seconded by other limers, specified as different from child abuse), and notions of parental respect and collective involvement as attributes of a Caribbean approach to childrearing. This approach was represented positively, often in contraposition to the New Zealand approach, which in the limers' view (a) did not enable the effective establishment of boundaries for children and adolescents and (b) discouraged non-related adults from taking responsibility for the education of children that were not their own. This is discussed further in the following fragment.

"When somebody becomes a young adult at 16 or 17, they should have a moral compass and you allow that moral compass to work" proposed **Nils**. "But I think in the adolescent age, they need some strict guidance as to no and yes on what to do and what not to do. I see the New Zealand law that's been brought in, I can see how kids manipulate parents; not only parents, schools and teachers. Jackie sees it at school."

"The way they speak to teachers here" **Jackie** seconded him, "you can't do that back home."

"But I notice, if I walk on the street…I was driving the other day, and I saw some kids discussing and arguing" **Garret** exemplified, in response to **Nils**'s argument. "I pulled up and said 'What's happening there?' So, we have to recognise, I think we have responsibility for fathering kids that aren't ours. By acting or showing the face. Or saying something. But a lot of people… I see some kids fighting in the street, and I say 'What's going on, what are you guys fighting for? What is your reason? Why you should hit him like that?' At least they know you are not passing them and allowing them to do what they do. And, you know, if they say something foolish, or they mock you, you give them a look. You don't have to involve yourself fully, but you have to make them aware. But people are pulling away, because of that law, they are pulling away from dealing with them. They don't want… they don't want to, because they figure 'that is not my responsibility. Let the law deal with that.'"

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 67

In comparing Garret's position in **ole talk fragment 66** (set in the Caribbean) and ole talk fragment 67 (set in New Zealand), it can be observed that although in both cases he aligned himself with a collective approach to childrearing ("we have responsibility for fathering kids that aren't ours"), he presented the expected conduct differently in each scenario. Whereas in the narrative set in the Caribbean the adult's involvement was

taken to the furthest extent, in New Zealand, Garret suggested, “you don’t have to involve yourself fully.”

In the two narratives shared by Garret it is possible to distinguish two conflicting discourses about childrearing (**Figure 24**). In the narrative set in the Caribbean (**ole talk fragment 66**) the adults’ involvement in the child’s education and the mother’s reaction to the adult’s complaint were told as common events. The narrative also contains the voice of the child, contesting the man’ scolding with teasing, but this voice was not validated in the narrative, beyond the humorous element that it brought, and was qualified as “troublesome.”

The narrative set in New Zealand (**ole talk fragment 67**) contains a similar sequence of events: children were misbehaving and an adult who was not a family member, intervened. However, two elements are different in how Garret’s narrative unfolded. First, getting the children’s family involved was not a possibility, as Garret’s narrative was not set in a community where this was acceptable. Second, the legal framework (which was the entity against which Garret sought to validate his behaviour, instead of the family, as was the case with the Caribbean narrative) represents an impediment for members of the community who were not related to the child to get involved in their upbringing.

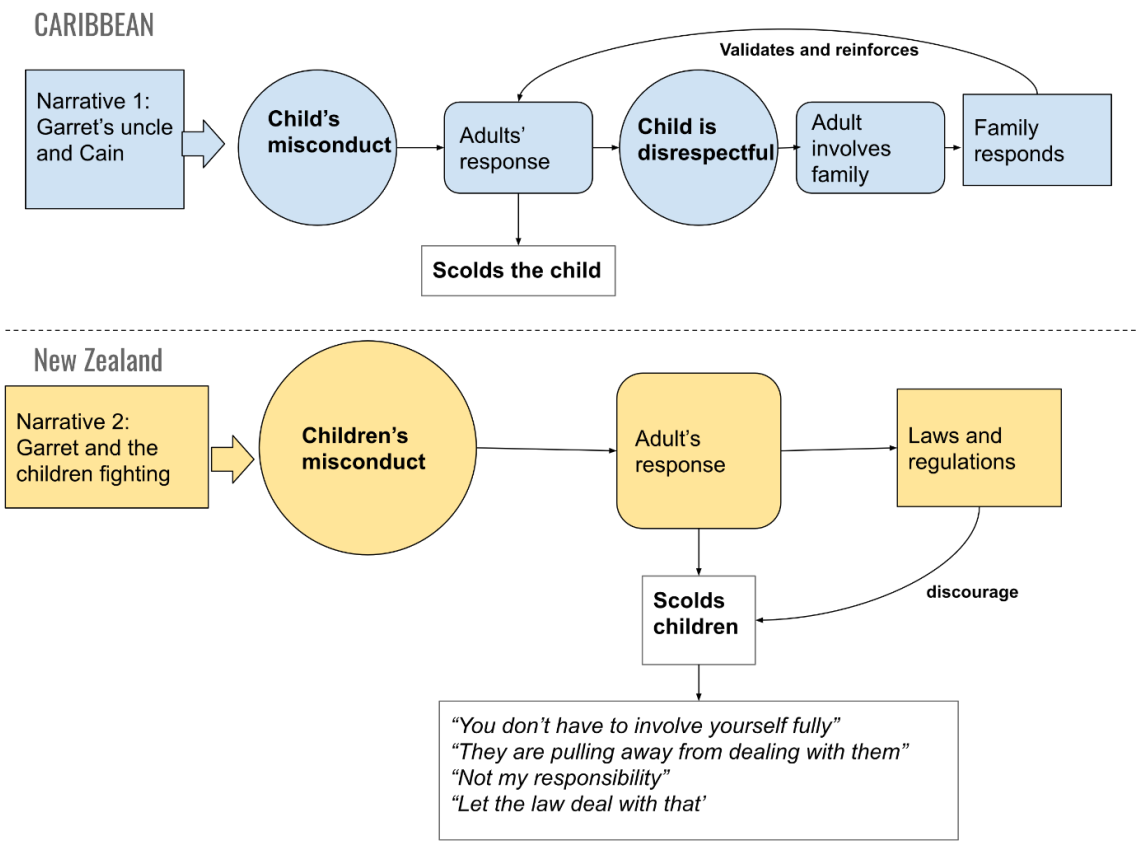

Figure 24: Underlying discourse of childrearing in Garret's narratives

As evidenced in **ole talk fragment 65**, Natalie's response was a partial switch in her practices while she maintained her subject position. She still "cringed" when her child addressed adults by their first name, but empathetically adapted to what made them comfortable. Garret's response, however, involved some rearticulating of his subject position around collective practices of childrearing when they involved others that did not share his interpretive frameworks. Although he still felt responsible for intervening when children were misbehaving, he restricted his interventions. His intention was to "make the kids aware," "not just pass by," while, at the same time, he minimised the reach of his actions: "you don't have to involve yourself fully." In a hypothetical situation in which children might respond negatively, he suggested: "you give them a look." The restricted extent of his involvement, and the meaning he made around it, contrasted with its narrated counterpart in the Caribbean, where adult involvement was more extensive. Elsewhere in this lime, Garret synthesised his process of negotiation as in the next fragment.

"The thing is how comfortable you are with yourself and not an extreme to one end or the other, you know" **Garret** argued. "Sometimes we still need to relate to the people and lead them to understand how we weselves relate. So, for me, I'm comfortable dealing with my kids the same way I deal with them in the Caribbean. Probably more so when we are in the company of people I know will understand the communication I'm trying to have with my kids. While I'm here, I'm not going to pick up… and drop my ways."

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 68

Garret's negotiation of his subject position did not necessarily involve a drastic change in his interpretive frameworks, but an awareness that the interpretive frameworks of the other were different. Garret's account does not transmit a sense of dissonance between his actions and his subject position. As he related in ole talk fragment 68**,** he was comfortable with himself and with his childrearing modes. From that position, he was willing to share the meaning behind his ways with others, although he made a distinction between those who "he knows will understand" and those who would not.

Conversely, Nils's strategies for childrearing remained heavily reliant on his own experience as a child and the interpretive frameworks he adopted and maintained responded to the cultural system of his home society: adults were to be respected, children's upbringing was a shared responsibility, boundaries were important, and their violation brought consequences which frequently took the form of spanking.

"I loved my father dearly" **Nils** affirmed, "but I was petrified at him. Because I knew there was a line when I cross, there was no coming back. And there was boundaries. You ought to set boundaries. If there is no boundaries for human beings you end up with Hitlers. And I ain't raising one. You understand? Boundaries there for a reason."

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 69

On moving to New Zealand however, the values that sustained these interpretive frameworks were challenged. In his new country, the social discourse about physical punishment was negative, and legal frameworks penalised parents for spanking their children[36]. In response to this contradiction, Nils attached negative meaning to the outcomes of New Zealand legislation (saying it led to children manipulating figures of authority) and reinforced his own strategies – adolescents needed strict guidance and boundaries were necessary. Nils did not show any willingness to compromise his

[36] Refers to *Crimes (Substituted Section 59) Amendment Act 2007*: Its purpose is to abolish "the use of parental force for the purpose of correction" (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2019)

position to accommodate that of others. As reflected in **ole talk fragment 65** and **69**, Nils held a consistent position of resistance in the face of situations that presented a conflict with his interpretive frameworks; for example, his children "call his good friends 'aunty' and 'uncle'" and Nils "does not care" if that is the custom or not.

The fragment below presents another example of Nils' position of resistance, this time regarding adults outside the family berating children for using foul language.

> "Never in my life have I encountered such foul language" **Nils** complained.
>
> "I have a question" queried **Natalie**. "Growing up, of course you heard a bit of coarse language, but not so much coming from your parents' mouth in front of us. Whereas here I hear it all the time in front of children. That's why the children are saying…and they don't get called out for it."
>
> "That's not entirely true" **Nils** disagreed. "Because where we live, we call them out. 'Your mouth is dirty, it wants scrubbing. Your foul mouth is not good enough. You are what, 13, 14, and every other word is F this F that. F see you next Tuesday.'"
>
> **GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 70**

Nils's openly critical tone when reacting to children's bad behaviour, in this case, swearing, contrasts with Garret's conciliatory approach. In summary, whereas Natalie and Garret were willing to negotiate their practices and subject positions regarding childrearing, in order to minimise conflict, Nils's response to conflict was resistance. This response involved (a) reinforcing the value of his own practices, which were connected to his experience back home, and (b) rejection of the values and practices that were the norm in New Zealand.

In Rosa's lime, limers looked back to their own experiences of growing up in the Caribbean. They went back to the concept of tough love, this time manifested in childrearing.

"Everybody knows this" **Sam** said. "In all seriousness, when you younger and your mother tell you don't do something, and you go and do it. She tell you: 'Don't ride that bicycle.' You ride the bicycle, you fall down."

"Knowing you getting your arse cut" **Nina** interjected.

"You go now, scrap your elbow" **Sam** continued. "Your mother then come, take you up, rubs the alcohol, makes you holler, then asks 'You feel better?' 'Yes'. Then busts your arse."

"And then cut your arse" **Nina** said in unison.

"You hear, I tell you not to go outside" said **Sam**, imitating his mother's voice, laughing and swaying his hand in reminiscence. "'Are you going outside again? Are you going outside again?'"

"Tough love, tough love" **Nina** nodded.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 71

Sam and Nina's narrative has a humorous tone. As in the case of Garret's story about his uncle (**ole talk fragment 66**), the notions of respect and consequences are presented as part of the Caribbean cultural system. In the narrative, as both Nina and Sam highlighted, the child's contravention of the rules was represented to exemplify the underlying interpretive frameworks – boundaries were important and overstepping them would bring consequences ("knowing you getting your arse cut"). The mother's response to the child's behaviour was presented as an accepted strategy for teaching discipline and avoiding future overstepping. Tough love in this narrative was presented in the context of a caring relation, as Sam emphasised by telling how the mother tended to the bruise first, asked the child if they were feeling better, and then administered the disciplining.

Raising children as migrant parents: navigating culture

Negotiating and navigating culture and belonging with their children was an important component of many parents' representations of childrearing in a migrant context. Being the first generation to emigrate to New Zealand, parents recognised their fundamental role in making Caribbean cultural resources, practices, and networks available for their children. In Ana's lime, Aline brought up this topic repeatedly. For her, having a strong Caribbean community was of great importance, and she was shocked when, upon moving to New Zealand from the US, she realised the Caribbean community was much smaller in New Zealand.

"I think I had culture shock coming here than when I move to the US" **Aline** chuckled "because it's very… and you'd think coming to the US from Jamaica you'd have some sort of culture shock but, for me culture shock in the sense that I didn't realise there weren't that many Caribbean people. It's not what you actually expected."

Throughout the lime she referred to repeated personal efforts to encourage more connections among Caribbean people, in Wellington specifically. Her desire for her children's access to her home culture was one of the main objectives behind these efforts.

"One of my biggest things is to have the Caribbean kids learn their culture" **Aline** pointed out, while other limers nodded in agreement, "'cause a lot of the kids don't know their culture because there's nothing here. That was one of my main things that I wanted to do in Wellington."

Later in the lime **Aline** added "I didn't want my boys to grow up not knowing what the Jamaican culture is. And I figure that there are a lot of Caribbean kids there who didn't really know anything about the culture. So, it would be good to have something."

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 72

For Gina, keeping the culture alive for her children also involved keeping other Caribbean people close, even if that took the form of informal socialising.

"My kids are becoming too Kiwi!" **Gina** complained, and other limers chuckled. "My kids when I tell them 'St Lucia'… they don't even think so much about the Caribbean anymore. I don't mingle with, I didn't know many Caribbean people before. In fact, this is my first meeting with, I met you, I met you, I met you, and I don't know anyone else. It's like 'what is wrong with me?'"

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 73

For both Aline and Gina, it was important for their children to "learn their culture." However, in a small migrant community, as was the case of Caribbean people in New Zealand, access to resources and practices that may enable this learning was not readily available and required proactive effort. This was reflected in Aline's aspirations and intentions.

In Chloe's lime, Kenia reflected on her experience as the child of a Jamaican man who had migrated to New Zealand.

“I had very conscious parents” **Kenia** reflected. “They were very conscious of their identity, of bringing me to a new place. And they made a real concerted effort to... try and mediate some of the stuff I was going to get from the rest of the world. So, my dad, my mum, my parents, only let me play with black dolls. I had to go after school... To go and study with my dad, black history. They made sure I went back and stayed with my Jamaican family, my grandma. Every year or second year. I'd spend like three months with her.”

CHLOE’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 74

In Kenia’s representation of her parent’s efforts, she highlighted how their strategies revolved mostly around issues of race, although they still created links to Kenia’s Jamaican origins. Arguably, her parents’ considered race to be a more salient conflict than issues of origin; as the child of a Māori woman and Jamaican man, Kenia grew up as tangata whenua in Aotearoa. Unlike other children of Caribbean migrants, Kenia was not in the position of “being from elsewhere.” Even so, her parents consciously provided the resources they anticipated she would need to confront “the stuff” she was “going to get from the rest of the world.” Kenia’s experience was of great value for Cathy as a point of reference for what her own child was experiencing. During Kenia’s ole talk, Cathy asked several questions and said she was “fascinated” with Kenia’s experience. Afterwards, she shared her own perspective as a parent.

“The reason I'm so interested is because of what my son is going through” **Cathy** explained. “My son was born in Wales. He was born in England. He grew up in... most of his first five years in the Netherlands. And we emigrated to New Zealand. And we left for the provinces when we came because we were told that's where we were needed. And we went there to serve the people there. But we had a torrid experience. My son mostly. He hasn't lived in Germany, so he hasn't really had any backlash from that side of his identity. But he could. I'm very aware of that. But here he can't be British, he can't be Caribbean. He can't be Welsh. He can't be Kiwi, he can't be anything. Nobody actually accepts the person that he is. So... when I listen to you, I say, you know… we have to find a way. We have to find.... I have to find a way, because I put my son in this dilemma. He didn’t ask to be here. So, we have to find a way to navigate some sort of path forward. That is done by the person who’s done it before.”

CHLOE’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 75

In Aline and Gina’s ole talk, the shared aim was to strengthen the Caribbean cultural presence in order to ensure their children’s access to cultural practices and resources that allowed them to “learn their culture.” Conversely, Cathy’s aspirations were not related to enabling her child’s access to her culture but to the possibility of connecting with people who had navigated complex cultural environments themselves and were

able to share their experience. She did not see “being Caribbean” as a viable subject position for her son, whose experience and background was not easy to assign to single narratives of origin. She saw the complex migrant journey of her family as a dilemma she needed to help him navigate. She represented the experiences of others as valuable resources to make sense of the material and ideological disruption brought about by migration.

5.3. Cultural products and practices as tools for identity negotiation

In the foregoing sections, I have analysed limers' representations and discourses around immaterial attributes that they believed were related to what it meant for them to be Caribbean, especially in the context of their migrant experience. We discussed attributes related to a habitus of engaging as humans, values around family and childrearing, and the different strategies for imagining and representing home to others. However, the limers also used material cultural products to represent or enact their home culture. Of course, these representations went beyond the products themselves and into their uses and invested meaning. This is analysed in the next section.

Cultural products: rum, food and flavours

More than any other product from home, participants missed Caribbean food and seized any opportunity to access it, cook it, and share it. The limes we organised included sharing food, which was often prepared by the limers themselves, thus prompting food-related conversations at the beginning of the limes while participants got to know each other. These conversations often included the recipes and adaptations needed to prepare them with the products available in New Zealand.

That was the case in Chloe's lime, in which conversation about food was extended and rich (see, also, **ole talk fragment 21**). The conversation started around the food we were sharing and continued into reminiscing about our favourite Caribbean dishes, in connection to places back home.

"I love Roti" said **Aaron**. "With some good Indian curry…"

"Hmmm... yeah" responded **Oscar**, biting his lip.

"You know what I love? Buss up shot!" said **Suzie**. "I don't want roti anymore, and I want Buss up shot."

"When I was in Trinidad my sister introduced me to that" said **Oscar**. "I didn't taste the *pelau* and those... and BakeNshark…"

"Oh, BakeNShark! So good, so good. I've tried nothing like it in the world" **I** said.

"Every time I drove up that road, I'd stop for BakeNShark" **Suzie** continued.

"What is BakeNShark?" asked **Kenia**

"Bake is like a fried dumpling kind of thing with shark meat. It is a delicacy of Trinidad" **Oscar** explained.

"But it's so tasty" **Suzie** added.

"I don't know how they do it, because I don't like shark" **I** mumbled.

"Yes, Anabel is right. I don't know how they do it, but it tastes good" **Oscar** agreed. "And with doubles... same thing. Line is huge… right through the day, they can't have enough Bake N Shark."

"Yes, the queue goes for miles and if you are driving up to the beach" **Suzie** remembered. "Every car along the highway, stops for BakeNshark, because they are right there, on the highway. Before you get to Maracas."

CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 76

We continued to talk about food for a while, everyone bringing up the dishes they missed the most: doubles, *BakeNShark*, patties, curry goat, *Buss up shot*, and jerk chicken. This initial ole talk connected the group and set the scene for talk about home, adaptation and migrant journeys. But most importantly, sharing flavours from home was a sensory experience of coming together, beyond words. Several limers saw food as a salient way to represent their culture to others, by cooking for them:

"I cook for my flatmates" said **Mia**. "It makes me feel like I'm home. That there's a sense of community that is being built. It's nice. I think with my flatmates… it's a little annoying because they always want to help and I'm like, 'No! Sit and eat, it's fine. Let me do it right.'"

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 77

Mia's narrative was about representing home through food and flavour, with the sense of pride it entailed. She "wants to do it right." This desire emerged in several other conversations. In Garret's lime, participants confirmed that preparing Caribbean food

was an important part of their culture, especially when shared with others.

> "We have people over for dinner often, I will cook West Indian food" **Natalie** assured. "We go over somewhere; I bring West Indian food. People like to experience something different. They like to experience something new."
>
> **GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 78**

In this fragment, Natalie represented Caribbean food as something from her culture that she could have others experience. As such, it was important for her that the food was authentic and a true representation of home. This related to home cooking, but also for food-serving establishments that claimed Caribbean origins, as shown in the next fragment. In this, participants discussed the failure of a Caribbean restaurant in Wellington.

> "Remember that Bajan lady? Oh… she was useless" **Natalie** exclaimed. "We went there for dinner. We had to wait for like three hours and the food was not good. This was ten years ago. Food was not good and then when you suggested stuff to her, like you can get pepper sauce from this place, or you can get plantain, she was like 'I don't wanna know about it.' She closed up. She lasted what, a year?" she asked.
>
> "Yeah, about a year" responded **Garret**. "You could see the difference. That's not a true Caribbean, because Caribbean people take on one another's flavour. That why the cooking is so. Because we share. She was not willing to take on what she advised. You'd say, 'Oh this pepper sauce nice, I'll try it.'"
>
> "Yeah… and she was not willing to…" **Daisy** started.
>
> "My biggest disappointment with her is that none of it was authentic" **Natalie** continued. It didn't taste like food from home. Not even a knock off of food from home. And when you were trying to talk to her about it she was like 'No, I'm being this fancy chef.' If you are going to advertise yourself as a West Indian restaurant serve West Indian food. The things that we actually eat at home. Don't try and fancy it up."
>
> **GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 79**

In this fragment, participants brought up two undesirable attributes of the food and the practices around food of the restaurant in question: it was not authentic (i.e. it was "fancied up," and did not taste like food from home) and the person preparing the food did not take on the suggestions of Caribbean patrons. Garret deemed the owner's failure to do so as another argument for regarding the place as not authentically Caribbean or West Indian, because "Caribbean people take on one another's flavour."

Nevertheless, there were other positive examples, in which Caribbean food services received a positive response.

> "When I saw her at the festival, I did not move" said **Oscar**. I was just there buying everything. Pork, chicken, the goat, like 14 meals to leave with. For like two days after that I was having Jamaican meals."
>
> "I went and packed like 35 meals or something" **Suzie** seconded. She cooks for us, volunteers. For the festival."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 80**

In this fragment, Suzie and Oscar talked about the Aotearoa Steelband Festival, where there was a Caribbean food truck that was very popular with our people. As Suzie highlighted, in contrast to the narrative Natalie shared in the previous fragment, the person who was cooking the food was also sharing and connecting with other Caribbean people. Food is strongly connected with the practice of sharing, which was missing from the Wellington establishment.

During the lime, ole talk about recipes was frequent, and participants frequently shared the adaptations they made to recipes from back home, based on the ingredients they had access to in New Zealand. Jules, who had lived in New Zealand for over 50 years, talked about how she had modified the original Barbadian recipe of jug-jug, originally cooked with pigeon-peas. She also mentioned the implements she brought from home for cooking.

> "I make my jug–jug here with green peas. You don't make jug–jug? You cook pork, beef, chicken, you boil it with the peas and then you grind it. And then you put the guinea corn in it. I brought a cou–cou stick, and I have a buck–pot."
>
> **BEN'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 81**

Other participants had outdone Jules, bringing whole frozen products from the Caribbean. As Oscar pointed out, dishes and products that may be just a small part of everyday life back home, after migration gained added meaning, as a sensory route back

to home.

> “When I was on campus” said **Aaron,** “my Trini friends would freeze the doubles, bought a lot and brought them on the plane. Bags and bags of it. In Ziplock bags.”
>
> “Same with Jamaican patties” added **Oscar**, laughing. “Freeze them, same thing. The cultural differences, the fact that it’s made within the confines of their country, it has the additional flavour and that additional oomph, you can’t get it and you try to recreate it elsewhere.”
>
> **CHLOE’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 82**

Like food, rum was also discussed in many conversations as the quintessential Caribbean product and a source of pride for many limers. As a by-product of the regions’ sugar industry, rum production goes back hundreds of years in many Caribbean countries. Many participants described rum and rum culture as an integral part of everyday life in the region that went beyond commercial and branding structures, as do-it-yourself versions of the spirit are equally appreciated:

> “It’s a social thing” said **Rosa**, in reference to rum drinking in the Caribbean.
>
> “It’s like any island, you have sugar cane, they make sugar” **Nina** added. What is the next thing they are gonna do? Boil bush rum. Everybody drank, with the heat and thing. Bush rum. And it’s strong. Very strong.”
>
> **ROSA’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 83**

Bush rum is artisanal distilled drink, (also called “babash” or “mountain dew” in Trinidad, or “*chispa ‘e tren*” in Cuba) which despite being outlawed in many countries continues to be produced and consumed by locals. Appreciation for Bush rum can be found in visual arts and music throughout the region. An example is in the song *Babash* by the Trinidadian comedian and composer Dennis "Sprangalang" Hall (Hall D., 2019), a fragment of which follows, to illustrate how bush rum or babash is entrenched in the local imaginary, and associated with liming and socialisation as portrayed by Nina and Rosa in the earlier ole talk fragment.

> They won't legalise babash, let we party.
> when we liming, babash
> when we partying, babash
> when we drinking, babash
> socialising, babash
> if available, babash
> it's plenty trouble, babash
> babash we drinking
> babash we drinking (Hall D., 2019),

Large-scale rum commercialisation, however, was undertaken by the plantation masters, becoming a centuries-old industry from which the modern-day brands are derived. These brands were strongly positioned in participants' conversations for their quality and often represented with pride as part of each country's traditions.

> "We have the best rum in the world" assured **Nils**. "You have to remember, rum goes back to the 1600 in the Caribbean. Places like Mount Gay, Appleton... a lot of those places, they actually make the rum for hundreds and hundreds of years."
>
> "The smell and the flavour is stuck in the walls" added **Daisy.**
>
> "You go to those places and they are old" **Nils** continued. "They are 350 years old. And you go out in the world, and you see Mount Gay, and you see El Dorado, and you see Appleton. Because rum is Caribbean."
>
> **GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 84**

In limes in which several Caribbean nationalities were present, the prestige around rum production became grounds for friendly dispute.

> "But listen, Barbados is the home of rum" said **Sam**, smiling in provocation.
>
> "No, no. Guyana is the home of rum" refuted **Dani** quickly.
>
> "No, no…Trinidad" **Helen** jumped.
>
> "Rum is Caribbean" **Sam** smiled. "Barbados is the home of Mount Gay rum. Best rum in the world. Five years running."
>
> We all started talking over each other for a while, each presenting their arguments for their rum being the best.
>
> "We know about rum. Bush rum" said **Nina**, deviating from the conversation about commercial brands. You know where the sugar used to come from? Tobago. That's in our history too."
>
> **ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 85**

In addition to talking about rum as a product with deep cultural roots in the Caribbean, limers' talked about the practice of drinking and the imaginary around it, often in contrast to how they perceived the culture of drinking in New Zealand. Several limers posited that drinking (especially rum) was a practice that was normalised in the Caribbean, but they found binge drinking to be a less accepted practice back home. In Rosa's lime, participants found a relationship between the strict drinking restrictions in

New Zealand and binge drinking.

> "I say to myself" **Rosa** started "regarding the drinking, I think it has to do with their strict…"
>
> "I know, right?" **Nina** interjected in anticipation, nodding.
>
> "… their strict alcohol laws" **Rosa** continued. "Cause in Barbados everybody does drink, but not…"
>
> "Anywhere" **Nina** added. Further in the conversation she expanded on her view. "A big part of Palmy [Palmerston North, New Zealand], they block out saying you can't be seen drinking rum. That you are not supposed to drink rum in that area. That put me off. I don't want to go somewhere and have a drink and lime with this kind of restriction. I wanna drink where I wanna drink, how I wanna drink, when I wanna drink. That's what we are accustomed to."
>
> "Exactly. That's the Caribbean thing" **Renee** summed up.
>
> "But I don't wanna go and buy something" continued **Nina** "and then someone 'Ma'am, you are not supposed to be drinking here.' And I be like 'what the hell?' Especially if it's just one drink. I'm not a chronic alcoholic, you understand. We drink occasionally. Oh gosh, and a big black woman like me, has to bring ID [identity] card. Do I look like a baby to you?"
>
> **ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 86**

In this fragment, Rosa, Nina and Renee refer to a Caribbean drinking culture where the ability to drink freely and spontaneously was valued. To "go somewhere and have a drink and lime," as Nina said, was the point of consuming alcohol. As I have discussed elsewhere in this thesis, liming can occur anywhere and is often unplanned. Rum is frequently a component of liming, which in the Caribbean is not an issue and there are few restrictions on drinking in public spaces. In New Zealand, however, drinking is regulated by strict restrictions, and demarcations of permanent alcohol ban areas. For Nina, this restriction went against the essentially unstructured nature of the liming practice that "we are accustomed to" of which drinking was a part (i.e. drinking itself was not the main practice) and that put her off. Earlier in the lime Nina had described rum drinking in the Caribbean (**ole talk fragment 83**) as a highly normalised activity that related to practices going back hundreds of years. The structures and regulations around drinking in New Zealand were therefore considered disruptive to the point that drinking was no longer a pleasurable practice for her.

Language and accents as cultural practices

As a ubiquitous presence in our daily life, language is not often an object of attention. While we may think about the content of what we are communicating to others and vice

versa, when living in a shared language environment, where our ways of speaking are the norm, our use of language, our accent, slang, and mannerisms are rarely noted. It is not uncommon to hear people saying, “I don’t have an accent,” when they live in their home country. Accents are often a marker of otherness. If someone has an accent, it means their mode of speaking differs from ours. As Beinhoff (2013) noted, accents become identity markers that allow us to perceive and recognise the identities of other individuals, thus playing a key role in constructing the overall image of other persons. In the limes, the importance of language and accent in identity construction, especially in relation to others, was salient.

Some participants represented language and accent in their conversations as an important component of their cultural identity and as part of what “home” meant. Robert, in Ana’s lime in Wellington, posited that language conveyed connection to a place, and when shared, brought a sense of ease to human interactions.

> “In the Caribbean” said **Robert**, “it’s a connection to a place. It’s the sounds, actually, the sound of somebody’s accent or somebody’s mannerisms, it brings some sort of familiarity to the things that we talked about. You’re going out there and you don’t…people don’t understand you.”
>
> **ANA’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 87**

Accent and a characteristically Caribbean use of language and slang were important cultural resources mentioned by limers in relation to the articulation of their identities in New Zealand. Limers viewed Caribbean accents and slang as resources for cultural representation and distinction, and several referred to intentionally maintaining it and using it with pride, as in the case of Garret and Natalie in Garret’s lime.

At the very beginning of the lime, when we had set the scene for talking about Caribbean cultural identity in New Zealand, language was the first cultural resource that Garret brought to the conversation.

"We have language, the lingo" said **Garret**. That is consistent, no matter where people go."

Later in the lime, **Natalie** shared how she kept her accent and use of slang and what that represented in her daily interactions at home and work.

"This is how I'll talk to my husband more often than not" said **Natalie**, smiling at her Kiwi husband who joined our lime. "That's how he understands everything we are saying. I mean every now and then he throws it back in your face." We all laughed, including Natalie's husband. "I mean, yes, I put it out in my house" she continued. "When he sees my parents… he sees my parents five times a week on Skype or Facetime or some sort of social media. He hears the talk from them. I am not changing the way I talk at all. I am not changing the way I do things. Using Caribbean lingo at work, co–workers of over ten years, they make fun of me, they pick up on words, they understand, they ask questions about it."

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 88

In Natalie's reference, she emphasised how her use of language was not transformed when she talked with her husband and colleagues who were Kiwis. On the contrary, her husband and colleagues took on, imitated, used, and humoured the distinctive features of Natalie's use of language as part of their relationship.

In addition to sharing experiences in relation to their accent and use of language as Caribbean people in New Zealand, participants used accent to demarcate an alien cultural environment, a cultural space that differed from their own. Natalie, in Garret's lime, for example, was narrating how growing up in a big Caribbean migrant community in Toronto was similar to growing up in the Caribbean, as many aspects of everyday life reproduced the habitus from back home. Upon entering school, however, she no longer felt wrapped around by her culture. She represented this change with a switch from the Caribbean accent she had been using in her narrative to a Canadian one (marked in red in the following fragments).

"I spent most of my life living in Toronto, but in a big West Indian Community. I still grew up eating the food, talking like this, you know what I mean? but when I went to school, **everything changes, and you speak in a completely different way**."

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 89

Similarly, when Sheila was narrating her experience about growing up in Guyana, in a multi-racial family, she reinforced the British accent of her narrative to demarcate the

ambit of the British Ambassador's residence, a space where her white mother was welcome, but her black father was not.

> "My mother was able to **go to the ambassador's residence, for afternoon tea**. But my father? [*steups*] And I couldn't understand what was happening, I was about six. And then I understood it was just for white people."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 90**

In both cases, limers used an explicit change of accent to demarcate foreign territory, to express in their discourse that they were referring to the space of the other (a Canadian School, or the British ambassador's residence).

Religion

In most limes, religion was not a salient topic, although some limers occasionally located their narratives against the background of church-going practices. In the Palmerston North lime, Sam assured that "no matter where in the Caribbean, there is a strong belief in God." In the Cuban lime, however, religion, specifically *Santería*[37] the Cuban manifestation of the Yoruba religion, was discussed in strong connection with limers' cultural identities *Santería* is deeply embedded in Cuban culture, and for practitioners and non-practitioners alike it was part of their daily life experience.

In these participants' conversations, the Yoruba religion was strongly linked with Cuban culture, and practitioners felt pride in preserving their faith throughout their migrant experience. For some limers, such as Yandi, Yoruba provided a link that enabled him to connect with New Zealand through a strong bond with nature. This provided a sense of belonging in a context where Yandi was struggling to find elements of connection as a migrant.

[37] The Yoruba religion was brought to Cuba by enslaved African people, especially from Nigeria, and was syncretised with Catholicism as a result of the ongoing repression of the African religious practices (Pichardo, 1998)

Yandi había estado compartiendo historias los primeros meses después de haber emigrado a Nueva Zelanda, cuando señaló la naturaleza del país y la conexión que encontró con la religión Yoruba como uno de los punto de giro en su experiencia.

"Ahí me encanto Nueva Zelanda" compartió ***Yandi*** *"y empecé a conectarme con la naturaleza y a plantar árboles y a hacer trabajos voluntario y cosas así y me acople a la situación de la cultura y yo creo que para mí como cubano es muy importante reconocer mis raíces y como todo el sistema yoruba era el sistema de la naturaleza, así es que yo me siento cubano aquí en Nueva Zelanda porque amo la naturaleza. Es la conexión que siento con el espíritu que hay en este país por la naturaleza que es muy fuerte.*

COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 91

Yandi had been sharing stories the first few months after having emigrated to New Zealand, when he pointed out the nature of the country and the connection he found with the Yoruba religion as one of the turning points in his experience.

"And then I started to love New Zealand" **Yandi** shared. "I started to connect with nature, to plant trees and volunteering, things like that. And I adjusted to the situation. I think that for me as a Cuban it is very important to acknowledge my roots. And all the Yoruba system was the system of nature. So, I feel Cuban here in New Zealand, because I love nature. It is the connection I feel with the spirit that inhabits this country that is very strong.

CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 91

Yandi talked about how difficult it was to adjust to different aspects of life in New Zealand, including social structures, and people's ways of relating and the language, which he found challenging to learn as an adult. Although on arriving in New Zealand Yandi struggled to connect socially, he was able to find a meaningful connection to his new country through Yoruba religion, which is deeply rooted in nature. Once this connection with the land was established, the other differences were less salient, and he was able to "feel Cuban in New Zealand." He reinforced this position later in the lime by talking about his respect for Māori as tangata whenua, who, having traditional authority over the land, could welcome him into it.

"Yo creo que es muy importante para cualquier persona que emigre a otro país que reconozca y valore a los nativos. Y si tú te puedes llevar con esa gente es como que eres bienvenido a su territorio, como respeto."

COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 92

"I think it is very important for anyone who migrates to another country to recognise and acknowledge the indigenous people. If you connect with these people, it's like you're welcome in their territory, like… respect."

CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 92

Miguel also talked about the Yoruba religion as one of the practices he had retained from home. He brought it up in response to a question I had asked about his ways of keeping in touch with Cuban culture in his daily life in New Zealand.

"Yo lo conservo todo" dijo ***José****, "imagínate que desde que yo entro a mi casa tengo una bandera cubana así en una pared porque yo soy cubano 100%. Todos los días me levanto y digo 'Maferefun Orula, Maferefun Olofi' porque tengo hecho Yemayá, tengo los collares en mi carro y soy religioso y se lo enseño a todo el mundo. Y yo soy cubano, olvídate de eso. Es parte de la cultura."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 93***	"I keep everything" said **José**, "Just imagine, when you enter my house, the first thing you see is a Cuban flag in my wall. Because I am 100% Cuban. Every day I get up and say '*Maferefun Orula, Maferefun Olofi'*. Because I have *Yemayá* invested, I have the necklaces in my car. I am religious and I show it to everyone and I'm Cuban, forget about it. It is part of the culture."[36] **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 93**

For Miguel, the practice of Yoruba religion was as Cuban as a flag on his wall. "It's part of the culture." Miguel talked about how he literally carried with him the artefacts of his religion. The *collares de Santería*[39] (*Santería* necklaces) are an important component of the Yoruba religion rites of passage in Cuba, and represent the protection of the gods for those who carry them. In Cuba, they show that the person who carries them practises *Santería*. Although it is expected that in New Zealand they would not have the same meaning, Miguel exhibited them regardless, as a valued aspect of his religion, which he deemed a key component of his culture.

[38] *Maferefun* is a term to ask for a deity's blessing. Orula, Olofi and Yemayá are deities in the Yoruba pantheon. The expression "tengo hecho santo" in Spanish, roughly translates to "I have a saint invested", which means that the person, a practitioner of Santería, has gone through the rituals if initiation and has been assigned a protecting deity, in Miguel's case, Yemayá.

[39] Also called *elekes* or *iñales*.

Mariposa referred to a more discreet way of practising the same religion but conferred on it the same weight in terms of representation of self and culture.

"Yo también, aunque no lo parezca" dijo ***Mariposa*** *"y tenga todos los títulos que tenga, practico la religión afrocubana. Eso viene conmigo y no lo he dejado en Cuba ni lo voy a dejar, eso es parte de mí"* *"Mariposa trajo a todo el mundo en el equipaje" dije* ***yo****, riéndome.* *"Si a mí me empiezan a pedir visa y pasaporte de todo el que yo traje estaría en serios problemas" bromeo* ***Mariposa,*** *riéndose. "Es que eso es parte de mi cultura, viene de mis raíces, de mis ancestros, de mi tradición familiar y lo mantengo aquí; muy discretamente, eso es para mí."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 94***	"Although it may not look like it" said **Mariposa** "and regardless of all the degrees I have, I practise Afro–Cuban religion. That comes with me and I have not stopped practising. And I won't stop. It's part of me." "Mariposa brought all the saints in her luggage" **I** said laughing. "If they start asking for visas and passports for all of them I would be in serious trouble" **Mariposa** joked, laughing. "It is part of my culture, it comes from my roots, from my ancestors, from my family tradition and I keep it here; very discreetly, it's for me." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 94**

Mariposa's reflection about her religious practices started with her acknowledgement that, as a scientist, she did not conform to the stereotype that she thought many people had about practitioners of Afro-Cuban religions, which is that they are uneducated or ignorant. She emphasised, however, that her religion "came with her" and that she was not willing to leave it behind. Her expression about her religion coming with her triggered a *jodedera*, for which, as described in previous sections, no topic is too sacred. We were joking about the fact that the practice of the Yoruba religion involves artefacts that relate to different deities, and bringing such artefacts with you, symbolically equals bringing your gods, so an image of them of going through customs with Mariposa made us laugh. Like Miguel, Mariposa found her religion to have a strong link to her culture, her roots, and her family tradition.

Leisure, liming, dance and music

During the limes, participants discussed their experiences around leisure activities upon migrating to New Zealand. Two main patterns could be found in participants' conversations around leisure time. The first revolved around using cultural products and practices for identification, not only with cultural products and practices associated with

their home countries but also as a bridge to the culture of their new country. The second revolved around participants' unmet expectations around leisure activities in New Zealand, especially liming. In these conversations, comparisons with New Zealanders' ways of engaging in leisure activities –sometimes perceived as different - were frequent.

When I asked Miguel about his connection with Cuban culture, he mentioned the use of music as a way of illustrating his culture to others.

"Todo el que vaya a mi casa" dijo ***Miguel*** *"lo que se pone en mi casa es música cubana y yo lo que te voy a introducir es eso."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 95***	"Everyone who goes to my house" said **Miguel**, "what I play in my house is Cuban music and that's what I'm going to share with you." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 95**

Sharing was a fundamental component of Miguel's use of Cuban music. Later in the lime he went deeper into how Cuban music and dance were tools for connecting with the community when he first settled in New Zealand. This connection through music and dance was so fulfilling, Miguel defined it as "the most beautiful thing that happened to him here."

"Fue lo más lindo que me pasó" recordó ***Miguel****. "Cuando llegué aquí nadie entendía por lo menos en ese lugar, que es un pueblo, es un campo, son gente de finca, gente que trabaja la tierra, en las factorías, el petróleo, es diferente. Pero la gente te recibía súper bien cuando tú dices que eres de Cuba y amas tu país. Cuando tú le explicas a ellos 'me gusta de donde yo soy, me gusta mi baile, ven que te lo voy a enseñar.' Llegué a ahí y yo nunca he sido bailarín, hice mi escuela de baile ahí. Tenía más de veinte de bailarines."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 96***	"It's the most beautiful thing that happened to me here" **Miguel** remembered. "When I arrived here, no one understood what I was saying, at least in that place. It was a small town in the countryside. They are farm people, people who work the land, who work in factories, oil, it is different. But people receive you very warmly, when you tell them you are from Cuba and love your country. When you explain to them 'I like where I am from, I like my way of dancing, come, I'll teach you.' I've never been a dancer, but I started my own dance school there. I had more than twenty dancers." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 96**

In ole talk fragment 96, Miguel reflected on the ways in which dancing had helped him connect with his new community in New Zealand and overcome language barriers. Miguel used dancing as a way of affirming his culture and sharing it with others, as well

as to make a living. Miguel noted that, back in Cuba, dancing was not a salient cultural practice for him. In New Zealand, however, when interacting was difficult because "no one understood what he was saying," dancing gained value as a resource for building relationships and connecting with others.

Yandi shared a similar experience with music, which, alongside his connection with nature, allowed him to connect with New Zealand and "express himself positively."

"Y un día, mira esto es muy interesante" nos contó ***Yandi*** *con énfasis. "Esto fue lo que me cambio la vida en este país. Estaba yo caminando por la playa con mi güiro*[40] *improvisando y de momento me entro algo por dentro que me cambio la vida en ese momento y ahí yo como que me di cuenta que podía usar el canto como una manera de expresarme positiva aquí."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 97***	"And one day, look at this is very interesting" **Yandi** emphasised. "This was what changed my life in this country. I was walking along the beach with my *güiro*[38] improvising… and suddenly something happened inside of me that changed my life. I realised that I could use singing as a way to express myself positively here." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 97**

Like Miguel, Yandi used music (singing, in his case) as a tool of resilience. Yandi and Miguel's migrant journeys were comparable in that they both arrived in New Zealand at a young age and speaking a beginner level of English. These elements combined, made for a difficult process of settlement in their new country. They both returned to cultural practices from their home culture, in which they were proficient, to enable their adjustment to their new sociocultural environment.

Another strand of conversations revolved around unmet expectations, specifically regarding liming, either due to not having access to liming in their place of residence, or because similar leisure activities in New Zealand were too different. Mariposa, who lived in a small province of New Zealand, complained about not having access to liming, especially the type Cubans call "fiesta" which involves music and dancing as a central component.

[40] *Güiro*: Latin American percussion instrument consisting of an open-ended, hollow gourd with parallel notches cut in one side.

"Ese pueblo es súper aburrido" dijo ***Mariposa****, "no hay nada que hacer, las fiestas las tienes que hacer tú, porque si no, no hay fiesta. Y la hacemos."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 98***	"That town is super boring" said **Mariposa**. "There is nothing to do, you have to throw the parties yourself. If not, there is no party. And so we do." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 98**

For Mariposa, *fiestas we*re an important leisure activity, and its absence made a place boring, so she organised her own. Linda, on the other hand, shared her experience of going to fiestas with her partner who was a New Zealander, but still unable to engage in the leisure activity the way she was used to, resulting in unmet expectations.

"Eso fue lo que me pasó al principio" conto ***Linda****. "Mi pareja me llevaba a una fiesta de estas de muchachos jóvenes donde se ponían a darse unas borracheras perras y lo único que hacían era fumar y oler mierda. Y yo: 'cuando es que la gente se pone a bailar?'"* **COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 99**	"That was what happened to me at the beginning" **Linda** explained. "My partner took me to one of these parties with youths, who got black out drunk, all they did was smoke and sniff shit. And I was like 'when are these people going to start dancing?'" **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 99**

Linda shared this narrative in the context of her early experience in New Zealand, as one of the things she found clashing with her own customs, and that made her miss home. Whereas Mariposa complained about not having access to parties in her town, Linda did not find satisfaction in the parties she had access to in Auckland. Taking part in cultural activities that differed considerably from their equivalent back home resulted in unmet expectations, as discussed at length in Rosa's lime. In this case, participants focussed on desirable features of liming as a cultural practice (e.g. flexible timing, spontaneity, and close, informal and familiar ways of interacting) which they contrasted with the more structured way of socialising in New Zealand.

“Boy, listen to me” said **Nina**. “Back home, we lime until they clean. When you see lights flicking and they picking bottles up, you say, maybe we could go home now.”

“When you are by somebody’s house” **Renee** added “and the person want to let you out and they say: ‘Oh, it’s time for me to sleep’ and you say “Oh, you go sleep we are fine Liming here!’”

Everybody cracked up laughing.

“Or you sleep on the couch or on the floor” continued **Rosa.**

“Last night, the party… 12.00 on the dot. Lock off” **Dani** complained.

“Everything shuts down here early” **Sam** remarked. “We are like, rum done? We gonna buy more, right?”

“Yes, sure!” responded **Nina**. “Me ain’t going until they clean!”

ROSA’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 100

In this description of liming, participants reflected their expectations around the practice, including flexible timing, and a familiar attitude from the host. Underlying these expectations, one can find the habitus of human relations discussed in previous sections. Being comfortable liming at someone’s house until they clean, or continuing to lime after the host has gone to bed, points to the kind of openness and closeness in human relations that limers considered a salient Caribbean attribute. This habitus is embedded in the shared notion of what liming entails and is arguably taken for granted in a Caribbean setting.

In Cuba, the sense of relaxation in each other’s spaces that is described in the fragment above, and that is inherent in the liming environment, is summed up in the phrase “*tener confianza con alguien*.” This roughly translates to English as “having a trusting relationship with someone,” although this translation is insufficient in conveying the meaning of “*confianza”* as understood in Cuba. When looking for English equivalents, most expressions have a negative connotation when describing behaviours like those in Fragment 100, such as, for example, being overfamiliar, presumptuous, forward or cheeky. Having *confianza* in a relationship, however, means that behaviours such as those described by the limers were not interpreted as overfamiliar or cheeky but culturally accepted as part of the liming environment. Arguably, *confianza* is necessary for a good lime. It allows limers to relax, timing to be flexible, and the liming environment to flow without constraints. Hence Dani, Sam and Nina pointed to the incongruence of having an “end time” to a lime.

The liming environment enabled by *confianza* and other dynamics analysed before, such as *relajo*, and *jodedera*, is not easy to describe precisely. It is a mode of relaxation, a specific habitus of shared leisure that participants did not find in spaces of socialisation they had access to after migrating to New Zealand. For example, in the following fragment, participants discussed the leisure practice of going out to a pub to have a drink, which they described as an accessible way to socialise in Wellington. The practice, however, failed to fulfil their expectations and, as evidenced in the following fragment, it was not easy to identify what exactly was missing.

> "Might as well you just stay home and ting because it's almost like going out there and wasting your money" **Seb** affirmed. "You chuck down the beer but there's nothing really going on to kind of… you know"
>
> "Wasting your money!" **Gina** added.
>
> "It's boring, Jesus!" exclaimed **Aline**.
>
> "It is boring 'cause you know we're chill people" **Gina** explained. "We always have been. I mean nobody can be like us. No other people are like Caribbean people so we don't expect them to be like us. There's just a certain…. you know…"
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 101**

Seb argued that "there is nothing going on" when he goes to the pub, other than the drinking itself, but he did not go further into what he was expecting to be going on. Aline found it boring, and Gina agreed but struggled to explain why. She observed a discrepancy between "our" habitus of liming and "theirs." For Gina, although "we don't expect them to be like us," because "no other people are like Caribbean people," the components of socialisation that were missing for her, made the activity pointless. "Might as well you just stay home and ting," in Seb's words. Gina did point to the fact that we are "chill people," which connects with the notion of *confianza* outlined earlier s an enabling element for liming, which is something the limers had not been able to find in other leisure activities such as going to a pub.

The limers who took part in the conversations analysed above came have diverse backgrounds, life stories, ages and even languages. There were, however, unmistakable similarities in the participants' perspectives on Caribbean ways of leisure and socialising. There was also shared frustration due to the clash participants experienced with the New Zealand ways. Arguably this alignment of standpoints was favoured by the environment in which the conversations occurred, i.e. Caribbean islanders discussing their experience in a migrant context. This setting was likely to minimise the differences between individual approaches and experiences and exacerbate the points in

common, as well as the clashes with the dominant culture in New Zealand. It was clear, however, that participants yearned for access to modes of leisure and socialisation that were consistent with their habitus, which many struggled to find after moving out of the Caribbean. Individuals who settled in bigger, more concentrated Caribbean migrant communities (e.g. London or Toronto) had more access to familiar leisure practices, even though the mainstream culture of their new country was different. In smaller and more disperse communities like New Zealand, participants struggled to access leisure practices that met their expectations.

Chapter conclusion

In chapter 4, I defined cultural identity as the articulation of individual subjectivity with collective discourses within a cultural system. Through this articulation, we construct our interpretive frameworks (i.e. the structures of meaning we use to guide and interpret behaviour and practice) and our subject positions (i.e. our ways of representing ourselves as social and cultural agents). Since our interpretive frameworks and subject positions are constructed within the cultural system of our home countries, when we migrate, and our experience shifts to a different cultural system (that of our new country), a process of negotiation takes place. In this chapter, I analysed how this process of negotiation was represented in the limes, regarding our habitus of relating as humans, our approach to childrearing and family relations and the meaning assigned to cultural products and practices that emerged as culturally relevant to Caribbean migrants. In the next chapter, I discuss the process through which limers constructed narratives of origin and the meaning assigned to these narratives when constructing ethnicity and place-based positionings in the context of migration.

Chapter 6: Narratives of origin

Ethnicity and place-based positioning

In this chapter, I analyse how participants constructed narratives of origin (regarding place and ethnicity) and how they used these narratives to position themselves when relating to others. As discussed in this chapter, this process of ethnicity and origin-based positioning generated conflict in two ways: first, when participants' narratives of origin were not understood by others, and second, when the positive meaning participants attached to their narratives of origins clashed with negative stereotypes in others' interpretive frameworks.

6.1. Caribbean or West Indian? Choosing regional denominations

When choosing a regional origin denomination participants touched on the meaning behind the two historical nomenclatures for the region and its people: West Indies and Caribbean.

> "What do you think of using West Indian versus Caribbean?" **Seb** asked. "Which one do you think people would be able to recognise?"
>
> "The thing with West Indian is that it's more a colonial term" **Robert** responded.
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 102**

As Robert pointed out, the politics around the two terms assign West Indian a colonial connotation, not only because the origin of the name stems from the early European colonisers' failed quest for a new route to India, but because it was used in colonial political and administrative structures up until the 1970's. "Caribbean," on the other hand, stems from one of the indigenous tribes of the region, the Caribs. Its contemporary use is related to post-independence institutions such as CARICOM[41] and carries a wider and integrationist understanding of the region to include continental territories such as Belize, Colombia, and Guyana.

An analysis of how often both terms were used across the eight limes shows that the total usage of "Caribbean" (used 256 times across the limes) was much wider than "West Indian" (used just 46 times across the limes) as a gerund, as well as to name artefacts and practices pertaining to the region. The usage of "West Indies" over "Caribbean" was often connected with the region's cricket team, which had not changed its name since colonial times.

> "When people ask me" said **Suzie** "I don't say 'the Caribbean'. I just say I am from the West Indies and they say 'Oh, cricket, cricket'"
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 103**

[41] The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is an organisation of fifteen Caribbean nations and dependencies having primary objectives to promote economic integration and cooperation among its members, to ensure that the benefits of integration are equitably shared, and to coordinate foreign policy **(CARICOM, 2020)**

Ben made a similar association.

> "I'm a West Indian. I'm playing for the West Indies. Not for Caribbean" **Ben** assured. "I'm a West Indian, as long as they play, win or lose, that's my team."
>
> **BEN'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 104**

An analysis of Google queries [42] in the last 15 years confirms that "Caribbean" is more widely used in online searches than is "West Indies," both worldwide and within the region, but the usage of "West Indies" in online queries peaks during the cricket season (Google Trends, 2019), –see **Appendix F** for more details.

There were few discussions about the politics of the terms, and most participants spontaneously chose to use one term over the other, without going further into explaining their rationale. However, a detailed analysis of the terms' usage by different age groups shows considerable variation. Younger limers were far more likely to use "Caribbean," while older people were likely to use "West Indian," as **Figure 25** shows. The context outlined above arguably conditions younger participants, born after Caribbean independence, to have more exposure and be more likely to use "Caribbean" over "West Indian," while older participants keep using the term they learned growing up.

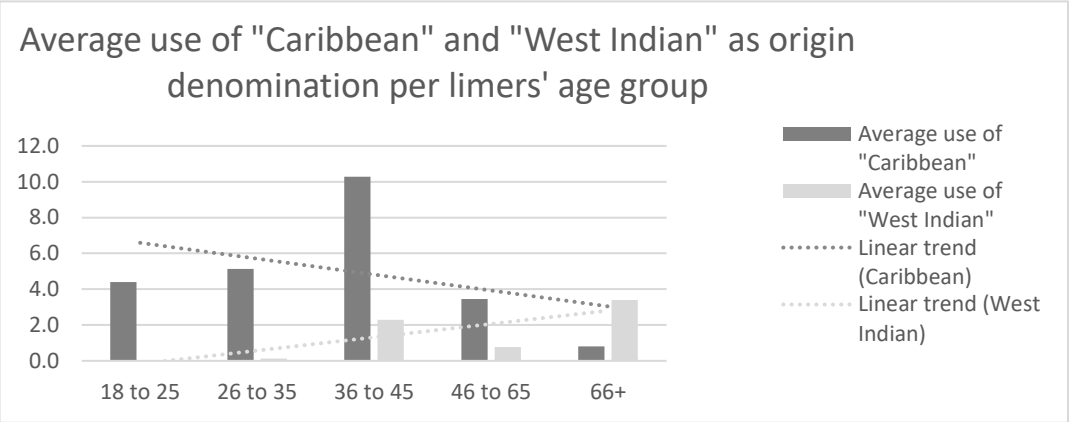

Figure 25: Use of the terms "Caribbean" and "West Indian" by age group

[42] This excludes frequent searches for "Caribbean cruises" and "Pirates of the Caribbean"

6.2. Is that in Africa? Unrecognised narratives of origin

Locating one's origins when engaging with others can be a significant symbolic act. It goes beyond locating ourselves on a geographic map and conveys meaning about who we are, our heritage and our culture. Place-based expressions of identity were an important part of how limers positioned themselves in interactions with others. Participants used their home country, region and ethnicity as points of reference for positioning themselves (a) when establishing interpersonal relationships, and (b) when required to by social structures or institutions. For Oscar, misinterpreted references to his country of origin generated frustration and uncertainty in himself, but also in the interlocutor who was unable to attach meaning to the reference Oscar was trying to make.

> "As soon as I say I'm from Jamaica" shrugged **Oscar** "then you hear no response, and I say 'it's in the Caribbean'. Then they would just say that to me: 'where… where in Africa is the Caribbean?' I'm like 'no bro. It's not in Africa. If… if you're looking at it think about America. The United States is just below, South America just above. (…) It's a collection of islands similar to what you have here in the Pacific.' And then after a while they become so perplexed that whatever preconceived notion of how they would categorise you in their mind now gets totally...and they will dismiss you."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME OLE TALK FRAGMENT 105**

Many limers used their previous experiences to actively choose one positioning over others, depending on the interpretive frameworks their interlocutor was expected to have. Participants from small island countries, such as was Garret, specified:

"I would say 'Vincy'[43] to a West Indian."

[43] National of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

This conscious choice of a shared point of reference to represent home emerged not only in regard to smaller islands but also for larger Caribbean countries, with more media presence, such as is Barbados.

Jackie pointed out that "When people here asked around, I said 'Barbados.' Because I knew that everyone here is from…they would know."

Later in the lime **Natalie** explained how, depending on their frame of experience, individuals may or may not understand "West Indian" as a place reference.

"Sometimes I say I am West Indian, and then people who know cricket automatically understand what you are talking about. People who don't know cricket, go, so... 'is that the West of India?'"

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 106

Other limers such as Sheila (Guyana), Cathy (St Vincent) and Suzie (Trinidad and Tobago) operated on the assumption that, in most interpersonal interactions outside of the Caribbean community, people would not recognise their country of origin, so they attempted to find a mutually meaningful point of reference.

"I wouldn't expect anyone here to know where Guyana is" said **Sheila**.

"Fair enough, I agree" **Cathy** backed her.

"As soon as I say 'have you ever heard of Venezuela?' Ah! they know straight away. But I could understand that they don't know where Guyana is" **Sheila** continued.

"When I say 'Trinidad' people always say 'oh, Jamaica'" added **Suzie**. "Say 'South America' then they get a bit confused."

CHLOE'S LIME OLE TALK FRAGMENT 107

Interacting with others, participants could resort to a range of strategies to convey their origin meaningfully. This involved forethought and drawing on previous experiences to adapt their explanation to the others' interpretive frameworks. The effort put into these strategies varied, depending on the importance of the interlocutor or their attitude during the interaction. Jackie for example, shared how she had a succinct reply to the question

"Coming here" said **Jackie**, **"**if people ask me where I'm from, I would normally just say 'Caribbean.' Because I feel that they know where that is. Where that area is. More than saying 'Barbados.' Because then they will ask, 'where is that?' and I don't feel like explaining. So, I just say 'Caribbean.' Then if someone asks further, 'where in the Caribbean?' then I would say... 'I just feel like Caribbean is the whole thing and Barbados is the part.'"

GARRET'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 108

of "where are you from?" but was willing to make more lengthy explanations for those who showed an interest in where she comes from.

The senseless census: failure to represent origin accurately

The foregoing section outlines how participants used different strategies to choose relevant ethnicity and place-based expressions of identity in interpersonal interactions. However, when the process of origin-based identity expression was constrained by pre-established categories, the available strategies were abridged. In ole talk about ethnic categories inside the census, participants agreed that they could not find one that was suitable for their identification. Additionally, they expressed their frustration with what they saw as a confusion between nationality and ethnicity.

> "So here, institutions get confused about nationality and ethnicity" **Sheila** started. "The senseless census. You put 'Africa' – which country? 'Pacific Islands' – which country? It's so simple. I always put 'mulatto.' And then I get asked, 'what's mulatto?' And I'm like 'Google it!'"
>
> "It's because they identify… the same happens with the forms at uni" **Oscar** continued. "I always go under 'other.' But you see, you are talking about European, Polynesian, Pasifika, you see South America … nothing else. And I feel like, mine is not here, what should I do? And that's the question that you ask about how to identify and what's the point?"
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 109**

In the 2018 census classification sheets, used for coding and output purposes, ethnic categories were organised in six "level one" groups, including the European, Māori, Pacific Peoples, Asian and the Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (MELAA) groups, within which two subcategories were relevant to Caribbean respondents: Caribbean and Jamaican[44]. In the 2013 census, to which participants were referring, the relevant categories were West Indian and Jamaican.

According to Statistics NZ, when collecting ethnicity information, people can state their specific ethnicities without being forced to identify themselves in a more general category grouping of ethnicities. The 2018 questionnaire was designed so that detailed ethnic group information could be collected, and responses could be grouped later into wider ethnic categories. However, unlike larger ethnic groups such as Pasifika, Chinese and Indian, Caribbean respondents were not able to select "West Indian" or "Jamaican"

[44] "Caribbean" is a new category of the 2018 census, in substitution of "West Indian" (Stats NZ, 2013) (StatsNZ, 2018).

when stating their ethnicity. To be able to be counted as either, they would have had to select “other” and specify further. Individual ethnic groups were aggregated into progressively broader ethnic groups from level three up to level one, according to geographical location or origin, or cultural similarities. The classification reflected responses received and was made up of geographic, nationality and ethnic group terms.

In the ole talk excerpt above, Sheila stressed that the census categories did not reflect her ethnicity accurately, and she wrote “mulatto” as her preferred categorisation. Although in some academic literature the term is considered offensive, it is in common usage in some Caribbean countries, to describe a person of mixed white and black ancestry. Sheila’s positioning was not a confusion between race and ethnicity, but a commentary on the insufficiency of a single category to reflect the ethnic diversity of the Caribbean region, where large groups of the population identify ethnically with their Indian, African, Asian, European or mixed origins. From an operational perspective, and given the small size of the Caribbean community in New Zealand, this grouping within the census is understandable. However, from the perspective of individual migrants, this generates a void in official options for ethnic identification.

During Garret’s lime, Natalie reflected on how she went out of her way to ensure she was accurately identified, as adopting a unified collective categorisation strategy in the past resulted not only in a generalisation of her ethnic identity but in it being wrongly interpreted.

> “If I'm filling paperwork, it is always ‘Indo–Caribbean’” said **Natalie**. “Because the perception here... I used to put ‘Caribbean’ early on, and then it came back saying ‘black’. This is when I was filling a form in the DHB [District Health Board]. It came back ‘African,’ that’s what it came back as. Otherwise I would quite happily identify as Caribbean.”
>
> **GARRET’S LIME OLE TALK FRAGMENT 110**

In this case, Natalie’s defining of herself as Indo-Caribbean was a response, in the first instance, to the incorrect perception of others about what it is to be a Caribbean person. Although “Caribbean” is a satisfactory representation of place for her individual identification, when this reference was interpreted incorrectly by institutional others, she felt the need to specify further. Defining herself as Indo-Caribbean then became a strategy of ethnic distinction.

In New Zealand, census ethnic data[45] informs resource allocation, policy development, research, is used to monitor ethnic diversity so that services can be appropriately targeted, and to assist in the planning of services directed at the special needs of ethnic groups in areas such as education, housing, health, and social welfare (StatsNZ, 2016). Consequently, appropriate ethnic categorisation in the census means being visible to policymakers, having a voice, and being officially recognised as an ethnic community within the country's cultural mosaic. Additionally, there is a symbolic implication for migrants in finding (or not) an appropriate category in the New Zealand population census, i.e. our ability as a community to be officially and collectively represented. Ana's lime in Wellington took place weeks before the 2018 population census was due to be conducted. Seb started the discussion about the topic.

"I have a question sorry, the census, the census that's coming up… What are you gonna put?" **Seb** asked.

Gina was the first to respond. Although in a previous conversation she had pointed out that being from the Caribbean was something she was proud of, when it came to the census she prepared to be unable to find a suitable category. "'Other, I'll say other,'" **Gina** said.

"I'm gonna put Afro Caribbean" said **Randy**.

"I don't even know what to put" **Dawson** continued. As a first generation British–born man with Caribbean parents, his positioning was no less clean-cut.

"I'd choose West Indian if…" **Gina** started saying, when **Seb** jumped in.

"I'm gonna tell you" concluded **Seb** "I don't think we should use 'West Indian.' Because if you carry a CARICOM passport, you know that most people only know West Indians because of the cricket. Yeah, but if you say you're from the Caribbean they will… they will understand much more. So, I don't think you should put 'West Indian.' You should put 'Caribbean.'"

ANA'S LIME OLE TALK FRAGMENT 111

In this fragment, Gina, Dawson and Randy approached an issue that was also discussed by Oscar and Sheila in Chloe's lime (**ole talk fragment 109**): the void created by inaccurate or unavailable categories for ethnic identification. However, whereas Oscar and Sheila focussed on finding classifications that were relevant for their narratives of origin, Seb focussed on finding and using a category to represent the Caribbean community in a way that would be recognisable by others. Seb's interest in constructing

[45] StatsNZ defines "ethnicity" as the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality, or citizenship. Ethnicity is self-perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group (StatsNZ, 2016)

a stronger, more visible community was a recurring theme in his discourse throughout the lime (see, for example, **ole talk fragment 19** and **ole talk fragment 20**).

6.3. Conflict in experiences of return

As seen across the conversations represented so far, many limers shared positive experiences when returning home, usually related to practices and products that were missed by migrants (e.g. food, human warmth, humour, etc.). Other limers, however, conveyed conflicted experiences of return, caused mainly by a clash between the interpretive frameworks of the migrant that returned and the interpretive frameworks of those who stayed home. In Lucas' narrative, for example, he reflected on the experience of Adrian, his teenage son, during their first trip back to Cuba after being away for five years.

"Llegó con una ilusión de ver aquellos amigos congelados en el tiempo" dijo ***Lucas****. "Al verlos de dio cuenta de que esos amigos no pensaban igual que él. Incluso no manejaban el idioma igual, ellos aplicaban frases como "Que bola acere." También la nueva tendencia de ir al parque a conectarse. Eso lo dejo confundido y le creó una barrera. Se sintió aplastado, porque una ilusión que llevaba desde aquí. Esa de ver a sus amigos otra vez, deseos de hacerlo y se sintió aplastado. Rato después, en la conversación,* ***Lucas*** *agrego:*

"La reacción de todos fue cariño, no hubo ninguna una mala reacción, todo fue cariño, pero hasta ahí. De ahí para allá no hubo más comunicación. Después se encontró a tres o cuatro amigos de la escuela, juntos, una pandilla y dije 'Esa es la perfecta, ahí va a encajar' tampoco.' Qué cosa más rara."

COMPARTIR CON LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 112

"He arrived with the illusion of seeing those friends frozen in time" **Lucas** said. "When they met again, he realised that those friends did not think like him anymore. Even they did not even use the same language, they used phrases like '*que bola asere'*. And they just wanted to go to the Wi-Fi spot to go online. That left him confused and created a barrier. He felt crushed, because he went with an illusion from here, to see his friends again. Wishing to see them, and that crushed him."

Later in our conversation, **Lucas** added: "Everyone's reaction was loving, really. There was nothing bad, it was all caring, but nothing else. There was no communication anymore. Then he found three or four friends from his school, a little group and I thought, 'this is it, perfect, he will fit in with them.' But no. Nothing. So weird."

LUCAS' LIME.
OLE TALK FRAGMENT 112

In this fragment, Lucas narrated the experience of his son Adrian. He described a "crushing" clash between, on the one hand, the way in which Adrian remembered and imagined his relationship with his childhood friends and, on the other, the reality he encountered when he visited Cuba after migrating. Adrian idealised the friendships he had left behind when he migrated as a child. However, when he returned five years later, they no longer shared the same tastes, interests, or even language. As Lucas noted,

the reception of those who stayed in Cuba was welcoming and caring, but the connection, brought about by shared codes and experiences, was missing.

In the Cuban lime, Mariposa and Pamela reflected on their own experiences of returning to Cuba. They addressed two related conflicts: (1) the clash between their needs and expectations around access to basic products (e.g. toilet paper), and (2) how these expectations were perceived by those who still lived on the island.

The change Pamela perceived was not in the material access to basic goods in Cuba, but the configuration of her basic needs and her expectations of having those needs fulfilled. As Mariposa noted, this change was symbolic, as much as it is material. Upon migrating, the changes that occurred in the material day-to-day reality brought about transformations in the cultural framework that migrants had articulated in their home country. When returning to the home country, this transformation clashed with the framework of those who stayed home.

"En serio, sonará cómico" anuncio ***Pamela*** *"pero a mí me chocó mucho no tener papel sanitario. Yo no podía. Con 24 años que me pasé en Cuba que a veces había, a veces no. Pero ya yo no podía."*

"Es que además muchas veces cuando tu emites un criterio te juzgan" agrego ***Mariposa****. "No se dan cuenta que cuando tú tienes un cambio cultural tan grande como el que nosotros hemos tenido, por tanto tiempo, es obvio que tenemos que pensar diferente. Es racional, es humano. Pero es que tener papel sanitario no es una cosa buena. Es una cosa necesaria."*

COMPARTIR CUBANO, FRAGMENTO 113

"Seriously, it will sound funny" **Pamela** announced "but it shocked me that there was no toilet paper. I couldn't cope. Having lived in Cuba for 24 years, where of course, sometimes you could find some, sometimes not, you know? But I could not do it anymore."

"And besides, sometimes when you say something, and they judge" **Mariposa** added. "They don't realise that when you go through a cultural change as great as we have had, for so long, of course, we think differently. It is rational, it is human. Besides, having toilet paper is not a nice–to–have. It's a need."

CUBAN LIME.
OLE TALK FRAGMENT 113

This clash occurs in the dimension of meaning construction, rather than around concrete actions, as follows. In Cuba, most people would agree that having access to toilet paper is necessary and desirable. The sustained material scarcity in the island, however, has brought people to draw on material ingenuity, but also on coping mechanisms that require transformations in their interpretive frameworks (e.g. no longer considering

toilet paper a basic need). In this context, the act of complaining about a lack of toilet paper is viewed negatively by fellow Cubans and interpreted as being precious or exposed. In Cuba, scarcity is a feat of daily life, as is complaining about it, but not being able to cope with it can be seen as a fabricated sense of entitlement, especially for Cubans coming back home from "abroad."

Other limers talked about a related conflict: how family, friends and acquaintances still living in the Caribbean imagined the life of those who live abroad, and how this imaginary mediated their relationships with migrants.

> "Yeah, that's the worst thing you know" **Randy** complained "for us who actually have to, who do go back to Jamaica or any other place round there, you, you feel… not privileged, but they think that you've got money. And, and… and only to find out that, when you think about it, the job that you do here is no better off than what they do there!"
>
> "I think it has plagued a lot of immigrants in most of the major cities throughout the world" said **Seb,** "and I would blame it on the immigrants themselves. I think the more you keep it real, whether you're in New York, London, you know, um Paris, Wellington, Auckland. I think the way how you communicate with your folks back home, you actually… if you keep it real and don't sugar coat it, in other words not everywhere is white picket fence. This has been happening for years and years and years. People telling people back home that money grows on trees and that's exactly what happen! An then it becomes your reverse problem, yuh know"
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 114**

Randy and Seb discussed a process whereby migration as a viable life decision is fuelled by the narratives of success of those who have migrated before. As Seb emphasised, this creates a cycle whereby each generation of migrants is compelled to present themselves to be as successful as their predecessors. Two empirical studies (see Richardson, 1991; Diamond, 2011) analysed the issue 20 years apart, and described the same phenomenon: Caribbean migrants cyclically contribute to a narrative of success that creates expectations in those back home, mediating their relations and, additionally, depicting migration as a way to be successful. Seb's remarks show how this cycle can create unreal expectations, which negatively mediate migrants' relationships with those in the Caribbean, when returning back home.

6.4. What home country? Liminal ethnic positions

Many limers whose ethnic heritage is diverse, found identity markers such as "Caribbean," "white," "black," or "British" to be excessively narrow, and therefore

uncomfortable or inappropriate for their identification. The liminal positions adopted by these limers was frequently conflicted, mainly due to the inability of others to fit the multiplicity of the participants' ethnicity in an interpretive framework that only comprehends narrow and often mutually exclusive identity markers. Sheila's experience illustrates this process. Her narrative began with a question.

> "I'm smiling, because you are talking about being in your home country, or in somebody else's country… and I'm thinking, where is my home country?"
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 115**

Sheila was born in London, but her parents moved to Guyana when she was four. Although she recounted in **ole talk fragment 90** that her father was discriminated against in Guyana by British diplomats, she represented that period of her life as one full of connections with family and not affected by racism. Sheila returned to the UK when she was nine. She represented her return as the "end of living amongst family." Additionally, throughout her narrative of growing up in the UK, she portrayed a conflict in constructing a sense of self, because of her multi-ethnic origins.

> "Coming from a white mother and an African father, nobody else had parents looking like mine" **Sheila** said early in her narrative. "They have no idea, you are not allowed to be mix–raced. I've had from half breed, half cast, mixed raced, to dual heritage. Four different things. From half breed to dual heritage, with two in between" she commented later, half–jokingly.
>
> "When my parents came to school, they looked at my father as if he were an alien being from another planet somewhere. (…) And I thought why? Why are my parents like this? Why can't they be white, or black? And who am I? So, it took many, many years: 'go back to where you come from.' Then the black girls didn't like me 'cause I had a white mother. So, you get denial from both flocks" **Sheila** added.
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 116**

The multiplicity of Sheila's racial and ethnic origins (black Caribbean father, white British mother) clashed with others' essentialist discourses of race: she is "not allowed to be mixed-raced.". The conflict experienced by Sheila is related to discourses of race that stem from centuries of racial conflict brought about by colonisation. In these discourses, white and black are represented as conflicting, mutually exclusive units, leaving individuals with multiple heritage, like Sheila, in a precarious position in terms of identification. Like Sheila, who recounted the rejection she experienced "from both flocks," Dawson explained how he was rejected when he reached out to Afro-Caribbean groups in New Zealand.

> “When I first arrived, I was in Dunedin” said **Dawson** “I’m very much English by the way I sound and act and umm… I tried to join the Afro–Caribbean Society and they went ‘you’re not Afro–Caribbean’ and I went “okay bye! See ya!”
>
> **ANA’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 117**

Dawson’s approach to others’ rejection was distancing and avoidance. He did not attempt to transform or dismantle the other’s interpretive frameworks. When deemed an out-group his response was to move on.

Kenia had Jamaican and Māori heritage. Growing up, she was compelled to construct her identity within essentialist discourses and interpretive frameworks that did not fit her. This is seen in her recounting of a conversation with her father when she was a child.

> “My dad always said this to me: ‘You can't deny yourself or me because you just look in the mirror and I'm right here’” **Kenia** reminisced. “And when people look at you that's what they see. They don't necessarily see Māori, even though you're being brought up like that and you know... so that was a hard thing for a while. I'd go to the other side, when I'd go to England and then my family were like: ‘why do you talk like that?’ And you know, call me brown girl and all these things... I was like ‘oh now I'm too light here, but with Māori I'm like, too dark. Where do I belong if I don't belong here and I don't belong there?’”
>
> **CHLOE’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 118**

Conflict was generated when expectations regarding Kenia’s identity responded to essentialist representations of ethnicity that did not allow for multiplicity. Since the totality of Kenia’s ethnic identity could not be contained in these narrow frames, she was compelled to fragment herself in order to “conform” to them.

> “The challenge and the push...I don’t think there is any way around it” said **Kenia**. But what it gives you as a person is expression and creativity. It helped me change my mindset from having to conform and having to fragment myself to integrating everything and understanding. Now I refuse to say I’m half Māori or half... I just don’t say that. I’m Jamaican. I'm Māori. I’m black. I don’t break myself down. Which I used to try and do then. You do that with your body, and you do that with everything.”
>
> **CHLOE’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 119**

The shift occurred when she re-articulated her identity in response to her own unique needs and experience, instead of others’ expectations: “I don’t break myself down.” The components of her ethnicity that used to be fragmented (Māori, Jamaican, black) were

now articulated as wholes, not as parts. The multiplicity of wholes that she was, which caused conflict before, was now fuel for "expression and creativity."

Anand and Gabe were born in the UK to Jamaican parents. In the following conversation, they discussed their experience in negotiating their identity when existing representations of origin were not suitable.

> "I used to go back to Jamaica with my mum and my parents, everything three months, like for holidays" said **Gabe**. "So, during the school holidays which is during August, July, I'd go spend six weeks in Jamaica and then come back."
>
> "And then when you go to Jamaica, you're a tourist" said **Anand.**
>
> "Yeah, a tourist. An English man, they call me English, English! I say: 'how you know I'm English?'; 'Da way you walk' You know what I mean?" He laughed. "'Before you open your mouth, I know you from England.'"
>
> "There's nowhere…" said **Anand**.
>
> "There's nowhere…" **Gabe** repeated. "You're not Jamaican, you're not British, you're not Kiwi, you're just…"
>
> "How do you make sense of it?" **I** asked.
>
> "I think it's… the easiest thing to identify as is being a Londoner. Because if you're in London then you can identify as that easily. Urban." **Anand** responded.
>
> "Yeah, yeah, Londoner" **Gabe** seconded him. "And then you create yourself. The thing about that is that you create culture."
>
> **MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 120**

In this dialogue, Anand and Gabe perceived place-based identity markers such as "Jamaican," "British," or "Kiwi," to be inappropriate or unsuitable, so they chose a different one that they deemed comprehensive enough to contain the multiplicity they embodied. "Londoner" was selected as an identity marker that represented urban diversity and allowed for the "creation of self." Gabe concluded with "the thing about that is that you create culture." Like Kenia's reflection, Gabe's remark indicated that when existing subject positions are not suitable for self-representation, creativity becomes a strategy for articulating identity in response to the unique needs of the individual.

Chapter conclusion

In summary (**Figure 26**), the past sections present four different scenarios in which participants faced conflicts in the articulation of their identities in relation to their country of origin and their ethnicity. In the first scenario, when participants adopted

subject positions based on their origin, these were either not recognised or misunderstood by others, which generated frustration. In the second scenario, participants were required to categorise themselves in official/ institutional contexts, such as a census or a screening, and were unable to find suitable categories. Although censuses can be seen merely as bureaucratic tools of governance, when they were unable to find relevant categories, participants questioned the visibility and recognition of their community in New Zealand. These two scenarios created a conflict of representation in which place-based or ethnic positionings that are relevant and meaningful for participants were unrecognised or unavailable.

In the third scenario, people asked participants to position themselves with respect to their origins (asking about their place of birth /ethnicity or "roots"), while imposing their own interpretive frameworks as the compass for participants' identification. This happened in two ways: (a) when others asked questions that participants found inappropriate or irrelevant for the interaction in question and interpreted them as an attempt to typecast them into a stereotype, or (b) when others directly rejected or delegitimised participants' subject positions because it unsettled their interpretive frameworks. In both cases, the interactions took the form of an othering interpellation, in which others viewed the concepts in their interpretive frameworks as universal and felt uncomfortable when participants' positioning was not consistent with theirs. In these three scenarios, participants reacted to being unable to position themselves regarding ethnicity or place of origin in their own terms, either because their terms were not recognised by others, or because others were trying to impose their own.

The fourth scenario is slightly different and occurred upon returning to the country of origin. Then, participants found that their interpretive frameworks clashed with that of others who had not migrated, thereby generating conflict. Whereas in the previous instances, participants were articulating narratives of origin to position themselves in their new country, in this case, they struggled to operate in the home country with their own interpretive frameworks which had undergone transformations because of their migrant experiences. Additionally, they struggled to come to terms with the subject positions they felt pushed into by the expectations of others back home.

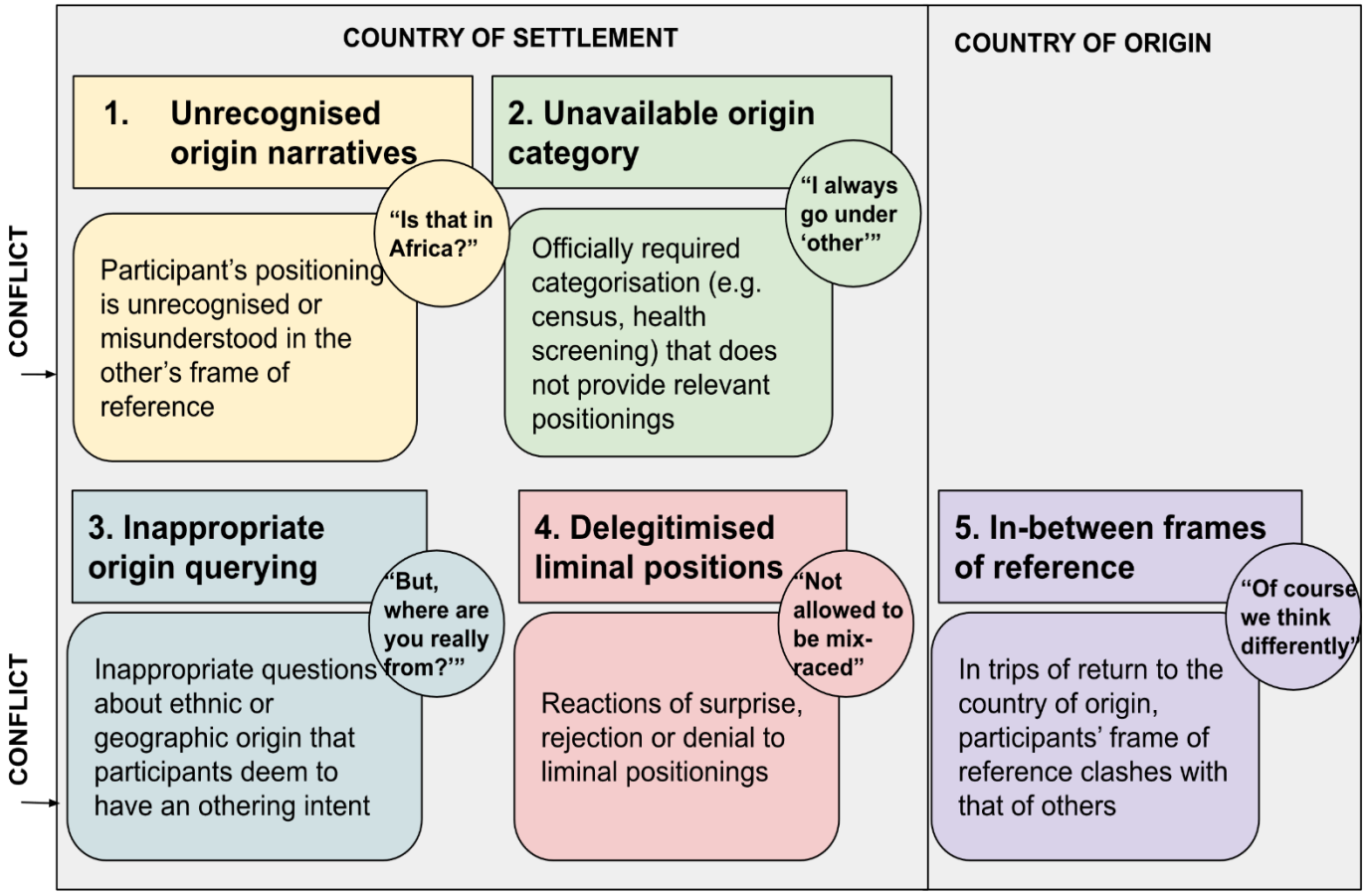

Figure 26: Conflicts in representations of origin

Chapter 7: Othering practices

The gaze of the other in the articulation of cultural identity

In this chapter, I analyse participants' experiences of discrimination due to their race, ethnicity, country of origin or accent. The acts of discrimination faced by participants are presented in this chapter as othering practices, that is, practices in which people who position themselves as members of a dominant culture, intentionally or unintentionally marginalise others, who are deemed "different". In this chapter, beyond the description of the othering experiences faced by participants, I focus on how they represent themselves and others in the narratives of these experiences, and the symbolic strategies they utilised to confront and resist them. Additionally, I analyse some factors that conditioned the way in which participants experienced racism.

7.1. Where are you actually from? The othering question

In the previous section, I discussed the strategies of the participants when they wanted or needed to locate their origins in personal relationships or with respect to social structures or institutions. In this section, I explore participants' representations around the act of undertaking this location. This is done by analysing how some limers interpreted the underlying discourses of their interlocutors when they asked the question: "where are you from?" Asking someone where they are from is a two-fold act: it enquires about the other person's origins and it sets the scene to establish your own. Limers shared different interpretations of this discursive situation, depending on (a) the (perceived) meaning invested by the asker in the respondent's positioning as a result of the question, and (b) the (perceived) positioning the asker explicitly or implicitly proceeded to establish.

> *Almost everyone knows where Cuba is. However, too often, saying that I am from Cuba is the prelude to a more or less long conversation about politics, communism, with comments ranging from "Oh, I adore Fidel Castro" to "You poor thing, how did you escape?" Alternatively, people ask me if I smoke cigars and if I own an old car back home. It does not bother me too much, because I understand that's the picture news and travel commercials present. But when it comes to establishing a common meaning, a reference that contains some connection with who I am and where I come from, these representations are useless and frustrating. Especially because they imply that, to get to the point where you can start establishing a relationship you have to start by deconstructing a lot of misunderstandings. I did not flee from anywhere, I do not adore Fidel, but I love my country, I'm in New Zealand doing a PhD after having lived and studied all my life in Cuba and no, I do not smoke cigars. Too often, the distance to cover seems too long and the relationship ends before it starts.*
>
> ***Researcher's journal, May, 2018***

In Chloe's lime, there was extended discussion about this topic. In the fragment below, Oscar, who had recently moved to New Zealand to pursue postgraduate studies, shared his rationale for attaching a negative connotation to the question, and interpreting it as an attempt at racial profiling and stereotyping. This interpretation is accentuated by the fact that, in his experience, the question emerged very early in interactions with white people. In interactions with other black people, it came after some connection had been created.

“One question though” **Oscar** started “from a New Zealand context. Why is the question of ‘where you’re from’ so important here? (…) It’s singularly most asked question I’ve ever experienced in my one year here.”

“It’s such a new country too you gotta look at the history and…” **Kenia** started responding.

“I keep hearing that as an excuse” Oscar said, talking over **Kenia**.

“Well I only know it from the perspective of Māori” **Kenia** continued. “I can’t say why white people ask you where you’re from. They wanna know why you’re black.”

To this **Sheila** and **Oscar** agreed in unison. Limers talked over each other extensively after that. Then, Oscar continued to make his point.

“That is a case where they’re trying to now put you in a compartment and say ‘oh you’re so and so, all right’ (…) In answering that question once I, I just… I hate it. I don’t answer it at all. I ask them every time they ask me. And I ask: ‘why do you ask that question?’ And every time I put that back on them and they just get totally confused and so perplexed.

I’ve seen it happen so often: the case where they’re trying to put you in a category. So, they’re trying to categorise me. ‘Why are you in New Zealand?’ And I tell them that their government is financing me to be here to advance myself academically. They can’t even understand what that means. When I say to them ‘listen, where I’m from in Jamaica I see myself as one of the elite persons in my country and I am now here to advance myself further’ they don’t understand what that means. In their minds initially, a question of ‘where you’re from’… they’re trying to put themselves in a station where they see themselves as superior.”

“Can’t put you in a box” **Cathy** explained.

“Exactly because that’s a new box that they now have to find a way to construct” **Oscar** finished.

Later in the lime, **Oscar** ascribed his observation to white people, as **Kenia** had initially indicated.

“I’ve never heard it from a black person” **Oscar** commented. “Never. I mean there are several Africans and as a matter of fact, in the university context many people from Kenya, Ghana, Zimbabwe, South Africa …um Uganda. And it’s after our third or fourth visit and…or interaction when they say ‘Um hey bro, can I get your number, so we can stay in touch?’ And then they would say, when the numbers are getting exchanged ‘So, where are you from?’”

CHLOE’S LIME OLE TALK FRAGMENT 121

Oscar felts uncomfortable with the question because he perceived it as an attempt to categorise him according to discourses that conflicted with his avowed identity, experience and positioning. In his narrative, he highlighted his academic status. This status positioned him as an elite individual in Jamaica as a counter-narrative to the discrimination that he perceived underlying in the discourse of the other person. Oscar,

like other limers, was not bothered by the question, but by the underlying racist stereotypes he perceived it to contain. When the question was perceived as stemming from a legitimate interest in the participants' origin, it was welcomed and appreciated.

> "I spoke to my lecturer on Wednesday" **Oscar** said. (…) "She started to ask some questions about Jamaica and my experience, and so on. And you could see her genuine engagement and genuine excitement about learning. She immediately went on YouTube and looked up Montego Bay, Montego Bay Community College, the girl… you could really see that."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 122**

It is evident that a similar question could trigger opposite reactions (**Table 4**), depending on the underlying discourse or intention perceived by participants.

Table 3: Summary of negative and positive responses to the "where are you from" question

Negative connotation	Positive connotation
"They wanna know why you're black" "They're trying to categorise me" "They're trying to put themselves in a station where they see themselves as superior"	"You could see her genuine engagement and genuine excitement about learning"

Cathy's experience, which she shared in response to Oscar's narrative, added to this narrative. As a highly qualified black woman with a senior role in her industry, Cathy frequently found herself in professional interactions where the question eventually got asked.

> "People look around, and they are trying to figure out who's in charge" **Cathy** chuckled. "I know that this is going on, and I … well sometimes I play a little game and I wait to see how long it's going to take them to figure out I am in charge. They look around and you look at their faces. They're trying to figure out who's in charge here. And I say 'okay, this is how this is going to be run' and I will introduce them to members of my team. And they look a little bit uncomfortable and eventually say 'That's interesting, where are you from?' I would say different things depending on how busy I am or what I perceive, but mostly I give them an opportunity to be educated. I say 'where did you think I'm from?' And they would say 'well it looks as though you're African.' And I say 'well...my ancestry goes back to West Africa as you can tell... but is that what you really wanted to know?' Some of them will get confused and some of them will say 'um no, no.'"
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 123**

As Cathy explained in her narrative, her physical appearance as a black woman and her social role as a highly qualified professional in a high-level work position created a dissonance in her interlocutors' interpretive frameworks. Accordingly, the question about where she was from was interpreted as concealing her interlocutors' real attempt to know more about her ethnic roots. In this regard, Cathy's experience is like Oscar's. Both were resisting the othering practices of their interlocutors, who ascribed negative stereotypes to Cathy and Oscar's racial appearance. These stereotypes clashed with their avowed identity as high-level professionals. When Cathy talked about her response to othering practices, she used a condescending tone that presented her in a position of power and control, which stemmed from understanding the dynamics of the interaction and its underlying discourses, which she proceeded to dismantle and re-articulate in an alternative frame of meaning. She explained how she embraced situations like these as a chance to "educate" the other.

"You have the choice right at that point to say 'I can choose to educate'" **Cathy** affirmed. "You start off at an advantage before they get to that expression because you have all this sorted out so that's when you actually have one up on them because you have a choice. You do have a choice."

CHLOE'S LIME OLE TALK FRAGMENT 124

This position was shared by others in the lime.

"I think you would have to educate them, go down that pathway" **Suzie** said,

"It's a conscious decision you have to make" **Cathy** noted "and you have to take a deep breath…"

"Yeah you have to take a deep breath and then start to teach them, and then see" **Suzie** continued. "After you've given them a little bit and see what their reaction is before you carry on."

"That's true" said **Alma** "because it's an investment of your time as well because if the person to listen then that is good but if the person…"

"If the person wants to listen and learn" **Suzie** seconded her.

CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 125

The tone of the ole talk fragments above, reflecting the approach of these three women to inappropriate or loaded questions about their origin, was not articulated from a subaltern response to the othering interpellations they received, but from a position of strength, security and pride, from which they consciously chose to be patient, "take a deep breath" and start expanding the others' limited viewpoint. Cathy's response to questions she perceived as othering or inappropriate could change, depending on the

other's position.

> "I say 'That's me. Where are you from?'" **Cathy** said, exemplifying her way of dealing with the issue. "That's when you know what the original intentions are (…). When I ask where they are from...I had a little man that jumped back and said 'I'm Kiwi.' 'I know you're a Kiwi from your accent, but what are your roots? You tell me now. I told you my roots what are yours?'"
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 126**

When Cathy switched roles with her interlocutor from questioned to questioner, the other's position became clearer for her. In the example she shared, this interchange of roles generated in Cathy's interlocutor an unsettled surprise to the point of "jumping back." For Cathy, this shock, and his response, indicated that his question was loaded with an implication that he was "from here" and she was not. By asking him back, Cathy compelled him to position himself, to reference his ancestry and his ethnicity, as she had just done.

In these interactions, Oscar and Cathy's strategies for dismantling othering positioning they encountered, involved challenging the stereotype in the others' interpretive frameworks by presenting them with the facts (they were black, migrant, highly educated and "in charge"), but also by switching the other's position from the questioner to the questioned. Oscar challenged what he perceived as an othering position directly by refusing to answer or by questioning its relevance. Cathy, on the other hand, resisted othering practices by decentering their standing as the norm. When she asked them the question "where are you from?" or "what are your roots?" she dismantled their discourse of being "just from here" and compelled them to locate themselves on an ethnic map where their position was no longer at the centre.

7.2. "Which accent?": the language of the other

For limers who spoke English as a second language, a lack of linguistic proficiency in the mainstream language of their new country was an important challenge, especially in the first years after arriving in New Zealand, even when othering practices were not involved. The language barrier was not only practical as an impediment to proficient communication, but symbolic, as a marker of difference. In the next fragment, Miguel narrated his first encounter with the family and friends of his New Zealander wife.

"Había más de 25 gentes en la casa" dijo Miguel. Todo el mundo quería conocerme y yo no hablaba nada de inglés. Entonces yo era una mosca ahí en medio de un cake, yo entré y todos me saludaban 'Hi, hi' y yo 'Hi…. Y yo parado ahí y Susan me dice 'Diles algo.' ¿Qué les voy a decir Si yo no sé inglés para hablar con la gente." ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 127***	"There were more than 25 people in the house," said **Miguel**. "Everyone wanted to meet me, and I didn't speak any English. So, I was a fly in the cake.[48] I went in, and everyone greeted me 'Hi, hi' and I, 'Hi…' And I stand there, and Susan tells me 'say something.' But what am I supposed to say if I don't know enough English to talk to people?" **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 127**

Miguel presented himself in an awkward situation, where he felt isolated by his lack of linguistic competence in a room where, additionally, he was the only person of colour. He bundled both markers of difference within the same experience of isolation. Thinking back to how he felt in those early days of his migrant journey, living in a New Zealand province, Miguel said "I got depressed, I was unwell." Later in the lime, Miguel narrated how he eventually gravitated towards Auckland, a bigger city where he could have more contact with the Cuban and Latin American community, rather than strengthening his connection with his wife's social networks.

Sarah shared her experience starting school as a young migrant in New Zealand. Having migrated from an English-speaking country in the Caribbean, Sarah's engagement with members of the dominant culture was not hindered by her language proficiency, but by others' othering reactions to her accent, which they deemed different.

[46] A fly in the cake: Cuban expression to denote that someone is the only black person in the room, and the situation is awkward.

"Going to school everyone was just like 'oh my gosh…' I feel like they discriminated" said **Sarah**. "The funny thing was like when we went to school, I remember the first day someone's like … they just stopped and literally stared at me, like this. After I finished a sentence and I'm like 'da fuck?'"

Other limers started shaking their heads and making exclamations in annoyance.

"Yeah, 'cause you was talking like a Vincey gyal" **Daniel** remarked, with an emphasised Vincy accent.

"And they were like 'oh my God that's so cool. Can you say that again?' **Sarah** exclaimed, imitating a Kiwi accent. And I was like 'do I look like a clown?' If you not gonna understand the actual sentence why am I gonna say it again just so you can say it's cool again you know? And that was the only thing and I was like, I wasn't conscious. Obviously, I wasn't that conscious about my accent until I got to school there."

MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 128

Sarah interpreted others' reactions to her accent as negative and offensive. To gain a deeper understanding of the triggers to her reaction, it is useful to compare Sarah's narrative to a similar situation presented by Natalie, in Garret's lime (**ole talk fragment 88**), which I analysed in relation to the use of language as a resource for cultural representation. In this narrative, Natalie shared how her colleagues joked about her accent and her use of Caribbean slang: "they make fun of me, they pick up on words, they understand, they ask questions about it." In contrast to Sarah's reaction, Natalie gave a positive connotation to these interactions and interpreted them as a shared experience, not as an othering practice. Although apparently similar, Sarah and Natalie's experiences had important differences that conditioned their experiences.

First, Natalie had lived in New Zealand for several years, and had lived in other countries. During her migrant journey, she made a conscious decision to maintain her accent and slang as a strategy for cultural representation and saw her colleagues' remarks as acts of acknowledgement, not of derision. Sarah, on the other hand, had no previous experience of living outside the Caribbean, and had not yet had the space to come to terms with the cultural nuances of her position as a migrant. Second, Natalie had built a relationship with her colleagues, and humour was a component of that relationship. They made jokes with her, but she was not the object of them, whereas Sarah had no previous relationship with her peers and felt as if she were being positioned as an object of entertainment, saying "do I look like a clown?"

When we view Sarah's experience in contrast to that of Miguel, which was also negative, there are also important differences. As a speaker of English as a second

language, Miguel largely attributed his negative experience to his own inability to communicate in the mainstream language of the country where he settled. Authors such as Moyer (2013) have noted that, when interacting with native speakers, speakers of English as an additional language often have an expectation that their use of language will trigger some reaction, and prepare for it. In Sarah's case, as a native speaker of English, the gaze of others framed her accent as "different," making it an object of her consciousness for the first time, one that positioned her as "other" with respect to her peers.

Other limers, like Abel, talked about how the negative expectations of others around accents and use of language could be so salient that people felt the need to make these expectations explicit in conversation.

> "My first interview" said **Abel**. "I was there and the director said to me "wow you're from Jamaica. You speak very good English for someone who is from Jamaica."
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 129**

Although apparently it was meant to be a compliment, the comment had a negative connotation for Abel. In his remark, Abel's interlocutor not only revealed the negative attributes he assigned to Abel's origin in his interpretive frameworks (being Jamaican, Abel would not be able to speak proper English) but the fact that he assigned to himself the prerogative of determining the parameters for what "very good English" sounds like.

During Miriam's lime, Steve, a Jamaican man who had migrated to New Zealand directly from Jamaica, talked about how his accent was perceived as "different" in New Zealand. For Steve, this had generated two types of response: the first is similar to that shared by Sarah: when other people made him conscious of his accent by pointing out it was "cool." Although this type of reaction did not necessarily carry an othering intent, it exoticised Steve's accent and made him feel awkward, especially as he had lived in the Caribbean his whole life, and never thought about his accent as an object of attention. For him, it was just the way he spoke. The second type of reaction was triggered when people lacking the communicative competence to decode his language expressions, responded by attaching unintended negative meaning to them. In the fragment below, Steve talked about these experiences in a dialogue with Gabe, who, having been born in England to Caribbean parents, had a British accent.

"They say like, 'why you gotta be so aggressful?'" said **Steve**, opening his eyes reproducing his reaction of surprise. "I'm like what? People interpreting me wrong, saying things that I don't say, yuh know? Or they are like 'shit, your accent is cool.' I say 'which accent? Me not even can understand you…and you talk 'bout me have accent, eh.' You learn English so when you came here, and you open your mouth, it was like butterfly for you."

MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 130

In these ole talk fragments, Sarah and Abel, who migrated to New Zealand directly from the Caribbean, shared the reaction of New Zealanders to which they assigned negative connotations. Next, I analyse the experience of Gabe and Sheila, who were born in the UK to Caribbean parents and migrated to New Zealand as adults. They both had a British accent.

"When people look at me" said **Gabe** "they think I'm just some kinda migrant who's come here and can't speak a word of English. When they hear my accent, they're like 'Ohhhh!' Things changed now. 'You're from England. Oh, I love England, blah, blah. Come, come, this is Tony, this is my wife Shirley, this is my cousin.'"

"Where do you think that's coming from?" **I** asked.

"Because they see the face, they see the colour of your skin" **Gabe** replied "and I reckon they make this stereotype: 'I don't believe you can speak English properly. You look like you just come here, you're just seeking asylum or whatever. Refugee.' From when I open my mouth and say the first four words the whole thing just changes. They wanna hug me, they wanna go fishing with me. The whole thing changes."

ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 131

Gabe pointed out the stark contrast between the reactions, assumptions and expectations he perceived that his racial appearance and accent generated. Based on his experience during these interactions, he highlighted how "the whole thing changes" when his accent was recognised as British. His tone and choice of words to describe both sides of the interaction emphasised this divergence. For example, to describe people's reactions to his racial appearance, Gabe used phrases such as "can't speak a word of English" or "you're just seeking asylum," which he said with a derogatory tone. Gabe perceived that his accent triggered a "positive" shift in the attitude of his interlocutor, an opposite reaction to that generated by his racial appearance.

Sheila's experience was different when her appearance as a woman of colour and her British accent received an aggressive and discriminating response from a white New

Zealander woman. In connection with her earlier narrative about discrimination and conflicts generated by her multiple ethnicity (e.g. **ole talk fragment 116**)

> "They don't have an accent" **Sheila** remarked ironically. "I [Sheila] said 'everybody has an accent'. Both of us speak with a British accent. This white New Zealand woman. She [the woman] said 'One has this idea, my dear, of the upper classes. The Queen and the Mayor, lots of different people who have money, having the cream teas. And the idea of Buckingham Palace and, uh, you know, Oxford Street, and those places. With the, you know, Lord Ballards. Well we must keep these institutions pure, but when we have people who look like you, and who speak with a British accent it's really difficult.' It's that kind of colonialism."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 132**

Sheila's features generated notable dissonance in the other woman's interpretive framework. For Sheila's interlocutor, British culture, embodied in symbols like the Queen, Buckingham Palace, Oxford Street etc., does not accommodate race intermixtures. The woman's discourse started by positioning Sheila in an out-group space with respect to the "we," the woman saw as responsible for keeping "these institutions pure." The main conflict, however, was not generated by in-group/out-group dynamics, but by the disturbance Sheila generated by enacting what the woman perceived as in-group features (a British accent), while having what she perceived as out-group racial features (people who look like you). In the woman's perception, this multiplicity made it difficult to maintain the ethnic essence of what she imagined the "British" subject position to be, hence generating a conflict of representation. This view represents, in Gilroy's words from his book *There ain't no black in the Union Jack*, a "rigid, pseudo-biological definition of national culture introduced by ethnic absolutism" (Gilroy, 2002, p. 243).

In this section, I have discussed how race, ethnicity and language operated as signs of otherness, and how these aspects made participants of colour more vulnerable as targets of othering practices, framing them in stereotypes that clashed with the participants' own perceptions of self: the hostile other, the exotic other, or the less able other, all carrying a set of ascribed meanings that conflicted with the participants' avowed identities. I also looked at the conflicts generated when participants enacted features, which, in the eyes of others had conflicted meaning (e.g. a black person speaking with a British accent). In the next section, I analyse some of the factors that influence how participants respond to othering practices and other instances in which cultural negotiation is required.

7.3. Negotiating discourses of race and racism

More than half of the limers whose racial appearance was not white brought up experiences of racism in their ole talk. Given the non-prescriptive nature of ole talk as a method of data collection, the spontaneous emergence of these experiences in the conversation indicates their salience in participants' narratives about cultural identity. Participants' experiences of racism were diverse and ranged from subtle microaggressions to highly offensive actions. The objective of this section is, on the one hand, to account for racism as one of the challenges Caribbean migrants, especially people of colour, face in New Zealand. On the other hand, beyond enumerating experiences of racism, I analyse participants' responses and sense-making processes regarding these practices, with an emphasis on how past experiences and constructed expectations mediate limers' present responses to racism.

Most instances of racism involved the actions of people with whom participants had a relationship (e.g. colleagues, neighbours, fellow students). These cases were mostly related to racial bias and negative stereotyping. Steve, for example, told the story of how his neighbour next door did not speak to him and his flatmate for over six months, because another neighbour had told them they were "blacker than an ace of spades."

> "So, the guy that live beside us he never talk with us for around six months" **Steve** said. "Until he like, we were always playing some cool music when we came in in the evening, and he couldn't help himself. And one day he just come cross and say 'Hey, you guys, where you from?' We say 'Jamaica, man.' And he say 'Cool.' And he start to talk to us, and every evening we get together and drink a beer and we talk and we exchange cigarettes, or whatever, whatever. Until he just came out of the blue and say 'Hey, you know why I didn't talk to you guys all along? Because you see the neighbour over there? He's not good. You know what he told me when you guys just came in? He came out one morning and see me going to work and he say 'Hey buddy, you see the new neighbours? I tell you bro, they blacker than an ace of spades.' We like, woah. But you know, I still didn't let that worry me you know. I still say 'how do you do' to him and if he wants help with something, I help him."
>
> **MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 133**

Steve's narrative featured two racist neighbours, one who made the racist comments, and the other, who responded by not talking to Steve and his friends for months, because he had been told they were black. Steve noted that his neighbour's racist attitude came as a surprise ("out of the blue," and "we like, woah!") and did not go unnoticed. However, in his narrative Steve did not represent himself and his friend as

victims, but as “rising above” the racist attitude of their neighbours. This was a common pattern in how limers characterised experiences of discrimination: the racist counterpart was represented as ignorant and stupid, and limers represented themselves as raising themselves above them. Gina and Aline, for example, narrated how they were called “nigger” by a random person in the street, and Aline shared how she responded to the incident.

> “Once we were working together and one guy passed and he said ‘nigger’” said **Gina**.
>
> “Are you kidding me?” said **Aline**. “Someone did that to me too. And I went up to him and I explained what that word actually meant.”
>
> **ANA’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 134**

Aline’s narrative positioned the racist other as ignorant and herself in the position of strength of one who was educating. Gina also shared her reaction to a racist remark made by a colleague.

> “She made a racist remark” said **Gina**. “So, I told her ‘I’m here to do a job. I’m not here to make friends and we’ll leave it. If you’re not happy with me then we can talk’. I knew she was being racist, and I don’t have time for that. I hate racism. It’s around, there’s nothing we can do about that except rise above it and make them look stupid. I think it is a very ignorant and stupid thing and I’m going to make you look stupid if you want to be.”
>
> **ANA’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 135**

Gina accorded no symbolic power to the othering action of her colleague, to the extent that she did not even talk about it in detail. Instead, her reflection focussed on positioning herself as rising above it: “I don’t have time for that,” “there’s nothing we can do about that except rise above it and make them look stupid.”

In other instances, participants talked about less explicit aggressions, that were interpreted as othering practices. In the next fragment, from Rosa’s lime in Palmerston North, these subtle aggressions and their effect were discussed in a group of young black Caribbean limers, most of whom had only been in New Zealand for less than a year. Ole talk about the topic started with Sam telling the group about the first time he walked into his university accommodation.

"I was coming back from a meeting. It was night time. I came in through the front door. The ladies freaked the hell out."

"Oh no" **Helen** exclaimed, rolling her eyes.

"There were two ladies" said **Sam** and then added, imitating a squeaky voice, 'Oh God! You are in the wrong room, what are you doing here?' I was like, seriously? These are the same people that talk about diversity?"

"Because you are black?" **Dani** asked, surprised.

"He's a big black guy" **Rosa** responded.

"I'm a big black man, nigger" **Sam** confirmed "Let me get real with this thing. Next time I'm walking through, everybody's talking and when I pass, they are like… 'hold your wallet.'"

"They are not holding their wallet" said **Helen**. "You are just assuming. You are following through with the thing."

"No, no" said **Rosa**, shaking her head supporting **Sam**'s statement.

"I'm being honest. If you were there and you saw the look…" **Sam** added.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 136

Sam talked about two occasions in which he felt others reacted negatively to his presence as "a big black man." The first experience, although it was arguably mediated by gender (he was a man walking into a room where there were women), race was, for him, more salient. In the second experience, rather than verbal expressions of racism, which Steve, Gina and Aline experienced, Sam interpreted others' body language, gestures, looks, etc. as othering actions. Other limers in the same group experienced similar acts of rejection, which they interpreted as indirect representations of the message "you are not really one of us." This generated a strong feeling of discomfort that was difficult to specify.

"You feel it. I feel it sometimes" **Nina** assured. "You can just feel the energy. Makes you feel uncomfortable. It's something we would ignore, but…"

"New Zealand prides itself from being a diverse country and what not, but it's not. It's really not" **Sam** attested.

"And to be honest, coming here everybody says 'listen, it's a nice country, clean, pristine' blah, blah" **Nina** said, and then added, changing her tone, "But be mindful. You are not really for here. You understand? 'You are here to do something, and you go back where you come from. But you are not really one of us. You are not gonna be one of us. You are not gonna really blend in.' Don't be surprised if you find the odd person that makes it … you know… how do you say it… racial stuff? to you. Don't be surprised, expect it."

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 137

Cathy, in Chloe's lime, used the term "microaggressions" to encompass subtle actions that could nonetheless "single you out" and "make you feel different" etc.

> "You have to have a little bubble around you" **Cathy** advised. "Especially important about microaggressions, the things that single you out, make you feel different, make you feel not accepted. They can wear you down completely."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 138**

In Cathy's reflection, microaggressions were represented as less explicit actions of discrimination, whose effects were nonetheless significant. The terms she used to describe the effect of racist microaggressions ("single out," "different," "not accepted") consistently referred to the process of boundary-setting in which a racist person excluded the racialised other. Cathy's protective mechanism (represented with the image of a bubble) involved blocking out the aggressions, with the consequent expenditure of energy, a process that "can wear you down completely."

"You just know you self as a man, you don't know yourself as a black man": different subject positions towards discourses of race and racism

Participants who experienced racism said they were negatively affected by it and represented it as an adverse aspect of their life as migrants in New Zealand. Nevertheless, there were important differences in participants' expectations about racism, their positioning towards discourses of race, and the meaning they assigned to racist acts of others. In general, participants who migrated to New Zealand directly from the Caribbean, did not expect to face racism and were outraged or surprised by the racist practices and attitudes in New Zealand. Other participants, particularly those who were born in or lived for a long time in the UK, expected to face racism and were not surprised when they encountered it. Several in this latter group saw the racism in New Zealand as mild, compared with their experiences in the UK. In Chloe's lime, Cathy, who had lived in New Zealand for over a decade, reflected on these diverse positionings, based on her own observations.

"That's the beauty of having the people from the Caribbean coming over" **Cathy** affirmed. "They come just sort of without any tarnished experiences. When my husband met me, he said 'there's just something different about you, from all the other people of colour around that I've ever seen.' He took a long, long time to tell me what he thought that was. It was the lack of self–awareness, lack of feeling that you were different or inferior in anyway. I am absolutely okay where I belong. Then he met me with my Caribbean friends and he said 'there's exactly the same thing among you guys.' Because at that time we were living in the UK. This is not, this is not a generalisation, okay? But there were people in the UK who have been burnt, who have been um had a really, really tough time over many years with the institutionalised racism, even though I think it's better now though than it was maybe 30 years ago. They were carrying a big chip on their shoulders. They were angry. They were really upset. When they met my husband they immediately started off loading on him. When he met my friends that grew up in the Caribbean, he said that that wasn't there. There's something different."

CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 139

Cathy described a process that was implicitly conveyed in many conversations within the limes: the subject position adopted by participants towards discourses of race and racism differed depending on whether they were socialised in a system that represented them as a racialised "other" or not. Cathy represented the Caribbean cultural system as one in which "tarnished experiences" around race were less likely to occur. This, for her, led to subject positions that she represented with phrases such as "lack of self-awareness," "lack of feeling that you were different or inferior in any way." In contrast, Cathy suggested that those who grew up within the cultural system of the UK "have been burnt" and "had a really tough time over many years with the institutionalised racism." Although she pointed out that her reflection was not intended as a generalisation, she concluded that "there is something different."

Although other participants' conversations confirmed the difference perceived and described by Cathy, adopting positions towards discourses of race was not a definitive process exempt from contradictions. Cathy's own position was continually re-articulated and involved disjunctures and tensions, as evidenced in the following dialogue with Aaron, who had arrived from Jamaica a few days before the lime:

> "We're gonna change it" said **Cathy**, talking about racism. "I am sure. Mentally... Okay so how do you deal with it?"
>
> "It's more than just race" **Aaron** asserted. "My currency has always been kindness and compassion. Once you show the value of who you are to people, and they realise that you can empathise with them whether they're rich or poor, and you can meet them in that space. I mean I, I don't push. I just gently over time just be who I am, and any other person… you are, and you become. Through them seeing your value … you asserting your value is a Caribbean thing to do. I have such a supreme firmness in my own sense of self... any amount of resistance you face whether it's racism, sexism, any kind of –ism. People are acting out of their personality and not their spiritual self. Once you connect with them outside of their personality and outside of their social conditioning, you get a totally different person. But what I found is love is like compassion and kindness is like water. It works very slowly so you have a big rock in the middle of the sea and the water keeps ebbing at it. It's chipping away little by little. It's gonna to take some time but if you continue practicing that love and kindness…"
>
> "I hear you" responded **Cathy**, smiling. "I think it's…I think... I'm not going to say anything. That is very noble. It is really great. I hear a part of me in you. But what happens when a society comes together and systematically tries to puncture that self–belief? It is a completely different kettle of fish." She was then silent for a few seconds, before saying "I want you to keep uh… contact with me. And I want you to keep grounded with the Caribbean Society because I don't want you to... I don't want anybody to undergo a bad experience."
>
> "Bad experience?" **Aaron** repeated. "I can only have a bad experience if I give the permission, and I won't. So, if you want to be nasty, be nasty."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 140**

Several things stand out in this dialogue. On the one hand, Aaron's positioning towards discourses of race aligned with Cathy's reflection (**ole talk fragment 139**). He represented the "firmness in his own sense of self" of "just being who he is" as a shield against "any amount of resistance" he may have faced. Like Cathy, he believed that "asserting your value is a Caribbean thing to do." This is the position Cathy adopted in the previous fragment, where she affirmed: "I am absolutely okay where I belong." On

the other hand, Cathy acknowledged that this position represented only "a part of her" because her strong sense of self alone, had not provided enough symbolic resources to make sense of her lived experience. When "a society comes together and systematically tries to puncture that self-belief," Cathy suggested that further defence mechanisms need to be put in place, in addition to Aaron's approach of "gently over time just be who I am."

> "Take care of yourself" said **Cathy. "**If you go in with no ability to know what is coming your way, you're gonna get hurt a lot. You're gonna get hit and you're gonna get worn down so knowing that this exist is really important."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 141**

Based on her experiences of discrimination in New Zealand (e.g. **ole talk fragment 123**) Cathy represented racism as embedded in New Zealand's sociocultural system. Accordingly, she perceived a disjunction between, on the one hand, Aaron's interpretive frameworks around race based on his Caribbean experience, and on the other, discourses of race within New Zealand's cultural system, as she had experienced them. This disjunction, in her view, could make Aaron vulnerable, as he would lack the protective mechanisms (i.e. expecting racism and being prepared to confront it) that she saw as necessary to avoid a "bad experience." Without them, in her perception, it would be easy to "get hit and worn down." In turn, Aaron maintained his emphasis on his own assertion of self as the only protection he needed.

Just over one year after this lime took place (March 2018) Aaron decided to return to the Caribbean, but we remained in touch. In May 2019, after his return to Jamaica, I asked him about his experience around issues of race in the year he spent in New Zealand[47]:

[47] Ongoing discussion of a topic after the lime has finished occurs naturally in liming and ole talk. In a research context, it is of significant value to capture limers' reflection about a topic over time. Additional consent for the use of this fragment was obtained in writing by email.

"In our lime at Chloe's we talked a lot about race and racism, but you had just arrived in New Zealand. What was your experience, after living here for a year?" **I** asked **Aaron.**

"They appreciate the opportunity to engage with people from places they consider exotic, like Jamaica" said **Aaron** in a video call we had, after his return to Jamaica. "It's like a breath of fresh air to access something interesting and vibrant when their life is usually so monotone, like a treadmill where they just keep going. Our culture involves a struggle and that gives us a reason for living. So, in that regard we have something that they want. In a way their engagement with us comes with wondering "how can I get more of what you have?"

ANA'S OLE TALK WITH AARON. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 142

In his response to my question, Aaron maintained the approach he shared in our lime. Although I explicitly asked about issues of race, his response focussed on cultural diversity. He emphasised, as he had done in the lime, the assertion of our cultural values as the position from which he interpreted the attitude of others towards "people from places they consider exotic," which he perceived as open and receptive: "how can I get more of what you have?"

As Aaron and Cathy's reflections show, positionings towards discourses of race and racism can vary considerably. These positions condition experience and are conditioned by it. This was evidenced further in other limes, especially in relation to the distinction Cathy reflected on, between migrants who had not lived outside the Caribbean before, and those who had.

Next, I present some examples of these different positionings and how they condition the way in which participants experienced racism. Gabe was born in the UK to Jamaican parents. When he migrated to New Zealand as an adult, he found a repeated lack of acceptance, especially in response to the perceived contradiction between his racial appearance (black) and his accent (British), two features that were mutually exclusive in some people's interpretive frameworks.

"I had a lot of not being accepted here like 'Oh, you're not English'" said **Gabe**. "Not even though I've got the accent, they say: 'you're not English, you bloody Caribbean or you are African' or all this."

Nevertheless, later in the lime, when other limers were sharing their own experience of racism in New Zealand, **Gabe** noted, "I didn't find it hard. I found things a bit easier."

MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 143

In Gabe' interpretive frameworks, expectations about racism stemmed from his own experience, as well as from the experience of his parents and their generation. He wove the experience of the Windrush generation into a collective narrative of race and racism that goes back decades.

> Everyone around the table had been sharing stories about their migrant journey to New Zealand. Gabe went back to when his parents arrived in the UK from the Caribbean.
>
> "Okay, so in the sixties" **Gabe** began locating his narrative, "big, big, big mass migration from the Caribbean. They were invited, and said that everything was going to be… they were gonna get a job, and blah, blah, blah and when they go over there…" Gabe shook his head and rolled his eyes, looking at Anand.
>
> "They were invited" confirmed **Anand**, nodding.
>
> "They lied to them" **Derek** added, sadly.
>
> "Couldn't find housing" **Gabe** continued "couldn't open a bank account and couldn't get any …they had this famous bed and breakfast sign saying, 'no blacks, no Irish, no dogs welcome,' you know. So, a lot of, during that time a lot of racism in the 50s and 60s. It was huge, it was huge, it was huge, it was huge."
>
> **MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 144**

Gabe's own subject position was articulated in response to this collective narrative, and the expectations it generated. It is from this point of reference that his experience of racism in New Zealand was deemed "a bit easier." Sheila, who also grew up in the UK as someone with Caribbean heritage, compared her experience in both countries and concluded that racism in New Zealand was more hidden.

> "So, the discrimination here takes the shape of 'but where do you come from? Where do you originally come from?'" **Sheila** affirmed. "They can't quite accept, especially when they hear my voice and then they see me. Ah! It causes a tremendous shock. That's when people say 'but where do you originally come from?' And I'm like, well, I think originally, we all come from the apes. In Britain, back in the 70s 'if you are white you are alright, if you are black, get back, if you are brown stay around.' So, not having been called the names I was called over in Britain, it's more hidden I believe here. It's more like we need to find out 'you are not really… you speak with this British accent, but there's something funny… you've got pretty hair. Can I touch your hair?' So, I was just … 'just don't pull it, it might come off.'"
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 145**

In this fragment, Sheila did not narrate a specific experience but offered a general representation of the "shape discrimination takes" in New Zealand. As part of a wider conversation about her liminal identity (**ole talk fragment 116**), Sheila described

discrimination in New Zealand as being less blatant than in the UK, taking the form of objectifying curiosity ("we need to find out," "can I touch your hair?"). The trigger, as in Gabe's case, was the conflict her accent and her racial appearance caused in some people's interpretive frameworks ("you speak with this British accent, but there's something funny"). Sheila counterbalanced her narrative of othering practices with humour and teasing. In response to the person who asked if they could touch her hair, she said: "just don't pull it, it might come off!" She responded to the question "where do you originally comes from?" by saying "I think originally, we all come from the apes." By mocking othering remarks, Sheila reclaimed her position as a subject in her narrative of interactions where she had been objectified by the other's "curiosity."

The interpretive frameworks of participants who migrated directly from the Caribbean were different. In the ole talk fragments included in the previous section, it is possible to find repeated expressions of surprise and outrage. Steve's narrative represented his neighbour's racist remarks as being "out of the blue" (**ole talk fragment 133**); Aline responded to Gina's story about being called "nigger" by a stranger in the street by saying "are you kidding?" (**ole talk fragment 134**); Sam, when he recounted how his fellow students were scared when he entered the dorm', said: "seriously?" (**ole talk fragment 136**). When Nina was talking about discrimination in New Zealand, she struggled to find the words to talk about racism: "you know, how do you say it…racial stuff?" (**ole talk fragment 137**). In the following fragment, Suzie relates how, on arriving in New Zealand, she lacked the symbolic tools to confront racist conducts that she was "not used to."

> "I started working at the bank in New Zealand" said **Suzie** "and the manager there was so racist. But when you come to a new country you don't know how to take people. So, you don't know whether you should just answer back. In Trinidad you don't shut up, you just answer back. I sucked it up for a while, but then I was like, I can't do this, I'm not used to this racist conduct."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 146**

The difference between the two subject positions I analyse in this section is represented in the following fragment of ole talk between Steve and Dawson, who were born and raised in the Caribbean, and Anand, who grew up in the UK. Steve's story relates his experience of trying to access a nightclub in Auckland and being repeatedly denied entry, with different excuses.

"The bouncer look on me, and you know wah the bouncer tell me? He tell me 'go and eat something, drink some water, freshen up and come back'" explained **Steve**. "I say like, wah do you mean? The man say 'go and eat something, drink some water, freshen up and come back.' I say 'bro, you just told me a while ago, no card. You know, and I went an I get ten dollars from the machine and now I'm come back.' He say 'bro you cannot hear?' He say 'you wasted.' And I tell you. I feel something, jus slugging me down inside. And I say like, fuck, this is what they call racism eh? I'm always watch it on the TV, Marcus Garvey and all of them."

"Because you don't know how racism feel like in the Caribbean" **Dawson** explained. "You just know you self as a man, you don't know yourself as a black man."

"Welcome. This is what we grew up with" said **Anand.**

"I felt it that night, I tell you" **Steve** confirmed.

MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 147

In this dialogue, Steve was outraged and surprised. He represented this experience as something he had not encountered before: "this is what they call racism eh?" For the first time, after moving out of Jamaica, something that was thus far confined to television and history books became part of his lived experience. Dawson interpreted Steve's experience further: "you just know you self as a man, you don't know yourself as a black man." This phrase represents the shift that operated when participants moved from a cultural system where they were "a man," to another where they became "a black man," a racialised other. Anand, on the other hand, did not experience this shift. He showed no surprise with Steve's narrative of "Welcome. This is what we grew up with." With this phrase, he represented Steve's experience as entering the system of racialised representations that he had always experienced, and in response to which, he had shaped his subject position towards race and racism.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed experiences of discrimination caused by othering practices. Othering practices took place when people established themselves (and their values, behaviours and attributes) as the dominant group. This positioning involved perceiving those who were somehow different as inferior "others" and treating them as such. In this chapter, race, ethnicity and language (particularly accent) emerged as the main signs of otherness. Othering practices ranged from backhanded compliments and exoticising remarks, to blatant acts of discrimination, and were reported almost exclusively by people of colour.

Chapter 8 – Narratives of success as tools for resilience and conditioning factors for migrants' experience

In the previous chapter, I analysed how participants' subject positions towards race influenced their experiences of racism in New Zealand. In this chapter, which is based on the narratives and experiences shared in the Cuban lime, I look at how the meanings participants assigned to migration, and the post-migration narratives of success they constructed, influence the ways in which they experienced different aspects of their current lives in New Zealand. Although non-Cuban limers also discussed their motivations for migrating, the unique circumstances under which Cuban migrants left their country (some of which I explain in context notes throughout this chapter) made their experiences specific and worth analysing separately.

8.1. Migration as a life goal vs migration as a life event

Participants who shared their processes of decision-making and goal-setting around migration in the Cuban lime can be roughly divided in two groups: (a) those for whom migration was a life goal, and (b) those for whom migration was a life event. Participants in the first group, although from different backgrounds, migrated in response to a perceived lack of opportunities in their country of origin. Migration was conceived of as a vital personal goal, considerable energy and resources were invested in its attainment and, once accomplished, it was represented as a major life achievement. The second group did not establish migration as a goal and did not mobilise resources to attain it, migrating instead due to external circumstances, such as their partners' job or family reunification. The meanings assigned to migration differed considerably from one group to another and so did the narratives through which they represented post-migration success and improvement. These were found to influence migrants' resilience and to be conditioning factors for the way in which participants experienced their current situation as migrants in New Zealand.

Migration as a life goal: professional capital as a strategy

Pamela was a highly qualified professional who studied at graduate and postgraduate level in Cuba and worked in her field after finishing her studies. During the lime, she acknowledged the high professional level she gained through her studies and professional experience in Cuba.

"Me he dado cuenta que la preparación en Cuba en la universidad es mucho mejor que la de aquí, yo creo que en cualquier enseñanza, en el pre, en la primaria, en lo que sea" dijo ***Pamela****. "Nosotros somos más inteligentes que una pila de gente que hay aquí. Cien por ciento segura.* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 148***	"I have realised that the preparation in Cuba, in the university is much better than here. At any level, I think. High school, primary, whatever" said **Pamela**. "We are smarter than a lot of people here. 100% certain. ***CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 148***

Nevertheless, she decided to migrate due to the perceived lack of opportunities her position as a highly qualified professional working within the Cuban State system offered for achieving her life goals.

CONTEXT NOTE 2: Income and livelihood of highly qualified professionals in contemporary Cuba

Cuba's universal and free education system has been one of the flagship achievements of the Cuban revolutionary government. According to official statistics, over 800,000 professionals have graduated from the 54 tertiary education institutions across the island during the revolutionary period (1959 to present). The employment of these professionals in Cuba, as well as their income level, is highly dependent on the state, which, from the early period of the Revolution, established a uniform salary scale that was implemented nationally. According to Mesa–Lago and Hernandez (1972), the average salary in this scale increased according to the degree of qualification held by the worker and the complexity of the task to be performed. Accordingly, workers with high qualifications, employed in technical professions, received the highest salaries (Mesa-Lago & Hernandez, 1972). Although the distribution of wages on this scale has not suffered considerable transformations, other changes in the Cuban economy have affected the real purchasing power of the salary earned by a qualified professional working within the State system.

Upon the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 90s, an unprecedented crisis crushed the Cuban economy at all levels. The measures taken by the Cuban Government to cope with the crisis included opening the country to international tourism, incentivising foreign investment and flexibilisation of self–employment, within a reduced number of activities, especially within the services sector. These changes were paired with the implementation of a dual currency system, originally designed to collect foreign currency from tourists. In the early 90s, convertible pesos (CUC) were issued by Cuba's National Reserve to be exchanged for the USD brought by tourists on their arrival to the island, at a rate of 0.90 CUC for 1 USD. Cubans could buy CUC at a fixed exchange rate against the Cuban Peso (the local currency, in which salaries are paid) of 25 Cuban pesos for 1 Convertible peso (CUC). Since then, tourists and Cubans with access to CUC have been able to purchase goods and services not accessible with Cuban Pesos. This has generated increasing differences between those who had direct access to CUC (e.g. providing services linked with tourism, such as accommodation, transport, and restaurants), and those who earned their salaries in Cuban Pesos and had to buy CUC at the 25 to 1 rate. In summary, these changes in the economic landscape of the island, generated what has been called an inverted pyramid of salaries, whereby the income of highly qualified professionals is considerably lower than that of any worker (qualified or not) linked with tourism.

Pamela's narrative of her decision-making process began with a synthesis of her goals, through the opposition of the possibility of surviving, which she perceived as attainable in Cuba, to the possibility of living, which she perceived as not attainable.

"Yo lo había decidido" dijo ***Pamela****: "Si yo quería vivir en vez de sobrevivir me tenía que ir. En los próximos 20 años mientras yo iba ser joven Cuba no iba a cambiar porque mis padres llevan esperando toda la vida a que cambie y no ha cambiado. Así que yo dije 'hay que irse.'"* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 149***	"I had made a decision" said **Pamela**. "If I wanted to live instead of surviving, I had to leave. In the next 20 years while I was still young, Cuba wasn't going to change, because my parents have been waiting a lifetime for it to change and it hasn't changed. So, I said, 'I'm leaving.'" **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 149**

Pamela's representation of the "living versus surviving" dichotomy is common in Cuba, where social welfare policies and universal and free access to healthcare and education guarantee that basic living conditions are accessible to all. However, other things such as acquiring food beyond the small ration provided by the state becomes a daily struggle for most households. Leisure activities such as going on holiday, dining out, going out for drinks, etc., are virtually inaccessible within the means of a professional salary. Pamela was not willing to wait for a change that she did not believe was possible in the near future. She contrasted this position with that of her parents, whom she posed as an example of the generation that waited and worked for a change that, in her eyes, never happened. Once she established migration as a goal, Pamela used her educational and professional capital as a resource for migration, which was in stark contradiction with the Cuban government's official discourse, in which highly qualified emigrants were frequently represented as "deserters." It is also reflected in the country's current legislation that restricts travel abroad to graduates of Cuban higher education "who carry out vital activities for the economic, social and scientific-technical development of the country" (*Gaceta oficial de la Republica de Cuba*, 2012). Pamela's narrative reflects how this conflict influenced her experience during her journey out of Cuba.

"Todo el trayecto por los tres aeropuertos que hay que pasar para llegar a aquí, todo el tiempo estaba pensando 'me van a venir a buscar, me van a venir a buscar'" dijo ***Pamela****. "Porque donde yo trabajaba estaba super marcada. Nos revisaban el internet y si tenías en el historial becas y esas cosas sabían que andabas en eso."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 150***	"All the way through the three airports that you have to go through to get here, I was thinking 'they will come for me, they will come for me'" said **Pamela**. "Because where I worked, they had their eye on me. They would check your browsing and if they saw you had scholarships in the browsing history and those things, they knew you were up to something." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 150**

The fact that Pamela decided to pursue her goal to migrate despite this threat, contributed to her feeling that her decision was definitive and that a permanent return was not a viable option. For her, coming to terms with this decision was not without conflict.

"Yo sabía que si me iba yo no iba a regresar" dijo ***Pamela*** *"y que si regresaba iba a ser de vacaciones. Me costó mucho asumir eso. Saber que ya no iba a haber vuelta atrás."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 151***	"I knew that if I left, I was not going to return" said **Pamela**, "and that if I returned, it was going to be on vacation. I had a hard time assuming that. Knowing that there was no going back." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 151**

In summary, Pamela decided to migrate because, although she had gained high qualifications and worked within the state system, exercising her profession, she did not have access to realistic opportunities to achieve her goals. Once migration was set as a goal, she mobilised the resources she had available (in this case her educational and professional capital) to achieve it.

Migration as a life goal: using Pulmoneo as a strategy

In this section, I analyse the narrative of Miguel who, like Pamela, set migration as a life goal due to a perceived lack of opportunities, and mobilised the resources he had available to achieve it. In his case, he resorted to the opportunities provided by Cuba's informal economy around tourism to pursue a mixed-nationality relationship that would make migration possible. Miguel used the term "*pulmoneo"* in reference to the informal economy around tourism in Cuba. The term derives from the Spanish word for "lung" and can be roughly translated as "laboured breathing."

"Yo siempre he estado en el turismo" dijo ***Miguel*** *riéndose. Los demás nos reímos también, porque sabíamos a lo que se refería. "Mi mamá trabaja en el turismo de toda la vida, en mi casa siempre ha habido turistas. Yo siempre he andado con turistas… Lo que mi mamá de parte del gobierno y yo en el otro lado. En lo privado. Con la gente detrás de la fábrica de tabaco, en el pulmoneo."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 152***	"I have always been close to tourism" said **Miguel** laughing. We laughed too, understanding what he meant. "Mum has worked in tourism all her life, in my house there were always tourists. I have always been around them. The only thing is that my mum was on the side of government and I… was on the other side. Private sector. With the people behind the tobacco factory, in *el pulmoneo*." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 152**

The notion of *pulmoneo* had immediate cultural meaning for other Cuban limers and did not require further explanation in Miguel's narrative. The concept is tied to one of the core conflicts of present-day Cuba: the moral and economic crisis of the State and the failure of its formal structures and systems to meet the needs of individuals. The idea of *pulmoneo* and other equivalent terms, such as "*la lucha"* (the struggle/fight) or "resolver" (resolve/fix) refer to a variety of informal economic activities implemented by individuals or groups as alternative means to meet their needs. All these terms are metaphors of survival, thus symbolically legitimising the practices they comprise, which are often illicit. It is not by chance that Miguel positioned *pulmoneo* as an activity that was "on the other side" of government.

CONTEXT NOTE 3: Informal economy in contemporary Cuba

In its first decade in power, the Revolutionary Government implemented measures whereby the State became the centralised regulator of earning power on the island, as well as of the distribution and supply of goods and services. Through a centralised system of socialist planning, income was calibrated to satisfy state–defined needs (Holbraad, 2017, p. 90) through a state–controlled supply network. In the decades that followed, this model was successful in providing a considerable level of wellbeing to the majority of the population, not due to the intrinsic ability of the Cuban economy to generate and distribute wealth, but because of the exceptional commercial relations sustained with the former USSR, from which "Cuba obtained about 98% of the fuel the country consumed, as well as a substantial volume of basic food and the indispensable financing to undertake its development" (Rodríguez, 2011, pxx). Meanwhile, the Cuban economy failed to become self–sufficient and collapsed drastically with the fall of the USSR in the early 90s.

When the Cuban state no longer had enough resources to guarantee the population's access to basic consumer goods, the standard of living in the island plummeted and the State's legitimacy as provider was severely undermined. In the three decades that followed this turning point, two related processes deepened this delegitimisation. First, the goods provided by the State, accessible with state–paid wages in Cuban pesos (CUP), became insufficient to satisfy the basic needs of the population. Second, commercial networks operating in convertible pesos (CUC) were established, initially with foreign visitors in mind, and products priced accordingly. However, these establishments, officially called "foreign currency collection stores" and unofficially "*la chopin*" (a local version of the English word "shopping"), quickly became the only way to access basic goods on the island. The following figures illustrate the accessibility of products in "la chopin" for Cubans who rely on their wage for a living: state wages currently average CUP $770.00 per month (approximately CUC $30). *La chopin* charged CUC $2.50 for one litre of cooking oil, CUC $3.00 for 1kg. of laundry detergent, CUC $1.20 for four rolls of toilet paper.

Households with access to remittances, or that have been able to invest in a small business for self–employment, can access a living income, if not through state provision, at least within state approved means. For those who do not have these means, a myriad of unofficial economic activities, bulked together under terms such as "*la lucha," "el pulmoneo," and* "resolver," become an alternative to access consumer goods, services and leisure. Accordingly, in the social imaginary of the island, these activities are not marginal or deviant conduct, but legitimate responses to the challenging economic circumstances.

The egalitarian discourse of the State, formerly a flagship of the revolutionary project increasingly clashed with the considerable disparities between those who had access to foreign currency or convertible pesos (CUC) and those who did not. The credibility of the State was further damaged by the blatant privileges enjoyed by its elite, as reflected in Miguel's narrative below.

"Yo empecé con el pulmoneo después de que terminé de estudiar y me cogió el servicio militar" dijo ***Miguel****, serio esta vez. "Ahí fue cuando yo me fundí el cerebro porque había una cantidad de locos allá adentro inmensa y las cosas que hacían la gente del gobierno y los militares me jodía bastante, me molestaba cantidad. Como esa gente vivía y la gente de donde yo vengo cómo vivían tan mal. Yo dije 'Cuando yo salga de aquí yo tengo que hacer un cambio, no voy a hacer un cambio para el pueblo, pero tengo que hacer un cambio conmigo mismo y tengo que buscar la forma de salir de este país para cualquier lugar.'"* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 153***	"I started with *pulmoneo* after I finished my studies. Then I was pulled into the military service" said **Miguel**, with a serious face this time. "That's what melted my brain. There were a lot of crazy people in there. The things that the people of the government and the military were doing really pissed me off. It troubled me big time. The way those people lived and the people where I came from, such a bad life. I said to myself, 'when I get out of here, I have to make a change. I will not make a change for the people, but I have to make a change for myself and I need to find a way of leaving this country, go anywhere else.'" **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 153**

After finishing his studies, and through his experience in compulsory military service, Miguel chose to "make a change" for himself, choosing the alternative of *pulmoneo* over the path foreseen by the state's structures, which would be to practise his career in the assigned job. The sum of material hardship and moral discredit of the state made Miguel perceive his current situation as a dead-end and migration as a solution. In response, he resorted to *pulmoneo* as (a) a provisional way of making a living outside of the official structures, and (b) as a platform for migrating. His process is summarised in the fragment below.

*"Mi mamá me decía 'Oye tú te estás volviendo loco' y yo 'Déjame a mi' nos conto **Miguel**. "Yo era juega ajedrez y estudia inglés. Y subo pa la Habana Vieja un día con un amigo mío a vender tabaco y me encuentro a otro amigo mío que habíamos crecido juntos en el barrio pero yo no lo veía hace mucho tiempo y cada vez que lo veía ahora, lo veía vestido bien. Y le pregunto 'pero que tu haces?' Y me dice: 'No, pero yo no estoy vendiendo tabaco, yo estoy con las mujeres'. Y me lleva para un lugar donde bailan salsa y me empieza a enseñar las tácticas." El tono de **Miguel** cambio, y se hizo más serio en la próxima parte de su narración. "Yo tenía 18 o 19 años, era el más jovencito de todos los que estaban ahí peleando en el pulmoneo. Duré cuando más un año y pico y eso no es tanto, hay gente que se mete 6 o 7 años y otros que todavía están esperando. Pero es difícil porque imagínate con 19 años acostarte con una mujer de 47 o 48 años te duele, siendo hombre o siendo mujer, tú sabes que es diferente."*	"My mum said to me 'I think you are going mad', but I would say 'I know what I'm doing'" **Miguel** told us. "I was like, playing chess and studying English. One day I went up to Old Havana to sell cigars, and I came across another friend of mine. We grew up together in the 'hood but I had not seen him for a long time. Every time I saw him now, he was well dressed. I asked him 'what are you up to?' and he told 'no, but I'm not selling cigars, I'm with the women.' He took me to a place to dance salsa. He showed me the tactics." **Miguel**'s teasing tone changed, becoming more serious in the following part of the narrative. "I was 18 or 19, I was the youngest of all those who were there in the struggle of *pulmoneo*. I did it a year, at most. That is not much. There are people who have done it for six or seven years, and others who are still waiting. But it is difficult because, you can imagine, being 19, and sleeping with a woman of 47 or 48, it hurts. No matter if you are a man or a woman, there is a difference."
COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 154	**CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 154**

Miguel's narrative presents his involvement in sex tourism as transitional. He did not regard it as a permanent solution to the perceived lack of opportunities in Cuba, but as a step towards his goal of migrating. Accordingly, Miguel showed pride in the fact that he was able to find a partner willing to support his goal to migrate in just over a year. He also presented his participation in sex tourism as involving a high level of agency: he prepared for interactions with tourists by learning English and learned the "tactics" to successfully manage these interactions to attain his goal. His narrative was that of an intentional agent of a mutually consented interchange, and he did not express moral conflict around his involvement in sex tourism, in spite of its negative connotation in the official discourse, which has historically represented this activity as a "vice, scourge against which we fight patiently, cautiously, carefully" (Castro, 1963). This does not mean that Miguel's involvement in sex tourism was exempt from conflict. However, the

conflict he represented in his narrative was not ethical, but physical: what he had difficulty negotiating was not his values, but his body, specifically, having sexual intercourse with a partner with whom he had a significant age difference.

In summary, Miguel's narrative presented a process whereby the decision to migrate was made under circumstances of material hardship, but more importantly, in response to a perceived lack of opportunities to change these circumstances, which made life in Cuba not viable for him. This process of sense-making legitimised Miguel's involvement in sex tourism as a strategy to attain migration.

Migration as a life event: family reunification as a motivation for migrating

Like Pamela, Lucas was a highly qualified professional working within the state system in Cuba, but his motivations and approach to migration were different. In his narrative, Lucas represented his position in the Cuban socioeconomic system as satisfactory for his aspirations, so leaving Cuba for a long period had never been in his plans.

"Yo había salido una pila de veces, había sido el privilegiado del trabajo" dijo ***Lucas****. "Por mi responsabilidad había salido muchas veces, pero nunca un tiempo prolongado, más de un año jamás. Me costó mucho trabajo poder aceptar porque yo decía que no podía salir un año de Cuba. Imposible, era algo así que le tenía adentro que no podía."*	"I travelled abroad many times, I was privileged because of my job" said **Lucas**. "Because of my responsibilities, I had travelled many times, but never for a long time, never more than a year. I had a hard time accepting it, because I said I couldn't leave Cuba for more than one year. Impossible, it was something inside me. I just couldn't."
COMPARTIR DE LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 155	**LUCAS' LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 155**

Lucas' migration was not motivated by a perceived lack of opportunities in Cuba, but by his wife's desire to join her family in New Zealand. In contrast to the narratives of the other Cuban limers, Lucas' account of his decision to migrate did not make any reference to the negative circumstances in Cuba, nor presented migration as a personal goal. Unlike other Cuban limers, Lucas did not represent himself as having an active role in the decision to migrate or in the migration process, and his narrative assigned all agency to his wife.

"La familia de ella estaba en Nueva Zelanda desde 2002. Entonces le dijeron "ven para acá." Ella hizo un viaje en el 2010 a ver cómo era esto. Le encantó. Ella aplicó como familia, reunificación familiar. Al final nos dieron la visa y echamos para acá." ***COMPARTIR DE LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 156***	"Her family was in New Zealand since 2002. Then they said 'come over here'. She made a trip in 2010 to see how it was and she loved it. She applied as family, family reunification. In the end they gave us the visa and here we are." **LUCAS'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 156**

Amelia was another highly qualified migrant that came to New Zealand because her husbands' work required the family to move. Although she did not specify whether migrating was a personal goal, her account did not refer to negative circumstances in Cuba as motivations. As it was for Lucas, the agency in Amelia's migratory process was with her partner:

"Caí aquí digamos en la maleta de mi marido" dijo ***Amelia****, y después agrego, "Le salió una oportunidad de trabajo aquí y para acá vinimos."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 157***	"I came here in my husband's suitcase, so to speak" said **Amelia**, and later she added, "he got a work opportunity here, and here we came." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 157**

For her, migrating was not a personal achievement or a project that required planning and hard work, but an event in her family life in which she was actively involved; "the adventure begun, let's see what happens," she remembers thinking at the beginning of her migrant journey. The tone of her statement represented her state of mind around the decision to migrate, which contrasted with the sense of urgency that other migrants' statements represented (e.g. Pamela: "I said, I have to go"; Miguel: "I have to find a way out of this country"). Throughout the lime, both Amelia's and Lucas' ole talk emphasised positive aspects of life in Cuba, including the quality of healthcare, high social connectedness, and warmth of human relations, etc. Lucas only recalled minor negative aspects, for example, the amount of rubbish in the streets. Both Lucas and Amelia narrated trips of return as mostly positive experiences, as presented in **ole talk fragment 40** (Lucas) and **ole talk fragment 57** (Amelia).

Salir adelante[48]*: post- migration narratives of success and improvement as resources for resilience*

So far, I have analysed, on the one hand, the process through which Cuban participants like Miguel and Pamela decided to migrate because they perceived their situation in Cuba as unsustainable and unlikely to change. Although Pamela's and Miguel's background and circumstances made for dissimilar migration strategies, the core process of decision-making, goal-setting and goal attainment regarding migration was similar. For both, since migration was set as a goal and considerable energy and resources went into its attainment, migration and life in their new country were seen as achievements. Returning permanently to Cuba was not seen as a viable option.

On the other hand, Lucas and Amelia migrated in response to their partners' family and work-related circumstances respectively, instead of their own plans or goals. They did not narrate their situation in Cuba as posing significant challenges and had a passive role in the migration process, which depended heavily on their partners' objectives and effort. They were not explicit about whether permanently returning to Cuba was an option, but both spoke fondly about return trips, specifically highlighting kindred cultural values and practices, such as the connectedness and warmth in human relations.

I found that the motivations and decision-making process around migrating, which differed considerably from one group to another, may condition the narratives of success and improvement that participants construct after migrating. These narratives, in turn, seem to have an influence on the overall outlook participants have on their experience in New Zealand and how resilient they are in confronting the challenges it brings.

Pamela and Miguel, who represented migration as the attainment of a major life goal constructed post-migration narratives of success and improvement that they used to validate their decision to migrate, cope with feelings of nostalgia and minimise the importance of the challenges they have encountered in New Zealand. This is exemplified in the fragment below.

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[48] Spanish: getting ahead

*"Yo extrañaba casi todos los días" dijo **Miguel**, "pero cuando miraba para atrás y tenía el estómago vacío el día entero…Yo decía que eso ya no iba a volver a pasar, aquí voy a estar hasta el final, no puede ser más fuerte que yo." Mas tarde, **Miguel** agrego: "Lo mejor que me ha pasado fue salir de Cuba. Aquí lo mejor que me ha pasado es que todo está bien, no me ha pasado nada malo. Aquí se te da la oportunidad de hacer lo que tú quieras, de ser tu persona."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 158***	"I missed it almost every day" said **Miguel**, "but when I looked back and had an empty stomach the whole day... I said that that was not going to happen again. Here I am, until the end. This can't be stronger than me." Later in the lime, **Miguel** added: "The best thing that ever happened to me was to leave Cuba. Here the best thing that happened to me is that everything is fine, nothing bad has happened to me. Here you are given the opportunity to do what you want, to be your own person." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 158**

The narrative of success Miguel constructs does not keep him from feeling nostalgia for what he left behind but acts as a symbolic mechanism to reinforce the positive outcomes of his decision to migrate. The narrative of hardship experienced in Cuba that Miguel shared throughout the lime (see also **ole talk fragment 153** and **154**) contrasts with his post-migration narrative of improvement where "everything is fine", and he has opportunities to "do what he wants".

Pamela also represented the difficulties she experienced in Cuba as superseding those she had experienced in New Zealand. In light of this comparison, the importance of challenges posed by, for example, cultural clashes in New Zealand, was minimised.

*"Yo salí el día cuatro y llegué a aquí el seis y me adapté al otro día, en seguida" dijo **Pamela**. "Es verdad. Son fríos, son muy diferentes, pero yo tenía tantas ganas de salir de ahí que me adapté a los dos segundos."* *Mas tarde, cuando estábamos hablando de nuestras experiencias trabajando en Nueva Zelanda, Pamela dijo:* *"Yo llegue y tenía miedo. Porque tú dices 'un país del primer mundo, los equipos, las cosas'. A las dos semanas de estar aquí, para lo que se metía la gente meses y yo como que 'ah, ya me salió'. Porque a uno lo preparan."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 160***	"I left on the 4th, arrived here on the 6th, and adapted the next day, immediately" said **Pamela**. "It is true. They are cold, they are very different, but I wanted to get out of there so badly that I adapted within two seconds." Later in the lime, when we were talking about our experience working in New Zealand, Pamela shared: I arrived and I was afraid because you say 'a first world country, the equipment,' and stuff. After two weeks of being here, things that took other people months to finish, I was like 'Oh, it's done'. Because one is prepared." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 160**

In Pamela's narrative, her negative perception of her situation in Cuba and the importance conferred to migration as a solution are represented as the main reasons for her swift adaptation to life in a different country. She still experienced challenges, such as cultural differences, but their importance is minimised in her narrative. Her narrative reinforces her professional success, which she linked to the education she received in Cuba (**ole talk fragment 148**).

Miguel and other Cuban limers captured narratives of success in the phrase "*Salir adelante"* (getting ahead). This phrase represented a sense of improvement after migration and the willingness to "make it work". This, as exemplified in the fragment below, was often represented as a shared attribute of Cuban migrants.

*"Aunque tú no lo creas el cubano se las arregla en donde sea para salir adelante y lo positivo se lo trasmite a la gente también. Pero cada cual se desenvuelve en lo suyo, como quiera" dijo **Miguel**, quien más adelante, agrego:* *"Lo mejor es que cada cual este donde este tiene que levantar la bandera en alto. Y tenemos que seguirlo logrando."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 161***	"Believe it or not, Cubans manage to get ahead anywhere, and they bring positivity to other people too. Anyway, each one gets ahead in their own way" said **Miguel**, who later added: "The best thing is that everyone, wherever they are, has to raise the flag high. And we have to keep it up." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 161**

Adaptation was implicit in the notion of *salir adelante* for many Cuban limers. Miguel shared examples of how he adapted to cultural differences (**ole talk fragment 39)** after migrating to New Zealand. Nevertheless, despite the hardship experienced in Cuba and the perceived need to adapt to a new environment, Cuban culture remained strongly articulated with many participants' sense of self, as exemplified by Miguel in the fragment below.

*"Yo lo conservo todo" dijo **Miguel**. "Imagínate que desde que yo entro a mi casa tengo una bandera cubana así en una pared, ¡porque yo soy cubano cien por ciento!"* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 159***	"I keep everything" said **Miguel**. "Just imagine that from the moment I enter my house, I have a Cuban flag like that on a wall, because I am a Cuban, one hundred percent!" **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 159**

The discourse of resilience and adaptation contained in Miguel and Pamela's narratives of success was not part of Lucas' and Amelia's narratives. For them, since migration was not motivated by negative experiences in Cuba, they could not use these experiences as a point of reference to perceive migration as an improvement. Additionally, since migration was not established as a life goal, its attainment was not narrated as a success. For Lucas and Amelia this brought about a more negative outlook on their situation after migration.

Lucas, for example, talked about his privileged position as a professional in Cuba and resented the obstacles he had found in his profession in New Zealand. As a middle-aged, accomplished professional, he was not willing to make the concessions required to surpass these obstacles, such as undertaking further education.

"Actualmente yo no puedo estar de profesor si no paso un curso de un año en la universidad. Pero a mi edad yo no me voy a meter en un curso de un año en la universidad."	"Currently I can't teach at a university if I do not spend a year in college. But at my age, I'm not going to do a one–year course at the university."
COMPARTIR DE LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 162	**LUCAS' LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 162**

The limitations Lucas faced in order to exercise his profession were frustrating, especially when compared with the perceived opportunities he had as a professional back home (**Ole talk fragment 155**). In general, Lucas had a more negative outlook on his situation after migrating. Compared with Miguel's and Pamela's perspectives, cultural differences were perceived as more salient and caused deeper frustration. In the fragment below, for example, Lucas highlighted the approach to human relations in the Cuban healthcare system, where patients can connect with doctors on a more personal level. He compared this with the more structured system in New Zealand, which is less reliant on direct human connections.

"Me faltan dos o tres meses para ver a un especialista, no hay forma de adelantarlo. Cuando llegas a esas situaciones tú dices 'ño, que falta me hace aquello'. Porque al final allá [en Cuba] tú llegas al especialista, le formo un alboroto al que está de guardia y te ve, pero aquí [en Nueva Zelanda] no tienes alternativa. Bueno sí, la alternativa es ver a un maxilofacial privado, ¿cuánto te va a costar? Ni pensarlo." ***COMPARTIR DE LUCAS. FRAGMENTO 163***	"I have to wait two or three months to see a specialist, there is no way to make it shorter. When you face these situations, is when you say, 'shit, I need that so bad!' Because there [in Cuba] at the end of the day, you go see the specialist on duty, make a fuss and they will see you. But here [in New Zealand] there is no alternative. Well yes, the alternative is to see a private specialist, but how much will it cost you? Don't even think about it." **LUCAS' LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 163**

Similarly, Amelia struggled with the cultural differences that she had encountered while living in New Zealand, especially in relation to human engagement.

"Aquí la gente es más fría y es difícil" dijo ***Amelia****. "Al principio llegué en invierno y estaba como que trancada y recientemente me ha tocado convivir con el dueño de la casa para economizar, pero me doy cuenta de cómo son los Kiwis, son bien cerrados, el viene a hablar por la tarde cuando cena y se toma botellas de vino, es cuando tu notas esa calidez humana. No por tener una pequeña conversación agradable o por mostrar un poco de calidez no vas a dejar de hacer lo que vas a hacer en el día."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 164***	"Here people are colder and it's difficult" **Amelia** said. "At the beginning I arrived in winter and I was like shot down. Recently I have had to live with the owner of the house to save some money, but I realise Kiwis are so sealed off…he comes to talk in the afternoon when he has dinner and drinks wine. That's when you notice some human warmth. Having a nice little conversation, or showing a little warmth will not keep you from doing what you have to do with your day." **CUBAN' LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 164**

Amelia's approach to negotiating cultural difference contrasts with that of Pamela (**Ole talk fragment 160**) who acknowledges the existence of cultural differences, but dismisses them as minor challenges that are outweighed by the advantages of her post-migration situation.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed the process of decision making, goal setting and actions towards migrating in two groups of Cuban limers. Both groups encountered challenges as part of their migrant experiences. However, participants who set migration as a life

goal and worked actively to attain it constructed post-migration narratives of success that contributed to validating their decision to migrate and to coping with challenges encountered in New Zealand, making them more resilient. Conversely, limers for whom migration was set as a goal, did not construct strong post-migration narratives of success and the challenges they faced after migrating were represented as more salient. Overall, these participants had a more negative outlook on their situation in New Zealand. This analysis should not be taken as a generalisation, but as an account of how the narratives of success migrants construct can make them more resilient.

Chapter 9. The Caribbean Community

Cracking the code to come closer together

In this chapter I delve into the goals and frustrations of participants regarding our community as a space of belonging and cultural affirmation and present participants' aspirations for closer connections and stronger institutional support. I analyse how participants' narratives convey a strong sense of collective identity, that, to the disappointment of many, does not always translate into collective agency for our community.

9.1. Our aspirations: the Caribbean community we want

As I have analysed in the previous chapter, many participants talked about attributes, values, habitus and practices as part of interpretive frameworks that they imagine as shared by many Caribbean people. As I will explain in this chapter, participants also represented shared subject positions, especially regarding aspirations of a stronger, more cohesive community.

In most limes, there was a shared aspiration for more spaces to physically come together to share (music, food, talk) but also for spaces that could foster a feeling of belonging. At Ana's lime in Wellington, Seb brought up the need to come together in relation to cultural identity.

> "How you gonna talk about Caribbean identity?" **Seb** said, looking at me and pointing to the recorder. "I'm telling you, the best place to start from is how we persons come together as a community!"
>
> According to Seb's aspirations, which he expressed later in the lime, coming closer together, could provide the opportunity for people to interact socially the "Caribbean way."
>
> "And that's why there's a need" **Seb** started "Here in New Zealand it only shows that people who identify themselves as being from the Caribbean, their own experience, their own genuine experience, if they are honest with themselves in terms of support system… You just lock up inna your house 24/7, that's not who we are! You come from a sunshine island! You're accustomed to interacting with people, you're accustomed to having social get–togethers. You can probably meet up on the veranda and hang out and talk about stuff."
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 165**

In the ole talk fragment above, Seb referred to the clash between the "Caribbean way" of engaging and socialising and what most Caribbean people experience in New Zealand, where the dominant culture is different: "that's not who we are." Seb described the Caribbean way of life as more conducive to socialisation, not only through participating in social events but as a feature of everyday life: "meet up on the veranda and hang out and talk about stuff." Without spaces that provide opportunities for this type of connection, Seb believed the experience of Caribbean people in New Zealand could be isolating.

In Chloe's lime, Cathy also shared her aspirations for the Caribbean community as a space where a "sense of identity" as a protective mechanism could be reinstated, an issue that she discussed throughout the lime (see **ole talk fragment 140**), and protective

mechanisms had been part of Cathy's experience, especially regarding issues of race and racism. She was especially interested in enabling the Caribbean community as a space of belonging for her son.

> "The sense of identity and how it insulates and protects and basically gives you something that is almost impossible to describe until you don't have it. So, this is what I took away from my son, and what I am searching for a way to reinstate."
>
> **CHLOE'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 166**

Cathy aspired for the Caribbean Community to provide for her son the protective "sense of identity" she obtained from her experience of growing up in the Caribbean, an experience that, as a second-generation Caribbean person growing up outside the region, was not available to her son.

Kane, who recently moved out of the Caribbean, also saw the community, especially the group of Caribbean people that were close to him, as a "cushion" that enabled him to be resilient in the face of challenging circumstances.

> "It's cushioned, the Miriam, the Sarah, the Steve, you know" said **Kane**, looking around the table, to his friends who were taking part in the lime. "Forty–seven hours to come here. As human beings, I'm accustomed to having everything around me. If someone says some stupidness, I go by one of my friends and interpret it, like… everything!"
>
> "We are all here because we need each other" said **Steve**. "I'm telling you, bro."
>
> **MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 167**

Kane positioned himself, in New Zealand, as being "47 hours" away from home in the Caribbean, the place where he had "everything around him." For him, this meant having meaningful relations that provided, when needed, a space for sense-making, based on shared interpretive frameworks. Away from home, the group of Caribbean friends he met in New Zealand provided this space. Unlike in other countries where there is a bigger Caribbean diaspora and people from the same country may gravitate towards each other, the space of cultural commonality that Kane was talking about was composed, in his case, of people from different nationalities, which, as Kane pointed out, were "forced to come together" in the small Caribbean community of Aotearoa. This provided opportunities for finding connections and learning more about each other's countries.

"If you go Toronto" **Kane** said "we have a diaspora. Alright, you go New York, you go London. But here, what's the diaspora, one Vincey? Well two Vinceys. One Grenadian. A Jamaican. It's a positive in a sense that, we are forced to come together."

"We have to" **Steve** affirmed. "If it wasn't for New Zealand, I wouldn't know that there was a Caribbean country called Vincey [San Vincent]. You must feel like a lie me a tell brotha."

MIRIAM'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 168

Sam also craved finding Caribbean people when he arrived in New Zealand as a student. He was not looking for people from his country specifically, but hoping to find anyone from the region.

"When I first got here" **Sam** remembered. "I was looking down, I didn't see nobody. Everybody looking at me like, 'who's this fucking big black man walking.' So, I put on my Barbados hat praying that there was at least one West Indian here. One. All of a sudden, there I was, bored as arse between the Fijians and the Africans and I hear, 'Bajan?' And I go: 'Yeah!'" said **Sam**, looking up to the sky, sighing.

"He has sense of belonging right?" said **Renee** laughing

"That's what you need" responded **Nina**.

ROSA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 169

Sam implicitly represented the act of finding some Caribbean islanders in contrast to two negative aspects of his experience in his early days in New Zealand: first, the reaction of some people to his racial appearance (see **ole talk fragment 136**) and second, his failure to find a space of socialisation that was up to his expectations among non-Caribbean groups.

Although many limers talked about their home country at some point in the lime, most represented the Caribbean community as comprising people from the whole region. Some, like Kane (**ole talk fragment 167**), acknowledged as a small community, groups tended to have more diversity in their nationality composition. An exception to this was the Cuban lime. In general, Cubans did not talk about other Caribbean islands, and limited their community to other Cubans. Arguably, the language barrier played a big role in this divide. Mariposa, for example, emphasised the lack of opportunities for speaking Spanish as part of the challenging experiences in the early days of her migrant journey.

*"Es duro al principio, uno extraña" **Mariposa** comento. Yo llegué a Nueva Zelanda y no hablaba español con nadie. En esa ciudad yo no conocía a nadie y estuve tres meses sin hablar español, hasta que Pamela llegó en enero."* ***COMPARTIR CUBANO, FRAGMENTO 170***	"It is hard at the beginning, you miss a lot" **Mariposa** remarked. "I arrived in New Zealand and did not speak Spanish with anyone. In that city I did not know anyone. I was three months without speaking of Spanish until Pamela arrived in January." **CUBAN LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 170**

When I was organising the Cuban lime, I started by inviting those who I knew well. The first thing they asked me was: "are we speaking Spanish?" and the second was "are you inviting other Cubans?" During the lime, as conversation went on about issues and topics that are specific to the Cuban context and deeply connected with our shared Cuban experience, I remember thinking that we may not have gone there if limers from other Caribbean nationalities were present. First, we would have probably defaulted to English, which would have been the shared language. I can't imagine ourselves having the conversations we had in English. Second, the Cuban context and the Cuban experience are so unique that it may have been difficult to converse about them in a context where not everyone had a Cuban background. Some Cuban limers asked me why I had chosen to do this study with the Caribbean community, instead of with the Latin American community, as many Cubans feel a stronger connection with the Spanish-speaking continent than with the English, French and Dutch-speaking islands. I guess the reason is that I identify as a Caribbean woman who is also Latina. These two identities are woven into who I am; one does not exist without the other. I am conditioned by the Caribbean experience, our shared insular condition "the circumstance of water everywhere[49]." However, through work and life, I have had opportunities for connecting and sharing with other Caribbean islanders that other Cubans have not had. I have experienced how close we are as peoples of the sea. The premise of our interconnectedness as Caribbean Islanders, despite the language barriers set by the colonisers underpins this research.

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The reflection by Cuban limers about the role of our community and their aspirations around it, was focussed on the practices of sharing and mutual support, which are of particularly high importance in the Cuban habitus of human engagement (see **ole talk fragment 35** and **ole talk fragment 36**). In the ole talk fragment below, Miguel and Mariposa agreed that "giving a hand to the one who is arriving" is an important role of the Cuban community.

[49] Verse from the poem *La isla en peso* by the Cuban writer, Virgilio Piñera

"Conocí a Rolando, un cubano que siempre tengo q mencionarlo porque me dio tremenda mano cuando llegue a aquí" dijo ***Miguel****.*

Mas tarde, ***Mariposa*** *volvió a mencionar la ayuda a aquellos que llegan como como una importante practica. "Darle la mano al que esté llegando. Si puedo ayudar al que esté llegando a este país lo hago sin problemas, Amelia está ahí de testigo, porque además yo sé que duro es esto."*

COMPARTIR CUBANO. FRAGMENTO 171

"I met Rolando. This Cuban, I always have to mention him, because he gave me a huge hand when I got here" **Miguel** said.

Later in the lime, **Mariposa** talked again about supporting the newly–arrived as an important practice. "Give the hand to the one who is arriving. If I can help the one that is coming to this country I do it without problems, Amelia is there to confirm it, because I also know how hard this is."

CUBAN LIME.
OLE TALK FRAGMENT 171

The circumstances in which many Cuban people migrated from the island, which have been explored in earlier chapters, make the provision of material support a firmly established attribute in the collective representation of Cuban migrant communities. This "duty of care" among each other abroad becomes a continuation of the practices of material sharing that occur back home. Material support was not a strong component in the conversations of other Caribbean migrants, except in the lime held at Bob's, with people who migrated to New Zealand in the 1960s. In their conversations, they referred to the intentional creation of a Society to enable people to socialise within their culture, but also to "give them a chance to reach out if they needed help."

"We decided to get people together," said **Peter**. "because we had people coming in. in every ship that came in, we had several families coming in. We figured that getting a social group together would give them a chance to socialise with people of their culture. It would also give them a chance to reach out if they needed help. They needed to sort themselves out, especially if they came in winter. And we had a lot swag of blankets that we would let people borrow. And then when the next lot came, they would have been established, and would be available to help."

BOB'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 172

Peter, who migrated to New Zealand in the 1950s, described a functional support cycle in which those who had already established themselves would reach out to support others "sorting themselves out." The aspirations of participants who migrated in more recent times, however, revolved around cultural affirmation, belonging and socialisation, rather than material support. An analysis of recent statistics about qualifications and occupations shows that, in general, Caribbean migrants in New

Zealand are highly qualified and engaged in skilled employment (**Figure 27**) arguably making material support a less salient need than cultural affirmation.

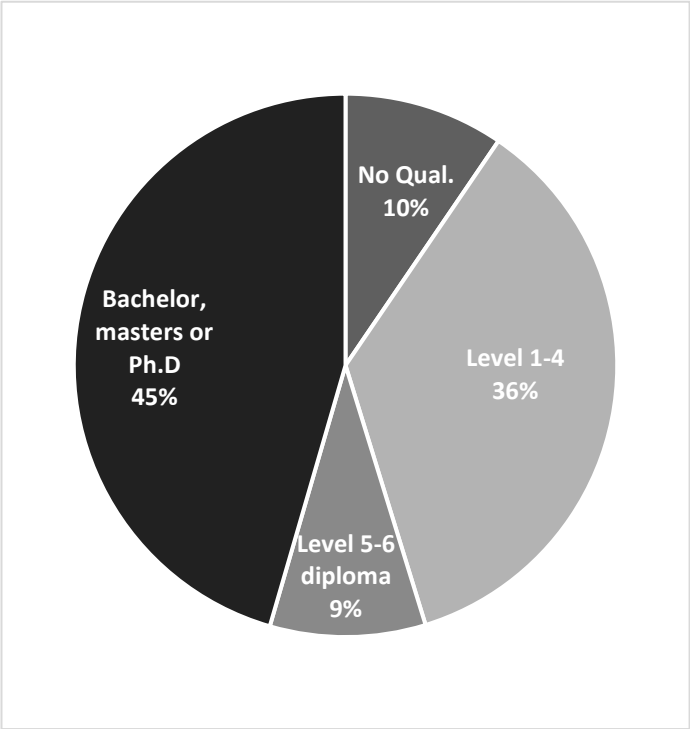

Figure 27: Qualification and employment data about Caribbean people living in New Zealand (Stats New Zealand, 2018)

In summary, participants aspired for the Caribbean community to provide stronger and more effective support systems, socialisation opportunities, and for it to become a space of belonging for its members. In most cases, participants' reflections were generalised

and did not explicitly evaluate the performance of specific community organisations. Although participants were not explicit about the strategies to materialise their aspirations, they consistently reflected on factors that "get in the way." Some of these factors are analysed next.

9.2. "That silly minded nonsense": what we need to change in order to become a stronger community

Although all participants had high aspirations for the Caribbean community, there was general agreement that we have not been successful in finding strategies to realise its full potential as a space for cultural affirmation and belonging. In participants' reflections about challenges faced by the community, there was a generalised sense of collective responsibility in overcoming them. One of the issues that emerged strongly across the limes as an obstacle was discussed in earlier chapters, in relation to participants' representation of our habitus of engagement: the Caribbean "strong mind." As Nina told in **ole talk fragment 46**, strong mind is a dynamic in which people refuse to take the initiative in reaching out to each other and wait for the other person to do it. As Seb pointed out, this attitude was for him, contrary to "what it means to come together."

> "Unfortunately, we're seeing it vividly being played out" **Seb** said. "It's like people still don't understand what it means to come together. It is being too much like 'I'll stay over here'. Just like what Aline says, it doesn't matter who is doing it. At the end of the day it's the purpose and why you're doing it. No who necessarily is doing it."
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 173**

For Seb, what mattered was the motivation for coming together, which for him, as he expressed in **ole talk fragment 165**, was related to having access to familiar ways of socialisation. Cathy narrated how she moved to Auckland to be in a place where there were more Caribbean people. Nevertheless, the dynamics of the Caribbean community and the available possibilities of culturally affirming socialisation were below her expectations.

“I’m going to a community where there are other Caribbean people” said **Cathy**. “So we picked up, we packed up, shipped schools, changed jobs, looked for houses, sold houses, and we made a move to come to Auckland and I did not. Let’s just say the reality was substantially different from what was in my head. I still haven’t figured out why.”

Later in the lime, she returned to the subject. “You are isolated not just from your homeland, but also from the community you are living in. I was friends with everybody and because I was trying to be friendly with everybody. It turned out that that was a death blow, in itself. So, I couldn't be friends with that faction and with that faction.”

CHLOE’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 174

These dynamics, according to Cathy, could lead to isolation and conflicts between groups of people and made socialisation and joint action challenging. As represented in Cathy’s reflection, conflicts between “factions” made it difficult for newly arrived migrants to find culturally affirming spaces of socialisation, which was a strong theme in participants’ aspirations. During the lime at Bob’s, older Caribbean participants talked about similar challenges hindering joint socialisation, over 50 years ago.

“Then we had where the people on this side of the bridge was complaining that when we have functions on that side” said **Ben**. “It's okay for you and that side to come over here but when you have a function over there they didn't want to go the other way.”

“And then we got branded as the rich” laughed **Jules**. “The rich North Shore people and you know, people are stupid.”

BEN’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 175

Seb and Gina pointed out that the difficulties in coming closer together were not only affecting our opportunities for socialising, but also our ability to support each other’s businesses and ventures.

“One of the things that we just don’t have an answer for, while we were selling Caribbean food” **Seb** recounted “we saw our own people don’t even look at us! Walk right past us!”

“I know exactly what you mean!” **Gina** replied immediately. “I started doing hair braiding at home and most of my clients, in fact I have had not one Caribbean person come and say ‘Hey, you do my hair.’ It was Pacific, it was white, nobody from the Caribbean would say, ‘I want you to do my hair.’ Honestly speaking, what he is saying is so true.”

ANA’S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 176

For Gina, the tendency of letting personal conflicts and strong mind get in the way of successful community building was not exclusive to New Zealand, but was a theme she had observed in other immigrant communities that she had a been part of:

> "Personally" reflected **Gina** "I think if you want things to move on, we have to work amongst ourselves. 'Cause we, I think, are the beginning, the problem is among us. If we cannot get rid of that silly minded nonsense that we carry with us wherever we go, we cannot move on from where we are to the next step."
>
> "Yes, Yes!" **everyone** exclaimed at once.
>
> "I've lived in many countries" **Gina** continued. "I can tell you that this is the same problem over and over. So, it is us! We need to change that!"
>
> A bit later in the lime, **Gina** reflected on how this confrontational mindset becomes isolating.
>
> "I mean, I talk to people in England" **Gina** said. "I'm staying away from the Caribbean people. Caribbean people, instead of getting together, we're staying away because I don't wanna get myself in trouble. Instead of actually sitting down together and becoming a strong community."
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 177**

Gina's outlook, like that of other participants, was optimistic. She saw this conflict as something that could and should be overcome, saying "we have to work amongst ourselves; we need to change that." Cathy shared this vision and despite the negative experiences she had had in this regard, she believed Caribbean people in New Zealand could "pull together and do this."

> "You'll never get everybody" said **Cathy**. "But you have to have at least… maybe ten. Maybe, you know something? I think ten is about the number that you need to be able to share responsibility around and say: 'we can pull together and do this.'"
>
> **ANA'S LIME. OLE TALK FRAGMENT 178**

When representing their aspirations for their cultural community and the factors that in their opinion or experience had hindered the development of more cohesive networks, resources and organisational support for Caribbean migrants, participants generally referred to individual, personal experiences of confrontation, isolation, fragmentation and instances of strong mind. They did not refer to collective discourses to think about a migrant community, arguably because given its size and location in a non-traditional destination, these discourses are not currently available the way they would be in the UK or the US. Instead, participants' aspirations and frustrations were based on negative experiences with real people and individual needs that remained unmet by the current situation of our community.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed how our community was represented in the limes: our pride in what it is, our aspirations of what it could be and our frustrations about the issues that hinder its functioning as a space for affirmation and belonging. Whereas Cuban limers represented material support as an important function of the community, most limers from other countries had aspirations related to cultural connections, affirmation, and access to familiar ways of socialisation. Participants reflected on factors that hindered the realisation of our community's full potential as a space for cultural affirmation. On the one hand, there was a lack of collective ownership over community spaces, institutions and events. Community actions often fall on a few active members of the community who eventually become "burned out." On the other hand, personal disagreements between active members of the community had led to the emergence of factions that hindered collective action.

Chapter 10: Discussion

Part I: Liming Methodology

The purpose of this thesis was to develop a culturally affirming Caribbean methodology and utilise it to understand how Caribbean migrants construct their cultural identity in Aotearoa. Both research strands are complementary: the study of our ways of being should be guided by our own ways of knowing. This first part of the discussion section responds to the first research question: "How can the articulation of Caribbean identity be analysed using a culturally affirming research methodology?"

10.1 Liming Methodology for culturally affirming Caribbean research

In this thesis, I have developed Liming Methodology as a culturally affirming approach for Caribbean research, and utilised it in the study of cultural identity articulation among Caribbean migrants. Clough and Nutbrown (2012) have indicated that a methodology tells us how research questions are articulated with the questions asked in the field, while locating the claims which the research makes within the corresponding traditions of enquiry, whereas Harewood (2009) indicates that a research methodology clarifies and highlights our philosophical and political approach and standpoint. This thesis has confirmed the ability of Liming Methodology to perform these roles, underpinned by a decolonial epistemology whereby knowledge is constructed in connection with Caribbean ways of being. Liming as a Caribbean cultural practice guided the process through which participants were invited to join the study, how data was collected, analysed and written about, the position of the researcher and the participants and the relationships they established with one another. In summary, Liming Methodology performs the task of articulating Caribbean ontologies and epistemologies with the research practice, and, as Kovach (2009) suggests, connects 'the thinking' with 'the doing' in the research process.

Liming Methodology can be defined as a culturally affirming research approach. As established in **Chapter 2,** culturally affirming research methodologies can be understood as systematic strategies for collective knowledge construction that respond to the ways of being (ontology) and the ways of knowing (epistemology and methodology) of the community in which the research operates. In developing Liming Methodology, I have drawn on the conceptual frameworks provided by decolonial epistemologies constructed in the region. This is key, as the first step or culturally affirming research is to identify and dismantle the mechanisms that exclude non-Western ways of knowing from academia, which Quijano (2000) called coloniality of knowledge. The next step is the process of developing research approaches that enable our ways of being and our ways of knowing to be aligned. This is the task tackled by Liming Methodology.

Liming Methodology is qualitative, in as much as it privileges an interpretative approach to subject matters and focuses on the meanings people bring to them (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Nevertheless, this did not impede the use of quantitative techniques of data processing to support the qualitative analysis. For example, taking

part in the limes, I observed that older participants were more likely to use the term "West Indian" instead of "Caribbean." Later I used a compound analysis of wordcount and age attributes in NVivo to confirm the accuracy of my observation. Compound word counts also allowed me to determine that "West Indian" was frequently used in relation to cricket (**see section 6.1**). However, the rich dynamics of sense-making that liming propitiates could not have been analysed using a quantitative research approach.

Liming Methodology informs a critically reflexive (Wright & Kuper, 2019; Cunliffe, 2004; Morley, 2015) research practice. Throughout the research process, I was able to reflect on my experience and position as a Caribbean migrant woman, and the way in which this position was mediating my engagement in the limes. It is also from that position that I reclaimed Caribbean cultural practices as research approaches, and used them to analyse the process of identity construction in my community. Positionality in Liming Methodology follows the paths of scholars like Collins (1986) and Anzaldúa (1987), who have led the way in drawing on the power of critical reflexivity to explore social constructs such as identity, gender, race and the experience of colonisation.

Throughout the thesis, I systematically located myself culturally. Liming Methodology enabled a highly reflective research process, the researcher's beliefs, positions and experiences are always at the forefront of the sense-making practice. This is a point in common with indigenous methodologies as conceived of by Kovach (2009), who argues that

> Within Indigenous research, self-location means cultural identification, and it manifests itself in various ways. Indigenous researchers will situate themselves as being of an Indigenous group, be it tribal, urban, or otherwise. They will share their experience with culture, and/or they will identify the Indigenous epistemology (or epistemologies) of their research. (p.110)

Self-location of the researcher in Liming Methodology did not occur only in analysis and writing, but throughout the research process. The liming environment creates a space for the researcher to share her ideas, experiences and feelings with other limers. This approach has also been proposed by feminist methodologies, in which, as Liamputtong (2007) pointed out, researchers are encouraged to locate themselves and to share personal aspects of their own experience with research participants, which contributes to building reciprocity and trust. One of the consequences of this process of conscious self-location in Liming Methodology is that the researcher was de-centred in the research practice. By reflexively bringing my experience and positionality to the research process, I was able to engage in reciprocal learning with others, moving away

from the role of the neutral facilitator that some mainstream research methods (Vaughn, Shay Schumm, and Sinagub, 2013) seem to recommend.

Ole talk operated in this study as a research method, that is, as a systematic procedure for collecting data (Somekh and Lewin, 2005). The possibility of utilising ole talk as a research method was proposed by Fernández Santana, et al (2019), Nakhid-Chatoor et al (2018) and more recently, reinforced by Nakhid, Mosca and Nakhid-Schuster (2019). In this thesis, I have developed and trialled it as such, ascertaining the value and potential of this Caribbean communicative practice for knowledge construction. I found that, as suggested by Nakhid, Mosca and Nakhid-Schuster (2019) ole talk allows us to speak as our authentic selves, thus providing the most accurate way for us to share knowledge and for the most accurate and truthful knowledge to be elicited.

Ole Talk can be defined as a Caribbean conversational method. It enabled a collective process of meaning-making and knowledge construction among Caribbean people that, in the framework of the limes, was closely connected with other non-verbal meaning-making resources such as sharing sensory memories through food and music. It provided opportunities and ways for participants to share knowledge, but also to establish and sustain relationships through this shared knowledge (Nakhid-Chatoor et al. 2018).

In the limes, ole talk propitiated a flexible space for the articulation of meaning. Articulation is used here as defined by Hall (1985), to denote connections that are contingent, contextual and continually changing. In exploring identity through ole talk, limers' subject positions and senses of self were articulated with collective discourses about issues such as child-rearing, human relationships, racism, and belonging. This articulation was often carried out by means of performance, storytelling and humour, and subject positions were frequently challenged and rearticulated or on the contrary, reinforced. In a liming environment, humour and *relajo* as key components of ole talk, enabled a specific mode articulation where subject positions could be established provisionally. When dealing with complex issues in a context of *relajo*, participants could "try on," shape and reshape opinions, intentions and positions, without them being taken as definitive or fixed. This created an environment of permissibility in which diverse sides of controversial issues could be explored at ease. This environment also allowed participants from different ethnic, socioeconomic and educational backgrounds to jointly make sense of their experiences, resorting to shared cultural

competencies. The connections created through ole talk also allowed for ongoing topic discussions beyond the physical and temporal boundaries of the lime as an event.

The difference between Liming methodology and Ole Talk as research method is worth noting. Whereas Ole Talk is a conversational practice and a tool used to gather qualitative data as described above, Liming Methodology provides the rationale for why this method is appropriate in a Caribbean context and the lens through which analysis occurs. Liming methodology and the epistemology that sustains it, as articulated in Chapter 2, provide the principles that guide the selection of Ole Talk as a method for data collection that is connected with and affirming of the lived experience of Caribbean peoples.

Research stages in Liming Methodology

As shown in **Figure 28**, research using Liming Methodology consisted of three stages: (1) building connections, (2) liming, and (3) analysis and writing. The process of building connections started when participants were invited to lime and continued during and after the limes. Liming was the environment in which the research topic was discussed, through ole talk. Ole talk occurred in the limes as an unstructured mode of conversation in which participants were involved in their own terms and where humour and *relajo* were key communicative practices. The quick connections necessary for ole talk to occur were made possible by the familiarity that sharing (food, movement, spaces) enabled.

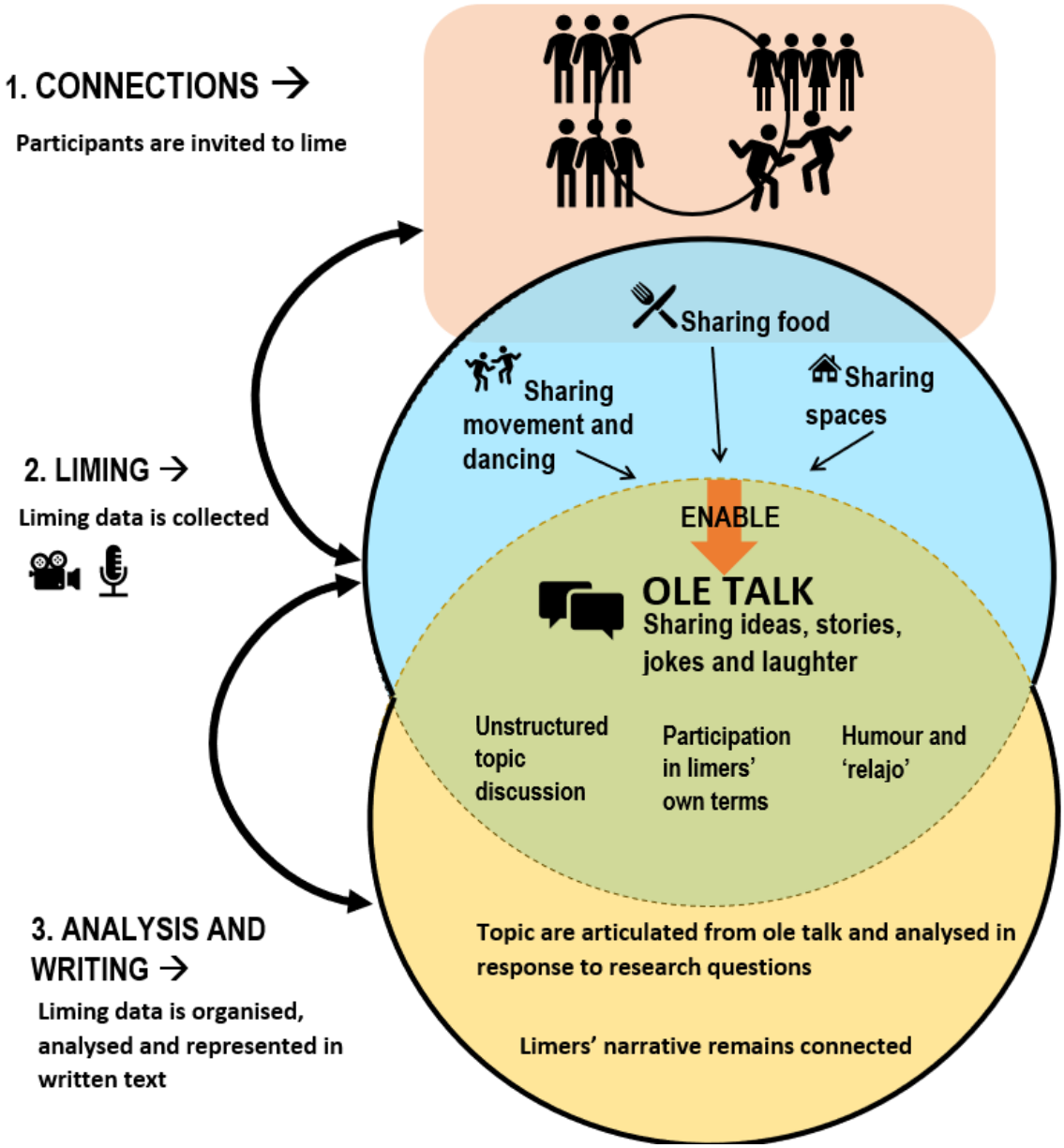

Figure 28: Intersection of liming and research process in Liming Methodology

The processes of data analysis and writing took place outside the liming environment, as an additional layer of meaning-making that responds to the research objectives. Data analysis could have been done as part of the limes, or as an extension of them, alongside participants, but this was not practicable due to academic time constraints. This is acknowledged as a limitation of the study and can be transformed in further used of Liming Methodology.

In analysing the data collected in the limes, I worked from the unique position of having taken part in all of them. This enabled me to synthesise the ideas shared by participants in response to the research question. Although analysis and writing were external to the limes, there was a continuum from the dynamics of liming and the ways in which data

were analysed and written, as follows. First, although topics were developed from the conversations that took place in the limes, the narrative of each limer remained connected across the topics in which their voice is represented. This is accomplished by sequentially numbered ole talk fragments which I cross-reference throughout the written text. Second, the written text that was generated to represent the liming, was structured in such a way that the reader can navigate back and forth between topics and between ole talk fragments and uncover the multiple layers of meaning, the multiplicity of voices, and the interconnectedness of limers' reflections. This non-linear structure intends to reproduce the dynamics of liming as much as allowed by a written text. Third, analysis and writing in Liming Methodology account for the experience of the researcher as a limer and as a member of the community in which the research is located.

Liming Methodology as developed and utilised in this thesis can be particularly useful for guiding empirical social research, an area in which there is a considerable void of culturally affirming methodologies in the region (Wilson, Nakhid, Fernandez Santana, & Nakhid-Chatoor, 2018). The analysis presented in this thesis aims to provide a stepping stone for future use and for the improvement of Liming Methodology in Caribbean research. A deep understanding of how the academic component and the cultural practice of liming intersect is key to developing research designs that do not lead to the transformation or simplification of liming, but that draw on its features to articulate a participatory and culturally affirming research process.

Scope of Liming Methodology

As a fluid, multi-layered framework for interaction, liming enables ideas, narratives, opinions, and reflections to be discussed in a non-linear way. In this study, this unpredictable, fluid, unstructured mode of knowledge construction was invaluable for a deep exploration of a wide topic such as cultural identity. There are three factors, however, that need to be considered when evaluating the scope of this research approach.

First, the highly spontaneous nature of liming in terms of participants, topics, location, dates, and frequency should be noted. Although it can be argued that these features are an advantage in qualitative research (for example, fluid and spontaneous emergence of topics and ideas can reveal new subjects and relationships relevant to the community and unforeseen by the researcher) they can be difficult to manage in research that is specific in its focus and limited by time.

Second, in the Caribbean imaginary, liming is culturally revered as a space for relaxation. Associating liming with research could create some dissonance and may require special attention to ensure that its intersection with research is not seen as disruptive, invasive, or alien to the organic occurrence of the limes. A commitment of the researcher to enable the liming environment to flow freely can help resolve this potential contradiction.

Third, Liming Methodology has been developed by and for Caribbean people. As such, the knowledge construction devices it conveys are highly specific to Caribbean culture and are reliant on cultural and communicative competencies that are shared by many Caribbean peoples. Accordingly, Liming Methodology can reach its full potential for meaning-making and knowledge construction when used by and with Caribbean people.

Comparing Liming with other qualitative methodologies

Liming Methodology is a culturally affirming strategy for Caribbean research that has some similarities with other qualitative research approaches, but also important differences.

Culturally affirming and indigenous methodologies as two aligned but distinct approaches to decolonial research

Liming Methodology is part of a movement for decolonial research worldwide, a movement in which indigenous peoples have led the way. Indigenous methodologies have taken a decolonial standpoint that is specific to the experience, worldviews, needs and politics of native, first nation people around the world. According to Kovach (2009) indigenous methodologies

> … are those that centre and privilege Indigenous knowledges. It goes deeper than mere Indigenous methodologies that share a relational and holistic foundation, but rather the knowledge must be localized within a specific tribal group. P.176

Methodologies such as African oral traditions (Tuwe, 2018), Talanoa (Ioane, 2017), Australian aboriginal Yarning (Walker, Fredericks, Mills & Anderson, D., 2014) and Kaupapa Māori approaches (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006) provide valuable examples of how practices that are consistent with the lived experience of non-Western communities can successfully inform academic research.

Indigenous methodologies respond to the research needs of indigenous peoples, who have inhabited the land for many centuries and generations, and have often become minorities in their own land, as a result of colonisation. Consequently, indigenous methodologies emerge from specific conditions, encompassing relatively demarcated cultural positionings, boundaries and agendas. Indigenous researchers creatively use localised customs, practices and artefacts to articulate alternative ways of constructing knowledge. For example, a research methodology based on the talking circles of the Crow people in North America, as described by Simonds & Christopher (2013) is based on the Crow tipi (tent), using the four poles that sustain the tipi structure as a metaphor to represent pivot points in the research process (context, expectations, history and time). Similarly, Jiménez Estrada (2005), a Mayan Indigenous scholar, uses the *Ceiba*, (Mayan's Tree of Life) as a conceptual research framework. In other cases, the principles of indigenous methodologies are an explicit contestation of conflictual practices used by non-native groups. Kaupapa Māori methodology (Cram, 2006), for

example, in the context of New Zealand bi-cultural society, uses principles like Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination), Taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations) and others, to hoist a critique of Pākehā (non-Māori) constructions and definitions of Māori.

It is strategic and powerful to draw on the commonality and shared objectives of decolonial methodologies while acknowledging the diversity of contexts to which they respond. Liming Methodology, as conceived of in this study, is aligned with indigenous methodologies as part of a worldwide decolonial movement in academic research, but is distinct from them. While indigenous methodologies draw on highly localised tribal knowledge and principles to construct research approaches, Liming Methodology operates in the Caribbean, a post-colonial context defined by ethnic intermixing, diversity and interconnectedness. The Caribbean, as analysed next, has its own challenges and potential to develop culturally affirming methodologies.

Liming Methodology and participatory action research (PAR)

There are important similarities between Liming Methodology as a Caribbean research approach and *Investigacion Accion Participativa,* translated to English as Participatory Action Research (PAR), which emerged in Latin America as a direct challenge to the disconnect between the emerging regional social sciences and the struggle and realities of oppressed segments of society, particularly rural communities. PAR was initially developed by the Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda, in a context of great social effervescence in 70's Latin America. Fals Borda described PAR as

> …an experiential methodology [which] implies the acquisition of serious and reliable knowledge upon which to construct power, or countervailing power, for the poor, oppressed and exploited groups and social classes - the grassroots - and for their authentic organizations and movement. (Fals Borda, 1991, p. 3)

As Streck (1999, p. 14) pointed out, PAR emerged from the context of a strong awareness of inequalities in Latin America and the struggle for social justice which was met with strong repression. Whereas authors such as Quijano (2000, 2013) and Maldonado Torres (2008) developed concepts of coloniality of power and coloniality of knowledge to highlight the relationship between inequality and epistemology, PAR defines inequality as a methodological issue. PAR is based on the premise that if the tools that are used to design, implement and socialise the results of research do not explicitly include the social actors that the study involves, those actors become objects, instead of agentic subjects in the research, and are ultimately silenced. This standpoint is shared by Liming Methodology. The conduct of research in a liming environment

draws on the premise that it is the participants themselves who can best decide which topics they are interested in discussing within the framework of the research. This dismantles the structures of power that are in place when the discussions stem from the preconceptions of the researcher and imposed on to the participants. These structures generate results that can, in the best of cases, represent the subject in question from a single, pre-determined point of view. In the worst case, the results can be harmful, unsafe, and disenfranchising for the groups or communities involved.

Intersubjectivity and the encounter of forms of knowledge

The way PAR conceives the involvement of social actors in the research process is shared by Liming Methodology. For PAR, both researcher and participants are agentic subjects actively involved in the research process. Hence, a relationship of intersubjectivity can be established, instead of a hierarchy in which participants are objectified and given no agency in the research process (Calderón & López Cardona, 2003). PAR regards subjectivity as an integral part of research and as a valuable source of meaning in a context where scientific rationality is insufficient. PAR puts forward a key term that reflects the connection of heart and mind, senses and rationality, thinking and feeling, that also occurs in a liming environment: the concept of *sentipensante* (roughly feeling-thinking). It denotes a connection between feeling and thought, a unity between the ethos and pathos from the perspectives of actors who think to feel and who feel what they think (Galeano, 1989). By embracing the messy nature of topics that cannot be contained in a purely rational framework (e.g. cultural identity), both Liming Methodology and PAR aim to enable representations of participants' mindscapes and heartscapes in an integral way, without forcing their transmutation into objectified fragments to fit the expectations of scientific rationality.

PAR and political activism

PAR fuses activism with empirical research and effectively detaches the locus of research from its traditional academic home (Jafte, Robles, & Rappaport, 2018). PAR is designed to enable research aimed at generating transformative action. This implies that the researcher will need to get deeply involved with the community to understand the change they want to make, the challenges they want to pose, and the knowledge they want to rescue. From the beginning, PAR has been closely intertwined with the peasant emancipation movement and the struggle for agrarian reform in several Latin American countries. Liming Methodology is based on practices that do not have a defined political

agenda. When used in research, however, Liming Methodology constitutes a knowledge construction strategy that prioritises consistency with the cultural and communicative strengths of those involved, instead of defaulting to Western standards, imposed by colonisation. This way of doing research does not force participants to translate their habitus of engaging with the expectations of an external research structure. In this sense, Liming Methodology is aligned with a movement for developing sovereign academic practices that are consistent with the reality and strengths of the people alongside whom the research takes place.

Role of the researcher

In PAR, unlike in Liming Methodology, the researcher intentionally wraps her subjectivity around the interests of the participants. PAR involves highly vulnerable and systematically silenced groups in research with emancipatory objectives. Accordingly, the researcher puts herself, her experiences and ideas on hold, to privilege those of the participants and work with them to accomplish their objectives. In Liming Methodology, researcher and participants engage in a more horizontal relationship of intersubjectivity, where both participants' and researchers' minds and heartscapes connect during ole talk. As much as the participants, the researcher may use the liming environment for sense-making, strategising, understanding, and healing.

Liming Methodology and autoethnography

Both practitioners and detractors of autoethnography locate this research methodology in the edge lands of academic research (Chang, 2008; Muncey, 2010), because of its intimate, personal connection with the researcher's subjectivity. Muncey (2010) defined autoethnography as (1) a genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural, (2) an ethnography that includes the researcher's vulnerable self, emotions, body and spirit and produces evocative stories that create the effect of reality and seeks fusion between social science and literature. It also questions the notion of a coherent, individual self, and (3) a self-narrative that critiques the situations of self with others in social contexts. Autoethnography completely subverts the notion of a detached, neutral researcher, and brings her life experience in its full messiness and fragmentation to the centre of the research discussion.

The researcher's role in Liming Methodology shares with autoethnography the idea that the researcher engages in research while living life, and there is no necessary distinction

between both (Muncey, 2010). However, unlike in autoethnography, in Liming Methodology the voice of the researcher is not centred in the process of knowledge construction but intertwined with that of other limers as they share or confront standpoints and journeys in an intersubjective relationship with each other.

Ole talk, narrative analysis, conversational analysis and indigenous conversational methods

Ole talk can be defined as a conversational method of knowledge construction, which responds to Caribbean ways of interaction. Ole talk presents some similarities, but also important differences with other research methods that involve the conversations and narratives, such as constructionist narrative analysis (Esin, Fathi & Squire, 2014), conversational analysis (CA) (Payne and Payne, 2004) and indigenous conversational methods, as systematised by Kovach (2010).

Constructionist narrative analysis, as described by Esin, Fathi and Squire (2014) explores how people story their lives, concentrating on the story as the analytical unit, focusing on the continuous narrative of one participant. Although narrative accounts are frequent in ole talk, we can never be certain whether a single participant is going to share a continuous narrative or if it is going to be interspersed with those of others. Furthermore, meaning in ole talk is generated through the multi-layered interaction of limers around a topic, rather than by the narrative of one participant.

The purpose and operation of conversational analysis (CA) is also different from ole talk. Although both rely on conversation as a way of constructing knowledge, as Payne and Payne (2004) have noted, in conversational analysis, texts of naturally occurring talk are transcribed from audio-recordings and analysed in great detail in search of patterns contained in talk, which are organised sequentially. As a method, CA claims to be “rigorous, technical and capable of replication” (pp.3-4). In Ole talk, the analysis does not focus on the formal linguistic patterns in limers’ conversations, but on their content and the meaning they have for the limer that shared them, as well as for others in the lime. Important parts of ole talk, including prosodic information (intonation, gestures, and stress patterns), overlap, humour, and laughter are not analysed on their own, but used to gain a better understanding of the meaning represented in the conversations.

Ole talk presents more similarities with indigenous conversational methods, which, as discussed by Kovach (2010)

> …comprise a specific way of knowing based upon the oral tradition of sharing knowledge. It is akin to what different Indigenous researchers, the world over, identify as storytelling, yarning, talk story, re-storying, re-membering. (p.124)

In indigenous conversational methods, like ole talk, relationships are of vital importance and the researcher is positioned as a participant. Through collaborative storying (Bishop, 1999) both parties become engaged in a shared process of knowledge construction and the relationship builds and deepens as stories are shared.

As Kovach (2010) has noted, indigenous conversational methods align with an indigenous worldview because they are informed by protocols consistent with tribal knowledge identified as guiding the research. As Kovach pointed out, protocol is of high importance in indigenous contexts as a means to ensure that activities are carried out in a manner that reflects community teachings. Conversely, ole talk is a highly unstructured mode of interaction that is not reliant on protocols. Although there are important cultural competencies underlying its occurrence (e.g. the ability to engage in simultaneous conversation and the use of humour), the way in which participants utilise these competencies is largely unprescribed. Additionally, the habitus of engaging that underpins ole talk is not one that can be related to a single ethnic group, as is the case with indigenous conversational methods, but one that developed in the Caribbean as a point of entanglement (Glissant, 1989) of many peoples.

Ole talk and focus groups

Ole talk as a method has important differences with arguably similar mainstream qualitative methods such as focus groups (Davis, 2016; Stewart & Shamdasani, 2015). Both ole talk and focus groups rely on group environments for the collection of data. In focus groups (Davis, 2016) however, data are generally collected using a guide or outline of topics that might be discussed, and questions that might be asked, in the order they might potentially be discussed or asked. Even in studies that use focus groups with more unstructured facilitation, as exemplified by Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2013), pre-determined open-ended prompts are used to guide conversation. In ole talk, discussion flows freely based on factors related to the interests of all participants (e.g. interest in the topic of conversation, interest in the speaker, and performative resources such as humour and storytelling, etc.). In focus groups, it is expected that each participant will be able to speak to the themes with the researcher moderating the discussion to ensure balanced participation and representation (Davis, 2016). During a lime, members speak (or not) freely. It is expected and accepted that some people will

contribute simply by listening. If participants are uncomfortable with the way that the lime or the conversation is going, they can shift the discussion or remove themselves from it altogether.

Additionally, focus groups (Davis, 2016) cover a pre-determined sample purposively selected based on participants' characteristics in relation to the research topic (e.g. whether they are clients of a specific company or public transport users). In research conducted through liming and ole talk, participants respond to the researcher's invitation out of shared interest in the topic or in the lime itself. In addition to those who respond to the researcher's invitation, others may join freely through association, interest or friendship with other limers. This reinforces the fluidity of a lime and the shared power in the construction of the group.

Additionally, in focus groups, the researcher is expected to act as a facilitator, often following a facilitation guide prepared beforehand. The researcher adopts a role that is detached from the ongoing discussion, which they moderate in order to optimise the obtention of information in response to the research objectives.

> Once you're in the group, the most important thing you can do as a facilitator is to be an excellent listener and to know what's been discussed; what needs to be questioned, probed, or clarified; and what's been covered sufficiently. It's important to remember that every step of the way, during the planning and facilitating stages, everything must lead to obtaining good-quality information from the group discussion that will address your research questions and study objectives. (Davis, 2016, p. 34)

Although some authors, for example, Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2013), have suggested that facilitation in focus groups can be responsive and empathic, in order to democratise interactional spaces and allow participants to have a sense of safety and ownership of the activity. This is aimed at allowing the researcher "to witness something close to 'natural' group dynamics" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013, p. 43) from the outside. Conversely, in ole talk the researcher is positioned as a limer. From this position, they can ask questions and suggest topics as can any other limer, but they do not have control over the interaction that is occurring. Significantly, the researcher is not detached from the conversation. Ole talk enables the researcher to engage in the process of collective knowledge construction, sharing their own experiences, ideas and stories with other limers.

Part II: Identity negotiation

In this part of the discussion section, I synthesise the findings of this thesis in response to the second research question: "How do Caribbean migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand articulate their cultural identity? Findings showed that cultural identity was likely to require negotiation when migration occurred. Here, I analyse the different strategies used by limers to negotiate their cultural identity over time and the factors that influenced this negotiation. I also discuss our aspirations regarding the ability of the Caribbean community in Aotearoa to constitute a space of cultural affirmation and belonging.

10.2 Identity negotiation strategies of Caribbean migrants in Aotearoa

The results discussed in this section respond to the following research question:

How do Caribbean migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand articulate their cultural identity?

In **Chapter 4**, I conceptualised cultural identity as the articulation of our individual sense of self with collective discourses, within cultural systems. This concept of cultural identity was not used deductively to guide discussion about cultural identity since conversation about the topic flowed naturally in response to participants' interests. This conceptual framework for identity construction as a process of articulation provided a wide and flexible theoretical underpinning for the analysis of participants' ole talk. Using this framework, I have synthesised the knowledge generated in the limes in five key findings, as follows:

1. The Caribbean habitus of engaging in human relations appeared to be the most important component in participants' representation of their home culture.
2. Migration brings about changes that are likely to require the negotiation of cultural identity and the corresponding negotiation of individuals' interpretive frameworks and subject positions. However, the negotiation strategies utilised by participants can vary considerably from one migrant to the other, and the resulting subject positions and interpretive frameworks are likely to change over time.
3. Othering practices can exert significant symbolic pressure on those migrants who are represented as "others" in the dominant cultural system.
4. In-betweenness as a subject position can be a site of conflict, as well as creativity.
5. The Caribbean community of New Zealand shares a strong collective identity, constituted by a collective consciousness of having shared subject positions and interpretive frameworks. Low collective efficacy, however, appears to limit our community's agency and ability to take collective action.

Finding 1: The Caribbean habitus of engaging in human relations

was the most important component in participants' representation of their home culture and the most salient difference they established with the New Zealand cultural system.

The Caribbean way of being and our habitus of relating as humans was the most salient aspect in participants' representations of the Caribbean as a cultural space, and of themselves as individuals within it. Even cultural products and practices such as dancing, music, food, rum, coffee, and religion, were often represented in relation to their role in human relations. This is consistent with results obtained by other empirical studies about Caribbean identification in migrant contexts. Campbell and McLean (2002), for example, found that Caribbean migrants in the UK identified with Caribbean ways of engagement, characterised by an easy and relaxed inter-connectedness which they contrasted strongly with the ways of white English people.

In this study participants' representation of human relations in the Caribbean consistently referred to four interconnected characteristics: warm, fast, easy, and blunt[50]. These attributes are not discrete, but interconnected parts of a shared cultural habitus. For example, our inclination to be warm and expressive tends to make relationships evolve quickly and easily. The same inclination can make engagements blunt. Overall, limers represented a distinctive rhythm in the ways we relate with each other. Attributes such as immediate familiarity, ease around physical contact and expressions of affection, as well as a general disregard for protocols, were found to enable quick connections among Caribbean people. This distinctive rhythm, somewhat elusive to precise explanation, has been found by Caribbean writers such as Benítez Rojo (1985) to be a distinctive feature of the Caribbean culture: "the Caribbean rhythm is in fact a meta-rhythm which can be arrived at through any system of signs, whether it be dance, music, language, text or body language" (p. 445). In this case, it was represented as a rhythm in human connections that participants repeatedly identified as distinctively "ours".

"Sharing" emerged in the conversations within the limes as an important practise that is deeply entrenched in our modes of engagement and often has profound symbolic implications for those who share. Sharing food, for example, emerged as a practice that

[50] See examples in Table 4: "Our ways" versus "their ways" in approaching relationships in Appendix C

symbolises community and support. Although sometimes stemming from material necessity, sharing carried further meaning. In the Cuban lime, for example, sharing was represented as a symbol of accompaniment, connectedness and safety. The sharing of spaces, especially the space of the home, was represented as a sign of openness and feeling at ease with each other. Physical closeness and contact (e.g. hugging, kissing) were represented as other ways of sharing, associated with warmth and familiarity. Sharing responsibility, especially regarding childrearing, conveyed a notion of family where the boundaries between consanguinity and community are blurred, as illustrated by the valued custom of calling close adults "aunty" and "uncle" as a sign of respect and appreciation.

The salience of sharing as a cultural practice aligns with the idea that Caribbean societies are collectivistic (Burholt, Dobbs, & Victor, 2018). This societal definition does not entail that all members of Caribbean societies confer the same meaning to collectivist practices, but that, in general, Caribbean socio-cultural systems stress cohesiveness, strong ties between individuals, group solidarity, emotional inter-dependence, and collective identity (Bhugra and Becker, 2005). Although the culture of indigenous Māori in Aotearoa can be conceived of as collectivistic, mainstream culture and societal systems in New Zealand are individualistic, as they stress freedom, loose ties between individuals, emotional independence, liberalism, self-sufficiency, individual initiative, and autonomy (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). In this study, moving from one collectivistic cultural system to an individualistic one required extensive negotiation of participants' interpretive frameworks and subject positions, especially regarding human relations.

Humour, especially in the form of teasing, *jodedera*, and *relajo* was directly reflected upon and woven throughout participants' ole talk as a cultural practice that is fundamental to the Caribbean rhythm of engaging that participants described. The utilisation of humour was inherently rhythmic. Like a dance, it required both the humourist and the audience to know the steps and relied on precise moves to cause the intended effect of generating shared laughter, yet another way of sharing. As a highly performative practice, humour was often used to gain or keep the floor during conversation, as well as to divert talk from uncomfortable or uninteresting topics.

Humour was also used as a strategy for resilience, especially when confronted with othering practices. Participants' use of humour in collective sense-making about experiences of racism and discrimination allowed a shift from discourses of deficit and

victimisation and was utilised to affirm limers' symbolic agency. Adopting the powerful position of the mocker, participants delegitimated the othering narrative. Shared mocking and laughter about racist attitudes occurred as a powerful mode of solidarity. It contributed to stripping the othering experience of its denigrating power, by turning the racist into the mocked other. This finding is consistent with the claims of authors such as Gallo (2006), Carrillo (2006) and Carpio (2008), who found humour to be a tool of resistance in othered communities. As Carillo (2006) found in her study with migrant Latina women, humour has immense power as a tool for agentive repositioning against oppression.

The Caribbean habitus of human relations was often counterposed with participants' experience of the dominant culture in New Zealand, in which human engagement was perceived as distant, slow, difficult, and polite. When operating socially in our home countries, our habitus of relating to one another is seldom an object of attention. As Robert said, you don't have to think about "what makes people tick" (**Ole talk fragment 56**) because the habitus of relating is familiar. Findings show that, after migrating to New Zealand where human relations operate in a different way, participants had to make a conscious effort to come to terms with the difference, which made them conscious about their learned and valued ways of engaging. This difference frequently generated conflict and required negotiation around interpersonal and family relationships, childrearing, and everyday interactions.

Finding 2: Migration brings about changes that are likely to require the negotiation of cultural identity.

However, the negotiation strategies utilised by participants can vary considerably from one migrant to another, and the resulting subject positions and interpretive frameworks are likely to change over time.

For most limers in this study, including myself, migration can be conceived of as a shift from the cultural system of the Caribbean home country to the cultural system of New Zealand. Before migrating, we articulated our senses of self with collective discourses within Caribbean cultural systems, adopting interpretive frameworks regarding issues such as childrearing, family relations, ethnic relations, etc. These interpretive frameworks acted as maps of meaning with which we were able to make sense of our experience back home. After migrating to New Zealand, these maps of meaning no longer sufficed to make sense of life in our new country, and they frequently clashed with the expectations, assumptions, and habitus of others whose interpretive

frameworks had been constructed within the New Zealand cultural system. In other words, migration created a disjuncture between how we interpreted the world upon migrating and what Kramer (2016) called the hermeneutic horizon of the host society. This disjuncture required, for most of us, some negotiation of our interpretive frameworks and our subject positions, which impacted on our practice and in the meaning we attached to it.

The knowledge constructed in the limes confirmed what other studies about identity in Caribbean communities, such as Plaza (1996), Wilson (2002), McGill (2001), Darias Alfonso (2013), and Gibbs (2015), have concluded: the negotiation of cultural identity in Caribbean migrant communities is highly contingent and depends on participants' individual aspirations and needs. Accordingly, there were considerable differences in the ways in which identity negotiation took place. These differences can be roughly synthesised as: (a) differences in the strategies used to negotiate cultural identity, (b) differences in the post-migration narratives of success with which participants articulated their sense of self and (c) differences in the interpretive frameworks used to make sense of life in New Zealand over time.

Differences in the strategies used to negotiate cultural identity

The findings revealed that participants utilised at least three strategies to negotiate their cultural identity in New Zealand. These strategies can be conceived of as conceptual frameworks for understanding migrant identification and are, as such, simplifications of complex empirical phenomena for analytic purposes. These are:

a. **Resistance**: participants reinforced the articulation between their interpretive frameworks and cultural system of their home country. They did so by attaching positive meaning to values, attributes and behaviours that they associated with their home culture and resisting those associated with the New Zealand culture by assigning comparatively negative meaning to them. These participants did not transform their practices, and their narratives emphasised the intentionality of this maintenance. When clashes occurred, they coped by further reinforcing their interpretive frameworks and rejecting those of others. An example of this strategy can be found in Mariposa's approach to physical contact (**ole talk fragment 39**), and Nils' approach to child rearing (**ole talk fragment 70**).

b. **Empathy**: Participants sustained the articulation of their interpretive frameworks with the cultural system of the home country. Nevertheless, they were understanding and empathetic towards the interpretive frameworks existent in New Zealand's dominant culture and were willing to make some compromises in their practice. Participants' narratives show that this strategy did not necessarily entail an adaptation of their interpretive frameworks in response to the New Zealand culture, but a modification stemming from empathy. Accordingly, participants were willing to compromise on their practice and change some behaviours while maintaining others. An example of this strategy is in Natalie's approach to child-rearing, where her interpretive frameworks still responded to the "Caribbean way," but she empathised with the values of others and made some changes to her practice to accommodate them (**ole talk fragment 65).**

c. **Adaptation**: When operating within the New Zealand cultural system (e.g. interacting with groups of New Zealanders) some participants incorporated values and behaviours they associated with the New Zealand cultural system to their interpretive frameworks, and often transformed their practice to avoid conflict. This did not necessarily imply that these participants' interpretive frameworks became disarticulated from the home cultural system. When participants operated in contexts where the New Zealand cultural system was not dominant (e.g when we got together to lime among Caribbean people), participants frequently defaulted to the interpretive framework articulated with the home culture. An example of this is Miguel's approach to physical contact when greeting people. After several negative experiences when his way of greeting people (hugging and kissing) clashed with others' expectations, he adopted the "New Zealand way" (shaking hands), especially around New Zealanders. In the lime with Cubans however, he hugged each person upon arrival (**ole talk fragment 39**) and shared others limers' opinion that physical contact is a positive expression of warmth in human relations. The three strategies are summarised in **Figure 29.**

These strategies were not discrete, as often participants switched from one to another depending on the situation. Overall, I found that participants were more likely to adapt or compromise aspects of their practice that were not strongly articulated with their sense of self. For example, Natalie represents the modes of childrearing that she is willing to adapt in empathy with others as things "she grew up doing" and that are important for her, but not as part of "who she is". Conversely, Mariposa represents her

approach to humour and to physical contact as part of "who she is" and accordingly is not willing to change just to make others more comfortable. In summary, learned behaviours were more easily negotiated and transformed than attributed that were articulated with participants' sense of self.

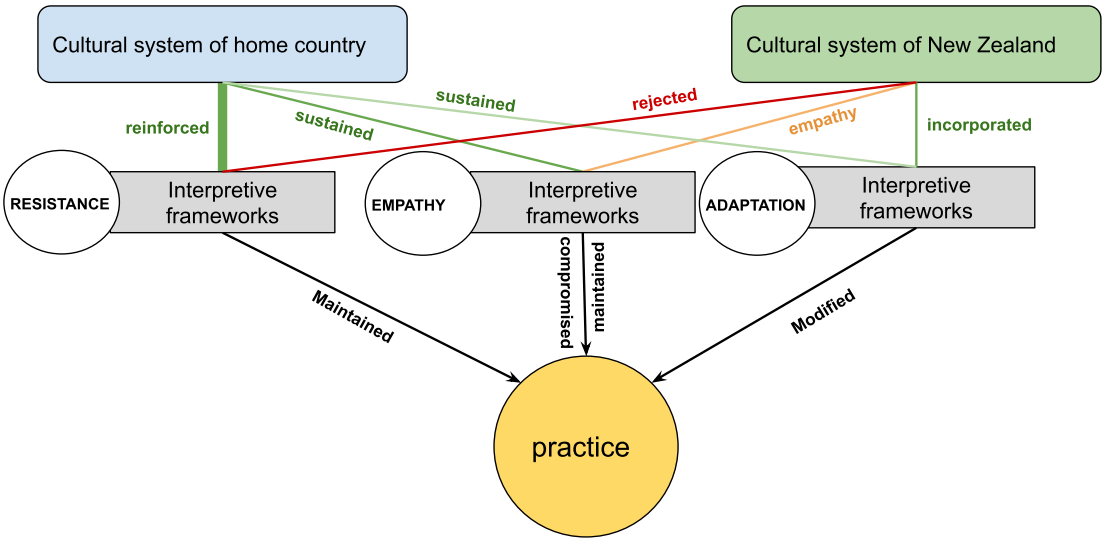

Figure 29: Negotiating interpretive frameworks and practice between different cultural systems

There are important differences between the strategies of resistance, empathy and adaptation as analytical tools, and other models of acculturation that have been used to think about identification in migrant contexts such as *assimilation* (Gordon, 1964; Alba and Nee, 2003; Zhou, 1997; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), *integration* (Modood, 2014; Barry 2001) and *multiculturalism* (Modood, 2013; Pfeffer, 2015; Murphy, 2012). These models of acculturation are analytic tools that take the standpoint of the host society and aim to offer conceptual frameworks to explain how receiving countries understand and manage difference, rather than focus on migrants' own ideas about migration and their relations with home cultures (Olwig, 2011).

Conversely, the strategies I described above (resistance, empathy and adaptation) explain how migrants negotiate their identity in their new country, in response to their own needs, narratives of self and aspirations. To be clear, strategies of resistance, empathy and adaptation are, too, processes of acculturation, in the sense that they result from contact between individuals or groups from different cultural backgrounds (Merton, 2014). The difference is that they take the standpoint of the migrant as agent in the process of shifting from one cultural system to another.

Differences in post-migration narratives of success

Results suggest that the post-migration narratives of success and improvement that participants construct may influence their process of identification and how they make sense of their experience in New Zealand. As discussed in the Cuban lime, findings show that those participants who established migration as a life goal and mobilised considerable resources to attain it, considered their eventual migration an achievement and articulated their sense of self with narratives of success and improvement. These narratives provided a sense of coherence and validated participants' decision to leave the home country. They also operated as protective mechanisms for feelings of nostalgia and other challenges participants faced in New Zealand (e.g. cultural differences), thus making participants more resilient.

Participants for whom migration was a life event relatively unrelated to their goals (i.e. they migrated through family reunification, partner's work) did not construct these narratives. These participants maintained high expectations regarding valued aspects of the lived they left behind (e.g. social connectedness, professional accomplishment). They also tended to regard challenges brought about by migration (e.g. cultural difference, professional downward mobility) from a more pessimistic perspective.

The study of success and improvement in migrant populations has frequently focused on "ascertaining the extent to which migrants have attained upward mobility, as measured by 'objective' national indicators such as occupation, housing and education" (Olwig, 2011, p.42). My findings suggest that migrant's experience of success and criteria for upward mobility in the host society may not be so simply related. Olwig (2011) has also indicated that this relation is not linear. Based on over twenty years of ethnographic work with Caribbean migrants she noted that migrants frequently evaluated their success

> …in relation to different frames of reference involving varying value sets and social norms that gave meaning and purpose to their particular lives. In this way, they could see themselves as respectable persons, whether or not their life trajectories conformed to established notions of success in the receiving society. (p.44)

Research that fails to account for the non-linear relation between migrants' experience of success and the criteria for upward mobility of the host society (e.g. Niekerk, 2007), even if it aims to assist migrants' settlement, has contributed to perpetuating discourses of deficit and failure that are extremely detrimental to migrant communities. I am not suggesting here that research, policy and institutions should not work towards a more

equitable participation of migrants in labour markets and education, but that, as Olwig (2011) has suggested, they should go "beyond methodological nationalism by focusing on the experiences and perceptions of the people who move rather than the success or failure of national agendas of integrating new citizens" (p.51).

Differences in the interpretive frameworks used to make sense of life in New Zealand over time

As reflected in participants' conversations, living in the home country means that the unwritten rules, practices, rhythms, gestures, and modes of verbal and non-verbal communication that we learned through experience are widely shared and understood by others. In Caribbean countries where a variety of cultures and habitus coexist, individuals usually develop skills to navigate this diversity as familiar territory. Life in the home country can generate conflicts so serious that they may lead to the decision to migrate, but these conflicts are deeply understood through years of individual and collective sense-making. Although this knowledge of our social environment may not have been conscious when living back home (it was just how we went about our lives) limers' conversations show that having the ability to decipher our social world generated feelings of connectedness and security.

When settling into their new country, however, migrants' habitus are no longer shared by the majority, and, as findings show, encountering unfamiliar practices, and behaviours can generate uncertainty and anxiety. Findings showed that when others' behaviours were unfamiliar or unexpected, especially in the early stages of migration, participants usually interpreted them according to the codes of the home culture. This often led to attaching negative connotations to these behaviours. For example, when people did not respond to Rosa's greetings in the bus stop or did not stop for her to cross the street outside of the marked crossings (**ole talk fragment 54**), she interpreted these behaviours as rude, as she would if they had occurred in the Caribbean.

Other participants who had lived in the country for a longer period were more likely to interpret the behaviours and practices of New Zealanders in the framework of the cultural system of New Zealand, rather than using the codes of the home culture. Results show that many participants who had lived in New Zealand for years, still interpreted behaviours using interpretive frameworks they adopted from within the home culture. However, increased experience and a better understanding of New Zealand's culture, history and collective discourses was likely to make migrants more

empathetic towards behaviours and values that were different from their own. For example, Lucas' interpretive frameworks about friendship were connected to Cuban values. Over time however, he became more empathetic towards New Zealanders' approach to friendship, although he still perceived them as being those of the "other" (ole talk fragment 58).

In summary, findings showed that the interpretive frameworks that participants utilise to make sense of behaviour and practices in their new country are likely to change over time. In general, as participants became more familiar with the cultural system of New Zealand, they were likely to utilise an emic perspective to make sense of the behaviours and practices of New Zealanders by utilising codes that are meaningful within New Zealand's cultural system, instead of codes stemming from a Caribbean worldview (**Figure 30**).

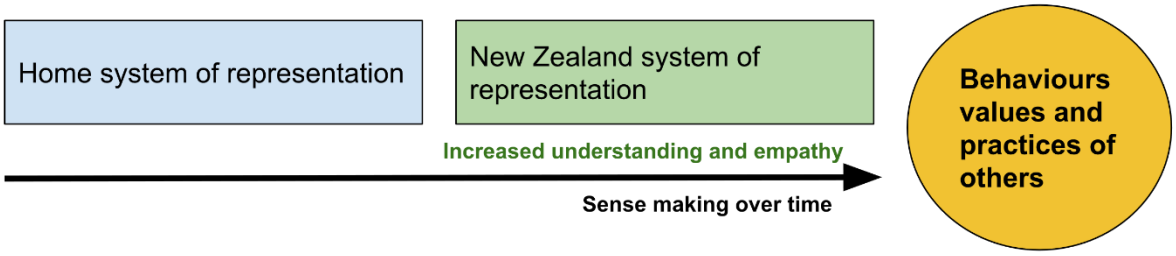

Figure 30: Empathy and sensemaking overtime

Finding 3: Othering practices can exert significant symbolic pressure on those migrants who are represented as "others" in the dominant cultural system.

In addition to factors related to participants' own material conditions, circumstances and decisions, the way in which limers negotiated their subject positions and interpretive frameworks as migrants also depended on how they were perceived and treated by others. The data show that migrants of colour were considerably more likely to be the target of othering practices from people who adopted dominant positions of privilege. Othering practices operated by assigning negative attributes to individuals based on stereotypes instead of factual reality (e.g. dismissing highly qualified professionals on the assumption that they were not in charge), offensive remarks or assumptions (e.g. calling participants "nigger," assuming they were dealing drugs or had experience with guns), rejection (e.g. neighbours avoiding contact due to skin colour) and objectifying or exoticising curiosity (e.g. asking participants if their hair could be touched).

Besides causing distress at the moment of their occurrence, othering practices caused an ongoing conflict between participants' avowed identity and the negative attributes they were being ascribed. To cope with this conflict, participants developed protective mechanisms through which they affirmed their avowed identity. These mechanisms emerged in the findings as creative strategies for dismantling the other's privilege. In most cases, they went beyond direct confrontation, including challenging the other's underlying assumptions and using humour to subvert the meaning of the racial aggression. Humour, as a coping mechanism, as Taylor (1994) argued, did not avoid or deny anger, but specifically disallowed the normative view of others.

The results showed that the subject position adopted by participants towards discourses of race and racism in New Zealand differed depending on whether they were socialised in a system that represented them as a racialised other or not. Participants who were socialised in the UK, like Sheila for example, were more likely to expect racism in New Zealand and were not surprised to experience it, and utilised strategies of resistance that they had already developed. Conversely, participants who were socialised in the Caribbean were surprised and outraged by their experiences of racism in New Zealand, because they did not see themselves as racialised others. This was also found by Brannen, Elliott and Phoenix (2016) who argue that migrants frequently described the Caribbean as a haven from racism, and found it shocking when they experienced racism in UK.

Some authors have suggested that discourses of racial pride can act as a shield with which new migrants confront experiences of racism in the new country. Reynolds (2012), for example, suggested that Afro-Caribbean women who are recent migrants to the UK perform a poignant representation of black feminine identity and subvert notions of European style and beauty**.** My findings do not support this argument, to the extent that the racial consciousness Reynolds (2012) found new migrants to perform, had not been established by participants in my who grew up in the Caribbean. Before coming to New Zealand, most participants newly arrived from the Caribbean had not articulated their sense of self with any racial discourse. As Derek summed up, before coming to New Zealand, he knew himself as a man, not as a black man (**ole talk fragment 147**). For new migrants, developing and using defence mechanisms against racism brought about a racial self-awareness that was, in many cases not called upon before migration.

My findings align with theories advanced by Caribbean authors such as Sylvia Wynter (1995, 2003) and Frantz Fanon (1956, 2011) who have written about race, especially in relation to the dominant positions of racists. The position of these authors, to which my findings relate, was summarised by Mignolo (2015) as follows: "I am who I am in relation to the other who sees me as such; and, in a society structured upon racial hierarchies, becoming black is bound up with being perceived as black by a white person" (p. 116).

Findings also indicate that participants with multiple racial heritage, like Kenia, Sheila and Dawson, were especially vulnerable to othering practices stemming from essentialist discourses of race. As persons of colour, they experienced racism from white people, but were also denied participation in black spaces on the grounds of being "too white", a double process of exclusion that Sheila described as getting "denial from both flocks." The logic of ethnic essentialism regards black and white as "the fixed, mutually impermeable expressions of racial and national identity" (Gilroy, 2002, p. 69) and portrays the confrontation between the two as the only recognised and valid arena for conflict. As the conflict between the two polarised subject positions is addressed widely in media, politics, research, literature, art and every-day interactions, symbolic resources (such as collective discourses) become available to generate counter-narratives against discrimination. This creates an array of sense-making tools that can help individuals confront othering experiences.

However, discourses of ethnic essentialism were unsuitable for participants of mixed racial heritage. Othering practices experienced by participants in these liminal positions frequently stemmed from deeply embedded racialised discourses of national identity (e.g. white Britain), which Gilroy (2002) called "a rigid, pseudo-biological definition of national culture introduced by ethnic absolutism" (p. 243). In participants' experience, this ethnic absolutism was internalised by dominant discourses in New Zealand. Participants of colour who grew up in the UK and had a British accent repeatedly experienced the conflict generated by these two features (black skin and British accent) which were mutually exclusive in some people's interpretive frameworks. **Figure 31** summarises some of the attributes assigned to participants' appearance as a person of colour and their British accent respectively.

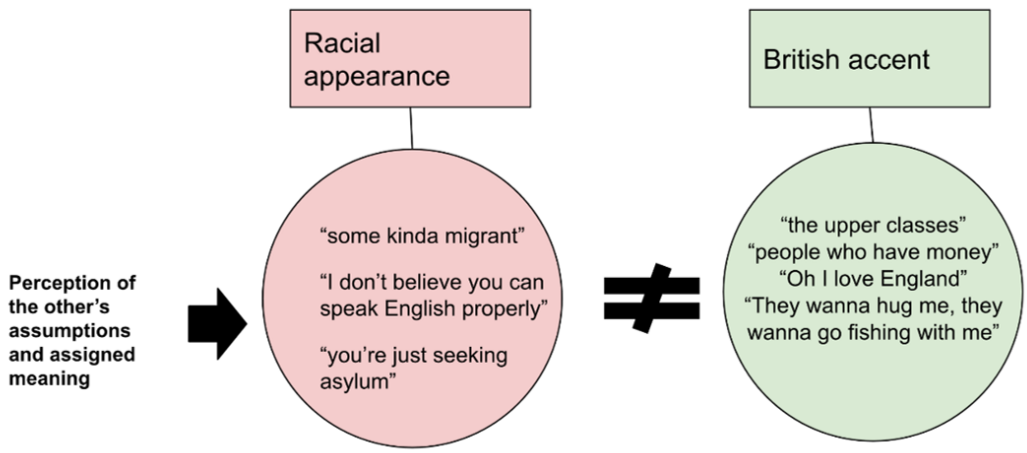

Figure 31: Participants' account of contradictory assumptions and meaning assigned to racial appearance and accent

Although the findings focussed on participants' individual experiences and responses to othering practices, discrimination was far from constrained to individual interactions. My findings reinforce what authors such as Doane (1997) and Kakenmaster (2016) suggested when they claimed that othering positionings entail establishing one social group as the central, standard norm, while other groups are positioned in the periphery, based on their relative difference. This is a process that entails far more than individual subjectivities and agency, involving historical narratives, institutionalised formal rules, and internalised social norms and relations. It was not my objective to analyse race and ethnicity in New Zealand's cultural system and my findings are based on migrants' experiences, rather than on New Zealanders' perceptions about migration. Nevertheless, participants' experiences suggest that the "preferred migrant" is still racialised construct in New Zealand (Ward and Masgoret, 2008; Johnston, Gendall, Trlin, and Spoonley, 2010, 2012; Kumar, 2015 and Lowe, 2016). Accordingly, migrants who were perceived as different from the Anglo-Celtic culture and ethnicity were more vulnerable to experiencing racism. The experiences shared by participants suggest that, as Aymer (2011) has noted,

> The history of any host society, its racial/ethnic myths about itself, and those that it creates about foreigners, all help determine the access to socio-economic opportunities and the levels of inclusion that immigrants enjoy (p.2)

Othering practices did not operate only with respect to race, as language and accent were also salient markers of difference. Studies on migrant experiences have highlighted linguistic competence as a major conditioning factor of migrant experiences (e.g. Bhugra & Becker, 2005; King, 2002; Scott, 2009). According to Bhugra and Becker (2005), language competency prompts individuals to venture into the dominant culture. King (2002) defined linguistic competence as the most significant indicator of

migrants' ability to come to terms with the local culture upon migrating. However, most experiences of discrimination shared by participants were not related to their proficiency in the English language but to their accent, which, when perceived as foreign often triggered mocking and offensive remarks. Limers' experiences showed that othering practices from the dominant culture related to their accents could affect migrants' ability to engage with it, regardless of their language proficiency. This finding is consistent with those presented by Tuwe (2018) in a recent study about employment issues faced by African migrants in New Zealand. The author found that a foreign accent was a major barrier to employment and the promotion of migrants, irrespective of their English language proficiency, skills or qualifications.

The experience of participants who had British accents was more nuances. Some, like Gabe, found that his British accent often helped switch the attitude of his interlocutor from negative and dismissive to positive and friendly. Sheila, on the other hand, observed that some white New Zealanders found her British accent contradictory with her racial appearance as a woman of colour, which generated conflict and negative attitudes towards her.

The results of this study showed an important difference between the assertion of difference as a process inherent in identity construction and othering practices. The construction of cultural identities is necessarily relational. As Okolie (2009) proposed, identity has little meaning without the "other." In this study, limers continuously represented their identity, drawing on their difference with others. For example, they represented themselves as warm and caring, whereas the dominant culture in New Zealand was represented as distant. However, this was always a reflexive practice. Even when participants represented the values and attributes of their home culture as superior to those of New Zealand, they did so while positioned in their "Caribbeannes", that is, locating themselves culturally.

Conversely, othering practices as represented by limers' conversations, operated through what Wynter (2003) called "over-representation." Wynter (2003) explained over-representation as the process through which one ethnicity, class, gender, etc., "over-represents itself as if it were the human itself" (p. 260) erasing its own cultural positioning. For example, the over-represented culture is presented as "just culture," whereas all other cultures are assigned the ethnic marker of the other. Non-white communities are represented as "ethnic communities" whereas white groups are "just people."

As represented in participants' conversations, discrimination involved dominant others positioning themselves in a symbolic centre from which racial appearance and accent were evaluated as different, without an awareness of this positioning which was made invisible by systemic privilege. This supports Okolie's (2009) claims that definitions of self and others have purposes and consequences, and that dominant cultural systems provide unequal opportunities for different groups to define themselves and others.

The findings show that othering practices, whether based on race or language, operate under the principle advanced by Wynter (1995), who proposed that dominant cultural systems use "mobile classificatory labels" (p. 20) that serve to detach people from their moorings in reality in order to convert them into stereotyped images, that are descriptive (used to assign stereotypical attributes) and behaviour-prescriptive (used to guide and anticipate action in response to the stereotypes). Results suggest that the labels operating within othering practices did not only describe participants as the "less able other," "the violent other," or "the exotic other" but set up an expectation that they would act as such.

In their conversations, participants also discussed how actions that are not inherently racist can operate as othering practices, depending on the context. That was the case of the question "where are you from" which, for some participants, could be interpreted as "why are you black?" (See Cathy's reflection in **ole talk fragment 123** and Kenia's in **ole talk fragment 121**). Participants' interpretation of the question depended on the position they perceived their interlocutor to adopt, and the context in which the question was made. For example, participants were more likely to give the question an othering connotation when it was asked too early in an interaction. Additionally, the question was perceived as more contentious when coming from white people.

Overall, findings indicate that the connotation of the question may be a matter of positioning, involving (a) the position adopted by those who ask the question and whether this position was one of domination and (b) the position that participants were assigned by the person who asked the question, and whether it was perceived as one of subordination, thus one to be resisted and confronted. These findings align with Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001), who have argued that positioning is impacted by the power differential between participants, in the context of systemic discrimination and privilege. Other studies about migrant identification such as Hatoss (2012) have also found the question "where are you from" to cause conflict, especially when asked in

“interethnic and high-risk contexts” (p.65) where issues of power and privilege are more salient.

Finding 4: In-betweenness can be a site of conflict, as well as creativity.

This study found that participants of Caribbean descent who grew up away from the Caribbean, especially those who had multiple ethnic heritages, showed significant resilience and creativity in the articulation of their cultural identity. They were more aware of the identity work that their unique positions required, and they were highly reflexive about it. These participants, due to their multiple ethnicities, or complex migrant stories were frequently unable to articulate their senses of self with collective discourses of race or place that relied on fixed boundaries. Instead, they constructed identities that reinforced their unique subject positions or adopted collective discourses that were fluid enough to be relevant for their positionality. These findings align with theories advanced by authors such as Bhabha (2012), who highlighted the creative potential of liminal identities, using concepts such as “third space” to signify a site of translation and negotiation.

My findings also align, in part, with recent research about Third Culture Kids (TCK), addressing the experience of people that spend a significant part of their developmental years outside their parents’ culture (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001). Some authors (e.g. Kwon, 2019) claim that TCKs come to terms with their identity and unique mobile experiences through their connections with multiple geographic locations and countries, despite the challenges and identity questions they have faced, and do not bind themselves to a homeland or a particular host country. However, TCK research (e.g. Cason, 2015; Kwon, 2019; Lauring, Guttormsen, and Mari, 2019; Ying Ying, 2017) tends to overlook issues that were of significant salience in my findings, especially in relation to the pressure exerted by discourses of racism and othering practices.

My results suggest that racism operated as a significant conditioning factor in the experience of participants with multiple ethnic heritages. Often, they represented their liminal position as being caught in the middle of racialised discourses of exclusion. These results are consistent with the claim made by Kina and Fojas (2014), who suggested that notions of hybridity can deflect attention away from continuing patterns of exclusion and isolation, premised on domination. In summary, findings show that as Moosavinia and Hosseini (2018) suggested, “there are two types of experience of

hybridity, one frightening and one liberating and subversive" (p. 334) and they are not mutually exclusive.

Finding 5: Participants share a strong collective identity, evident in a collective consciousness of shared subject positions and interpretive frameworks. Low collective efficacy, however, appears to limit our agency and ability to take collective action.

To discuss my findings about our aspirations about and representations of the Caribbean community in New Zealand, I establish a distinction between collective identity and collective efficacy, concepts that I outlined in **Chapter 4.** In summary, collective identities were defined as shared subject positions and interpretive frameworks, while collective efficacy was conceptualised as the expectation that group-related problems could be solved by collective efforts and that participation in collective action could make a difference in bringing about the desired outcomes (Klandermans, van der Toorn and van Stekelenburg, 2008).

In the limes, a strong collective identity was represented in participants' narratives and discourses, both in relation to shared interpretive frameworks and to shared subject positions, especially regarding aspirations of a stronger Caribbean presence in Aotearoa, and around the strengthening of the Caribbean community as a space for cultural affirmation.

Shared interpretive frameworks emerged across the limes about modes of child-rearing, human engagement, humour, leisure, and others. Limers imagined these interpretive frameworks as being common to many Caribbean people. In this sense, strong divisions by country of origin (besides humorous rivalry about, for example, who makes the best rum) were not observed[51]. This differs from the findings of Olwig (2009) who argued that many Caribbean immigrants in Britain identify themselves strongly with their own island of origin, which frequently limits feelings of belonging towards a wider Caribbean community. The small size of the Caribbean community may influence a more region-wide sense of belonging, which was reinforced when Caribbean culture was discussed in contrast with the dominant culture in New Zealand, which ignored any island to island difference and emphasised commonalities.

[51] An exception is the Cuban group, arguably due to language barriers.

Similarly, shared subject positions were repeatedly represented in the limes. Many participants had high aspirations for a stronger, more cohesive Caribbean community in the form of functional support networks and increased spaces for cultural affirmation. According to participants' aspirations, a stronger Caribbean community would provide:

a. **Familiar settings for interacting "our way."** As noted earlier, the Caribbean habitus of relating as humans emerged as the strongest feature in participants' representation of home. It was also the most salient space for conflicts in a migrant context. Many participants longed for familiar ways of relating to each other. Participants aspired to have more events that could motivate Caribbean people to come together, so that familiar spaces of socialisation could be accessed often and easily.
b. **Protective environments and a safe space** to come to terms with conflicts generated by migrant experiences, especially in relation to issues of discrimination and racism. As shown in the limes, discussing challenging issues in a familiar and safe environment, where oppressive narratives could be shared, flipped, made sense of or mocked, can be a valuable resource conducive to developing resilience in a migrant context.
c. **A space to celebrate the diversity of our community**. Participants acknowledged that one of the advantages of being in a small and dispersed community is that people from different nationalities are unlikely to group with each other, thus encouraging the possibility of engaging with people from different Caribbean origins and draw on connections and diversity.

Conversely, participants did not represent a strong sense of collective efficacy. Although there was some agreement about the issues to be tackled by the community, many participants lacked confidence that these could be solved by our collective efforts. Some participants did not share the basis of history for their scepticism. Others linked it to negative experiences and disappointments when they did take the initiative in community action and said to have "given up". Many limers showed frustration towards a perceived inability to come together.

Participants also reflected on the factors that, in their view, have hindered the development of a more a cohesive community. In general, participants' conversations represented an egocentric approach to community development, which relied on the actions and will of individuals rather than on functioning, sustainable structures and systems for community action. As a result, (a) active community members feel "burned

out" due to excessive responsibility and unsupported, and (b) personal grievances affect the community's ability to act together.

Many limers asked questions like "if we all feel Caribbean, why is it so hard to come closer together?" These findings suggest that collective identity and collective agency in our community are not directly related. Whereas the sense of being Caribbean was strong, and there were shared aspirations for a more cohesive community, personal grievances and negative experiences affected many participants' confidence about our ability to achieve the desired outcomes through collective action.

Similar scenarios in other Caribbean communities have been described by authors such as Campbell & McLean (2002), who studied the factors that shape African-Caribbean participation in local community networks in the UK. They argued that

> …while Caribbean identity played a central role in peoples' participation in inter-personal networks, this inter-personal solidarity did not serve to unite people at the local community level beyond particular face-to-face networks (p.644)

In the study carried out by Campbell & McLean (2002) Caribbean migrants showed pride in their Afro-Caribbean identity while, at the same time, characterised the community as apathetic and lacking confidence.

In the light of my findings, I agree with Olwig (2009), who suggested that the study of Caribbean migrant communities, rather than assuming a definite commonality granted by shared origin, should focus on

> …exploring just what kinds of sharing this may entail and which kinds of imagined and practised communities of belonging this sharing may generate. If, for example, a shared place of origin can generate a community of belonging, an important task would be to investigate how 'ways of being' connected with this shared origin may generate particular communities of belonging. (p.532)

Findings show that, in our community, belonging was often imagined and felt, although collective action was, at times, difficult to practice. Nevertheless, this study has contributed to establishing powerful commonalities which can be activated to bring our community closer together, as represented in the aspirations of most participants.

Limitations of this study

The limitations of this study need to be considered when analysing the findings discussed in this chapter. First, although I have engaged extensively with Caribbean people in Cuba and in other countries, my knowledge and experience of other Caribbean islands is of a different depth to my knowledge of Cuba. During the limes I positioned myself as a Caribbean migrant living in New Zealand. As far as my interaction with other limers demonstrated, others' perception of my position was consistent with my own. Writing the results, however, my analysis of the narratives of other Caribbean islanders lacks the deep knowledge of context and background that 30 years of living in Cuba provided. This is reflected in my writing about the experience of Cuban limers, which usually includes extensive background explanations that I am not able to provide in the same fashion for those from other islands. Similarly, the nuances and slight details that I can perceive and analyse in Cuban limers' conversations may have been missed in the conversations of non-Cuban participants. In addition, although I am familiar with English Caribbean accents and slang, being a speaker of English as an additional language may have limited my interpretation of some figures of speech, expressions, etc.

Second, although liming and ole talk were shared spaces for knowledge construction, the analysis and writing stages were exclusively undertaken by me, the researcher. This was due mainly to the time constraints involved in completing my doctoral programme, rather than any inherent limitations in the methodology. Future applications of Liming Methodology can hopefully draw on the experiences systematised in this thesis and allow more time for shared processes of analysis and writing.

In cases of multi-cultural, multi-national studies, shared analysis would enable greater depth in the understanding of issues related to the different countries other than that of the researcher. Nevertheless, it needs to be considered that getting involved in the analysis process constitutes a considerable demand for participants' time and energy. This may be a conflict, as culturally affirming research is often inserted into academic systems that continue to put the researcher at the centre of the academic process, and accordingly, only the researcher is rewarded with the qualification resulting from the study. In some cases, post-qualification co-authorship of subsequent publications may be a partial solution for this problem.

Third, this study does not focus intentionally on issues such as educational level, income and occupation, which are arguably big conditioning factors of migrants' experience. Since data collection in a liming environment relies on the information participants themselves deem relevant to the topic, systematically collecting this information seemed at odds with the dynamics of liming. Additionally, it does not make an intentional distinction between Caribbean migrants (participants who migrated directly from the Caribbean) and those of Caribbean heritage (not born in the Caribbean), except for the difference emerging in their conversations.

Fourth, this study was conducted with Caribbean people who were interested in liming to construct knowledge about our cultural identity in Aotearoa and participants were entirely self-selected. Accordingly, the groups of people who came together to lime were likely to be made up of those members of the community with stronger feelings of belonging and whose sense of self was strongly articulated with Caribbean culture. Their experiences and narratives should be read under this light and taking into account that they should not be generalised to the entirety of the Caribbean population of New Zealand.

Finally, this study is about identity and meaning-making and Liming Methodology enabled the analysis to be based on participants' representation of their experience. Knowledge is constructed in connection with participants' interpretation of their experience. This is especially important in instances where this experience relates to values, behaviours or attitudes that limers associate with the New Zealand culture. In these cases, this thesis offers an account of participants' representation, not of the New Zealand culture itself, which would need to be constructed by New Zealanders.

Conclusions and recommendations

In this thesis, I have addressed two research questions:

1. How can the articulation of Caribbean identity be analysed using a culturally affirming research methodology?
2. How do Caribbean migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand articulate their cultural identity?

The two questions were interwoven in the research process. Liming Methodology, the culturally affirming research approach developed in response to the first research question, is deeply connected with Caribbean identity, which was studied in response to the second question.

Liming Methodology was used successfully in empirical research as a culturally affirming strategy for knowledge construction among Caribbean people. The culturally affirming nature of Liming Methodology as a research approach can be synthesised as follows: First, an intersubjective relationship was established between researcher and participants. The liming environment propitiated the active participation of both researcher and participants in the process of knowledge construction. Participants had complete agency over the terms of their participation and the topics that were discussed in response to the research question. Accordingly, the conversations that took place did not contribute exclusively to the fulfilment of the research objectives, but also to participants' needs and aspirations.

Second, Liming Methodology was developed drawing on cultural practices that are key components of Caribbean people's lived experiences. As such, both researcher and participants could utilise their cultural strengths and competencies in the process of knowledge construction. Third, the process of analysis and writing of the data was consistent with the knowledge construction process that liming enables. While topics were developed to organise the knowledge generated in the limes, participants' narratives were not fragmented but connected through a process of cross-referencing of their stories and ideas throughout the text. Additionally, dialogues were represented extensively, and narrative resources were used to account for nonverbal information and communicative context. In general, this knowledge construction environment enabled a participatory and collaborative exploration of the process of identity negotiation in the Caribbean community.

Identity negotiation was analysed in this thesis applying Stuart Hall's articulation theory (Hall, 1985, 1997; Clarke, 2015) to inform empirical inquiry. Drawing on the author's work on articulation and representation, I conceptualised cultural identity as the articulation of individual subjectivity with collective discourses within cultural systems.

Caribbean people who migrated to New Zealand switched from one cultural system to another that held considerable differences from their own. The process of coming to terms with these differences was often difficult and disorienting, especially in the early stages of migration. Over time, participants learned more about their new country, its history and the ways of its people. For most, this learning did not involve giving up "Caribbean ways". On the contrary, these were often reinforced when confronted with a different cultural system. Nevertheless, increased familiarity and deeper knowledge of the New Zealand culture allowed participants to develop emic interpretive frameworks to make sense of their experience in the country. In other words, while many participants still strongly articulated their sense of self with values they associated with their home culture, they were able to incorporate additional symbolic structures to their interpretive frameworks which reduced conflict in navigating life and engaging with others in their new country.

The negotiation of cultural identity was represented by participants as a complex, ongoing, and contextual process. The results show that, first, our habitus of engaging with each other, in other words, how we relate as humans, was the most significant attribute in participants' representations of Caribbean culture, and the most salient area for identity negotiation, often in relation to the perceived differences of the New Zealand ways of engaging. Second, migration, for most participants, required identity negotiation. However, the negotiation strategies utilised by participants differed considerably, taking the shape of resistance, empathy, and adaptation. Additionally, the narratives of success that participants constructed, often in connection to their process of goal setting and attainment around migration, seemed to condition their outlook on their experience in New Zealand, and their perception about post-migration improvement. Third, othering practices and collective discourses of discrimination and privilege exerted considerable pressure on some participants, in relation to issues of race, ethnicity, and language. Fourth, in-betweenness as a subject position for identity negotiation emerged as a site for creativity and resilience, but also of considerable conflict, especially when confronting essentialist discourses of race and place.

As represented in limers conversations, identity negotiation responded to participants' experience, and this experience was strongly conditioned by the way in which they were perceived and treated by members of the dominant culture in their new country. Those participants who were perceived as "others" due to their accent or ethnicity, were more vulnerable to experiences of discrimination. Most participants confronted these experiences with resilience and found mechanisms to minimise their negative impact. However, systematically dealing with othering experiences involved an additional expenditure of energy which was likely to generate stress and affect participants' emotional wellbeing.

This study found that Caribbean people in New Zealand shared a strong collective identity, which manifested itself in shared subject positions and interpretive frameworks. We imagined ourselves and other Caribbean people in Aotearoa to share worldviews and goals and that often generated feelings of belonging. Many limers voiced aspirations for a stronger, more cohesive Caribbean community in Aotearoa that could support themselves and others in the process of adjusting to life in their new country. However, our collective agency was limited by a low collective efficacy, in other words, the lack of a shared belief that group-related problems could be solved by collective efforts.

As a consequence, Caribbean people in Aotearoa were often unable to find culturally affirming resources and spaces that could support the process of identity negotiation described above. Participants acknowledged the ongoing efforts of individuals and groups in the development of our community but found that existing networks, cultural resources, and organisational support need to be improved for their aspirations to be met. Apart from Cuban migrants, for whom material support (especially for newcomers) was an important part of the community's perceived role, most participants aspired for their community to be a space for cultural affirmation. If we consider that human engagement was the most salient attribute of Caribbean identity represented by participants, and the most significant site of cultural conflict, the need for more spaces for Caribbean people to come together to share in ways that are familiar with and affirming of their culture becomes critical. However, participants noted that personal grievances and conflicts among members of the Caribbean community often hindered the connections that are needed for these spaces to be developed, sustained and used as ambits of cultural affirmation.

Recommendations for academia and future research

Although Liming Methodology was developed as a culturally affirming strategy for Caribbean research, the development of methodologies by and for indigenous peoples of the Caribbean remains a pending and imperative task in the region, as Liming Methodology does not fill this void. I did not adopt an indigenous standpoint in developing Liming Methodology, because I believe using "indigenous" as a blanket denomination for decolonial and affirming research disregards the specificity of the indigenous struggle and the rightfully unique and specific claims of first peoples. Further methodological work is required in this direction.

Liming is but one out of a myriad of Caribbean cultural practices that have the potential to inform knowledge construction and could be used as a research methodology. The reclamation and development of culturally affirming ways of knowing in the Caribbean is an ongoing task for the region's academia and the cultural practices of each island can be explored further, to draw on their potential for knowledge construction.

More academic spaces for the discussion and development of culturally affirming methodologies in the Caribbean are needed. This needs to be accompanied by materials that enable undergraduate and postgraduate students to learn, utilise, develop, critique and transform Liming Methodology and other culturally affirming research approaches in response to their needs and experiences.

Liming Methodology is an emerging research approach. More empirical studies that use it, transform it and critique it are required for its consolidation as a research methodology in the region. I suggest that Liming Methodology can be especially useful when applied in studies aimed at gaining a deep understanding of the research topic and where participants' process of meaning-making is of relevance.

More research is required on the collective agency of Caribbean migrant communities, a topic that is only tangentially explored in this study. For the wellbeing of Caribbean people living abroad, it is vital to gain a better understanding of the process through which collective action for the creation of support networks and spaces for cultural affirmation can take place in our communities. This analysis requires an understanding of the community that does not make reductionist assumptions about the relationship between culture, ethnicity and collective action. Although dominant discourses have often equated ethnicity and community, a shared ethnicity or culture is not directly

related to a group's ability to act together to advance their interests. Overall, community development in Caribbean migrant communities needs to be explored further.

Another strand of research that could be explored in more depth is the mechanisms with which individuals of mixed ethnic heritage, especially those born outside of their parents' culture, negotiate their identity. Some work has been done in this direction by 'Third Culture Kids' research, but this approach frequently overlooks the impact of othering practices and essentialist discourses of race and place that impact how people in these unique positions negotiate their identities.

Implications of the findings for policy and community development institutions

Migration and settlement into a new country were confirmed in this thesis as a highly complex and difficult process. Some of the challenges faced by participants are inherent in the process of moving away from the home country and settling into a new cultural environment. Arguably, it is inevitable that, as migrants, we will miss our home, our family and our friends.

New Zealand public policy about cultural diversity, as enacted by Te Tari Matawa (Office of Ethnic Communities) aims to: (a) facilitate access to services and opportunities, and build capability within ethnic communities; (b) provide opportunities for networking, connecting and mutual understanding between ethnic communities and the broader New Zealand community, and (c) raise the profile of and build awareness of New Zealand's ethnic communities, including the strength and value that diversity offers, in the broader New Zealand community (Te Tari Matawaka, Office of Ethnic Communities, 2020).

In light of the findings of this thesis, it is critical for this and other institutions to gain a deep understanding of migrants' aspirations and experiences that goes beyond criteria for upward mobility established by national standards. It is also necessary for public institutions to see that the mission of "connecting and mutual understanding between ethnic communities and the broader New Zealand community" cannot be limited to the action of migrants, or with migrants, but needs to engage systemic efforts against racism and discrimination involving "the broader New Zealand community".

In this thesis, human engagement was identified as the most salient attribute of participants' cultural identities, as well as the most salient space of negotiation when settling in New Zealand. Making sense of relationships in a new country can be frustrating and disorienting, especially in the early stages of migration. This is an area

that is often overlooked, as cultural identity is often associated with cultural products such as food, music, festivals, etc. Although these events are important spaces to celebrate diversity and may offer opportunities for networking, migrant communities need to be supported to create their own spaces for cultural affirmation. These spaces, I argue, are not to the detriment of connections and mutual understanding between cultures. On the contrary, they can create opportunities for migrants to support each other, share their experiences in navigating life in New Zealand and connect with other groups from a place of strength.

The findings in this study may also be of use to institutions and groups aimed at supporting Caribbean migrants in New Zealand. As reflected in the conversations of participants, there is a strong sense of collective identity, which can be powerful if activated to generate collective action for mutual support and cultural affirmation. Currently, the actions of a few passionate leaders who work voluntarily towards organising events and offering overall support to the community, although worthy of recognition, are often unable to generate wide and active community action and participation. Although many limers said more events and spaces were needed for the community to come together, events that are held with that purpose are sometimes poorly attended. Based on the results of this study, I argue that convening more active community engagement may take more than increasing the number of events that are held; it will require increasing our community's collective efficacy, that is, the shared belief that our shared goals can be achieved through our collective action.

Based on participants' conversations about their aspirations, as well as about their frustrations and disappointments, I suggest that increasing the collective efficacy of our community may involve two main areas of work for community development institutions. First, we need to gain a better understanding of what the aspirations, goals and needs of Caribbean migrants in New Zealand. This could be achieved through a process of consultation, which would serve the double purpose of collecting information about the needs of the community and of conveying the message that their needs matter and are being heard. Second, a more collective approach to leadership may be necessary to increase collective efficacy and to create systems that are sustainable beyond the action and effort of individuals. This, I argue, could make our community less vulnerable to being divided by interpersonal conflicts, and would distribute the load more widely.

Significance and original contributions of this study

This thesis makes several original contributions to knowledge:

First, it contributes to the field of decolonial and culturally affirming research by developing and applying Liming Methodology for the first time as a strategy for empirical Caribbean research. Liming Methodology is an original research approach that contributes to filling a significant gap in culturally affirming methodologies for empirical social research in the Caribbean. Hopefully, further use, refinement and critique will be enabled by the emerging movement for decolonial and culturally affirming social research in the Caribbean.

Second, this thesis undertakes for the first time the study of Caribbean cultural identity utilising Liming Methodology as a research approach that is based on Caribbean cultural practices. The analysis of Caribbean ways of being utilising Caribbean ways of knowing is original, as there is a significant paucity in research methodologies that are affirming of Caribbean cultures.

Third, this study advances the knowledge about the ways in which Caribbean people construct their identity in migrant contexts, especially within a small community in a non-traditional country of settlement. This contribution is significant, as most of the studies about Caribbean cultural identity in migrant contexts are set in big diasporic communities settled in traditional receiving countries such as the UK, Canada and the US. This thesis also offers valuable information for organisations and policymakers aiming to support migrant communities in general and the Caribbean community in particular to generate spaces for cultural affirmation.

Fourth, this study presents some analytical tools that may be of value for further studies in identification. In this field, the ambiguity of identity as a concept can be a challenge for developing operational frameworks that can inform the analysis of empirical data. Based on Stuart Hall's theory of articulation, I have developed and used a system of concepts (sense of self, collective discourses, subject positions and interpretive frameworks) that offered a dynamic theoretical framework to organise and analyse knowledge about identification.

Finally, in connection with the work I have undertaken in this thesis, and alongside a collective of Caribbean scholars, I have taken action to contribute to the strengthening of the movement for culturally affirming research in the Caribbean region. Together, we organised the first Caribbean Research Methodologies Conference (Port of Spain, 2018)

and are now engaged in the organisation of a second iteration to take place in Kingston, Jamaica in October 2020. We have developed a website to promote culturally affirming research in the Caribbean, held two online forums to enable networking among scholars engaged in culturally affirming research in the Caribbean and jointly published three articles in peer-reviewed journals about Liming as a culturally affirming methodology.

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Glossary

América profunda	Profound America. Term used by Rodolfo Kusch in reference to
Babash	(Trinidad and Tobago) Home-made rum.
Choteo	Roughly, teasing. More detailed concept in Chapter 3.
Coger Cuero	The action of taking teasing to heart.
Compartir	(Spanish) To share. Used un Cuba as an equivalent to "lime"
Congrí	(Cuba) Rice and Beans.
Dar Chucho/Cuero	To tease somebody.
Dar Muela	Cuban term for 'ole talk'
Encomienda	Labour system in which the *encomendero* was granted several native labourers who would pay tributes to him in exchange for their protection.
Estar/Ser	One of the Spanish forms of the verbs "to be" in addition to "*ser*." Whereas "*ser*" refers to more permanent traits of someone or something, "*estar"* refers to transient conditions. In the thesis, "*estar"* indicates a way of existence that is connected with place and culture.
Estar Nomás	To "just be."
Estar Siendo	Combination of the two modes that the verb "to be" takes in Spanish: "ser" and "estar". Used by Rodolofo Kusch
Iwi	(Te Reo Māori) Tribe
Jodedera	(Cuban Spanish) humorous interchange. A context in which nothing should be taken seriously.
Jodedor/Jodedora	(Cuban Spanish) Someone who initiates and engages in humorous interchange.
Kaupapa Māori	(Te Reo Māori) Research methodology that responds to the ways of being and knowing of Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand.

La Lucha	(Cuban Spanish) The fight. One of the terms used to denote illicit, black market activities in Cuba, often related with tourists.
Lo Real Maravilloso	(Spanish) Roughly: the marvellous real. It is a concept the Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier (1967) used to signify how reality in the Caribbean and Latin American can be so improbable and surprising that it appears to be fiction.
Manaakitanga	(Te Reo Māori) Hospitality, kindness, generosity, support
Nepantilism	From an Aztec word *Nepantla,* meaning in-between, torn between ways
Pulmoneo	(Cuban Spanish) Informal economy around tourism in Cuba. The term derives from the Spanish word for "lung" and can be roughly translated as "laboured breathing."
Relajo	(Cuban Spanish) See: "jodedera"
Rumshop	Caribbean establishment where rum is sold and people get together to ole talk.
Salir Adelante	(Spanish) To get ahead.
Sentipensante	(Spanish, neologism) Roughly, feeling-thinking. Concept to denote a way of engaging with knowledge that includes feelings and spirituality.
Ser Alguien	(Spanish) To be someone. In this thesis, used to denote the willingness to follow externally imposed expectations of success, instead of existing in connection with place and culture (see *estar/ser*).
Talanoa	(Samoan) A traditional word used in Fiji and across the Pacific to reflect a process of inclusive, participatory and transparent dialogue. Has been utilised as a research methodology by Pacific people.
Tangata Tiriti	(Te Reo Māori) People of the Treaty, and those who, although living in New Zealand, are not of Māori origin.

Tangata Whenua	(Te Reo Māori) People of the land. Term used in reference to Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand
Te Ao Māori	(Te Reo Māori) The Māori world
Te Reo Māori	(Te Reo Māori) The Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	(Te Reo Māori) The Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document. It takes its name from the place in the Bay of Islands where it was first signed, on 6 February 1840. The Treaty is a broad statement of principles on which the British and Māori made a political compact to found a nation state and build a government in New Zealand.

Appendixes

Appendix A: Ethics approval

AUTEC Secretariat

Auckland University of Technology
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9 November 2017

Camille Nakhid
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Camille

Ethics Application: 17/365 **Understanding the articulation of Caribbean cultural identity in Aotearoa New Zealand through a culturally relevant Caribbean methodology**

I wish to advise you that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) has **approved** your ethics application at its meeting of 6 November 2017.

This approval is for three years, expiring 6 November 2020.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
2. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form: http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
4. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
5. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.

Non-Standard Conditions of Approval

1. In the Information Sheet removal of the offer of AUT counselling and removal of the offer of a full report, a summary will be sufficient.
2. AUTEC advises that the koha for drinks should exclude alcohol.

Non-standard conditions must be completed before commencing your study. Non-standard conditions do not need to be submitted to or reviewed by AUTEC before commencing your study.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval for access for your research from another institution or organisation then you are responsible for obtaining it. You are reminded that it is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

For any enquiries please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz

Yours sincerely,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Manager
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: anafersantana@gmail.com; philippa.smith@aut.ac.nz; keri-anne.wikitera@aut.ac.nz

Appendix B: Research tools

a. Limes description

1. Garret's lime (Wellington)

I met Garret, the host, a couple of months before the lime, and we talked about the research rationale with liming. The topic had been introduced to him by another member of the Caribbean society some weeks before that, and he was excited about taking part. Garret shared the space of their home, bought and prepared food, and invited his Caribbean friends for the lime, which was the first one I would be recording for this study. As people arrived, the host introduced me, and we all started liming and eating in different areas of the house. Research was not mentioned until an hour later, when the host gathered everyone, and I introduced the topic and talked about the rationale of conducting research in a liming environment. I brought out research-related paperwork (participant information sheets and consent forms). I observed, and participants later confirmed that they were disruptive of the liming environment, as people started reading them and signing, and got distracted from what was going on. They "killed the vibe." The ole talk that were taking place before that were interrupted and people expected me to tell them what was next. Although I explained the intersection of liming and research, it took a while for people to relax and start talking freely again. During the lime, I asked questions based on the emerging topics to deepen the information that was being shared. Several times, I reignited the conversation by asking questions and making comments, based on previously discussed topics.

2. Ben's lime (Auckland)

Ben was introduced to me by Miriam, a common friend from the Caribbean. I visited him before the lime, and we had a drink and talked for an hour or so about the research. He offered to organise a lime in his house and get some of the older Caribbean migrants together. Ben had full control of the invitations, as he was the one connected to that specific group within the Caribbean community. He explained that he had been intentional about inviting some people and not others, because they were "too negative" He invited his two oldest Caribbean friends, in addition to Miriam and me. The three of them had been living in Aotearoa for more than 50 years. They had been friends for almost 40 years, and two of them had known each other since they lived in Barbados.

On the day of the lime, I arrived with enough time to chat with the hosts, remind them of the objective of the study and the use of liming as a research approach. Other limers

arrived shortly after. Everyone brought food to share and after we had lunch, I explained the objective of the study. The lime with Ben and his friends was ole talk between old pals catching up, remembering stories from the past, especially funny spicy ones. They were not reflecting directly on their migration experience, or cultural identity as an abstraction, or asking each other questions about it. Not explicitly. Their cultural identity was contained in the stories about their life in the islands, their families' past, and their memories.

Although I did ask some questions, the flow of ole talk was largely determined by the internal dynamics of the group. The host was quite dominant during the lime. He had a outgoing personality and many experiences to share. He would carry the conversation to the humorous side constantly, which did not feel like an obstacle for continuing the discussion. My questions were aimed at understanding the meaning of their narratives. The end of the lime was determined by two guests having to leave to beat the traffic. They did not feel that their leaving was an issue, and they naturally said "goodbye." My conversation with the host continued after the other guests had left. The fact that limers in the group were so close with each other and the considerable age difference between them and me, made me more of an outsider than in other limes, where I felt more like just another limer. The group at Ben's gave oral consent.

3. Rosa's lime (Palmerston North)

This was the first outdoors lime, so for the first time we were not in the space of someone's home. We limed, picnic style, in what in the Caribbean would be called a river lime. It was extremely relaxed and loose with people standing up or sitting down, lying on the ground, walking away from conversation, grabbing the microphone and passing it around, dancing, and playing music. This was the first time I had walked into a liming space without knowing any of the limers. I had never met Rosa before although we had been in touch over Facebook and by 'phone. The fact that she was the one who suggested the lime made our connection easy, because she was involved in organising it and bringing people together. I did however, arrive early and go to her house before meeting the others. We talked and went shopping for drinks together. The others picked us up at a petrol station. We had a small car, and there were seven of us. Any ice was instantly broken, and physical contact felt natural and not uncomfortable. Humour played a big role in making the situation easier. By the time we got to the park, we were already connecting. We went straight into eating. Food again played a big role in creating a sense of commonality and creating a liming environment that was not

affected when the research topic was introduced. Although Rosa was the main organiser it felt like it was everyone's thing. Everyone brought food to share, although I had said I would bring food and drinks. Rosa's help getting the group together was invaluable. I would never have been able to connect with so many people without her.

In this case, the limers and I were close in age, and situation (international students). That made the connection easy and spontaneous. The group was quite big and active and vocal, so I did not need to spark conversation at any point. I took part as any other limer, expressing my opinion at times, being mindful of respecting everyone else's points of view. The lime started at 12 and ended at 6.00 pm, because I had a bus to catch. I thought six hours was a safe time allocation. In a liming context it might not be so. Consent was given by passing the microphone around, and it was an occasion for humour and creativity in stating name, country, and making comments.

4. Ana's lime (Wellington)

The lime was organised on the deck of a friend's house in Karori and it was the first time I was the host, and in charge of inviting people (although some limers invited others). I had been in touch with some people by Messenger from as early as two months before the lime. The rest had been invited by word of mouth. I greeted each person and introduced myself as they arrived. We had music on in the background and food was on the table. People began talking with each other immediately, as I was moving in and out, arranging food and welcoming people. Food and music made this initial interaction easy and comfortable. Ole talk about the topic started when I introduced myself and the research topic. It was not difficult to keep the ole talk going. The big size of the group made this easier, as with more people, there were lots of stories, ideas and information moving around. As I moved in and out, ole talk kept going independently. I participated in ole talk, but did not ask many questions, except about their experience with research in a liming environment. Consent was given orally, passing the microphone. Again, this generated some humorous remarks.

5. Miriam's lime

This lime was held at Miriam's house, without Miriam. She offered her home for me to host the lime and introduced me to some of the limers, but on that night she needed to go out, so she was not present. I organised this lime because young Caribbean people expressed their interest in coming together to discuss things that were specifically relevant for them. I did not arrive with much time in advance this time, because I knew

most of the limers well, and I brought the food already cooked. Miriam left chicken in the oven for us. Food was again a great way of bringing people together and starting ole talk. The lime was made up of people close in age. Some limers came to New Zealand straight from the Caribbean, and some were of Caribbean descent but coming from the UK. That created frequent comparisons of both migrant experiences. Both groups were familiar with the practice of liming.

Most limers came with a rough idea of "liming together to talk identity" so it was useful to give a refresher to set the scene for theme-focussed ole talk. What really stood out was how comfortable people felt going in and out of ole talk, sometimes leaving the room altogether and joining back in naturally. Consent was given orally, passing the recorder around for people to state their names and grant consent.

6. Lucas' lime:

Lucas es un Cubano de mas de 60 años que vive en las afueras de Auckland. Cuando lo llame le explique mi investigación y lo invite al compartir que habíamos organizado con los otros cubanos, pero tenia una pierna enferma y no podía llegar. Quede en visitarlo. Me presente como Ana, cubana, estudiante de doctorado. El día en que lo visite, había preparado una merienda riquísima con café cubano. Charlamos un buen rato antes de encender la grabadora. En eso se pareció a las otras limes. Lucas dio su consentimiento por escrito y comenzamos a grabar. El empezó su narración sin preguntas específicas, pero a lo largo de nuestra conversación yo casi siempre pregunte y el respondió, aunque se sumergió largamente en su narrativa sin que mediaran preguntas. Lucas esperaba ser entrevistado por mí. Aun cuando le explique que quería que nuestra conversación fuera fluida y que no traía preguntas de antemano, me dijo más

Lucas was a Cuban man in his sixties, who lived in the outskirts of Auckland. When I called him, I explained my research and invited him to the lime we had organised with the other Cubans, but he had a sore leg and could not get there. I agreed to visiting him. I introduced myself as Ana, a Cuban and a PhD student. The day I visited, he had prepared a delicious afternoon tea with Cuban coffee. We chatted for a while before turning on the recorder. In that, our encounter resembled the other limes. Lucas gave his written consent and we started recording. He began his narration without specific questions, but throughout our conversation I asked most of the questions and he answered them, although he frequently immersed himself in his narrative, no questions were needed. Lucas expected to be interviewed even though I told him I would like our conversation to be just that, a conversation, *dar muela* (ole talk). He told me more than once: "I am talking too

de una vez: "Estoy hablando demasiado y no te he dejado decir nada. No quieres preguntarme algo?"

much and I have not let you say anything. Don't you want to ask me something?"

7. Chloe's lime

I arrived at Chloe's an hour or so before the lime. I had prepared some food to share and Chloe had too. Chloe invited some limers and I invited others, but she knew most of them and so did I, because most of them were active members of the Caribbean community in Auckland. As food was served, limers naturally gravitated towards the table and remained in single group after food was finished, ole talking. After I briefly explained the rationale of the research, ole talk started around food and the recipes for the dishes we were eating and their origin. Then it quickly connected with other topics related to migrant experiences and cultural identity. In this lime, participants went particularly deep in their discussion of cultural identification specifically, maybe due to the composition of the group, made up of first-generation migrants and second-generation people of Caribbean descent, with complex life stories that had led to intense processes of identity negotiation around race, ethnicity, and culture. The intimacy of the stories shared by some limers encouraged others to reflect on connected or similar experiences, which led to insightful collective reflections. Some limers, like Cathy, used the space to air concerns related to parenting strategies to support her child's process of identification. At the end, Aaron defined the process as "just damn good conversation." Consent was given orally, passing the recorder around.

8. Cuban lime

Este fue el primer compartir con un grupo únicamente de cubanos. Conecte con los invitados personalmente o a través de las redes sociales. Varios de ellos eran amigos o conocidos. La comunidad cubana es tan pequeña, que es difícil no haberse encontrado en Auckland al menos una vez. Hubo tres cubanas que vinieron a Auckland desde Palmerston North, y se alojaron en mi casa. Ellas pagaron por su pasaje para llegar aquí, y ofrecerles un

This was the first lime with a group of Cubans. All the other limes had been with English speaking Caribbean people. I connected with people personally or through social media. Several of them were my friends or acquaintances. The Cuban community in Auckland is so small that it is hard to not have come across each other at least once. There were three Cuban women who came to Auckland from Palmerston North, and they stayed at my

espacio donde dormir fue una forma de agradecerles y ayudarlas a reducir el costo del viaje. Además, nos ayudo a conocernos mejor. Cocinamos juntas la comida que llevaríamos el día siguiente, y tuve tiempo de explicarles el objetivo de la investigación en profundidad. Como mi casa era muy pequeña, y el clima estaba hermoso, decidimos reunirnos con el resto del grupo en el Auckland Domain. La gente fue llegando poco a poco y enseguida empezó el relajo y la jodedera. Si bien en las limes con otros grupos de Caribeños me sentí cómoda y relajada, la posibilidad de compartir en español hizo una gran diferencia. Al hablar en ingles siempre hay una parte de mi que no se relaja del todo. La composición del grupo era muy diversa en términos de recorridos migratorios e historias de vida. En el grupo había desde doctores en ciencias hasta participantes que no habían terminado la secundaria. El espacio común del compartir y la jodedera desmonto cualquier barrera, distancia o diferencia. El placer de compartir a lo cubano se sentía en la alegría de la gente, en las ganas de usar códigos y referencias a la vida en Cuba que sabíamos compartidos.

Aunque la conversación fue dinámica y todos intervenían en las narrativas de todos, el grupo naturalmente fue en circulo y cada quien estructuro la narrativa de su experiencia migratoria

house. They paid for their plane ticket to get here, and offering them a place to stay was a way of thanking them and helping them reduce the cost of the trip. It also helped us to get to know each other better. Together we cooked the food that we would share the next day, and I had time to explain the purpose of the research in-depth to them. As my house is small, and the weather was beautiful, we decided to meet the rest of the group at the Auckland Domain. People started to arrive little by little and immediately *relajo* and *jodedera* started even though many in the group had not met before. Although in the limes with other Caribbean groups I had felt comfortable and relaxed, the possibility of sharing in Spanish made a big difference. When speaking in English there was always a part of me that could not fully relax. The composition of the group was diverse in terms of migratory journeys and life histories. Some of the limers had PhDs. while others had not finished high school. The common space of *relajo* and *jodedera* bridged any barrier, distance or difference. The pleasure of sharing the Cuban way was felt in the constant use of codes and references to life in Cuba that we knew we shared.

Although the ole talk was dynamic, and people intervened in each other's narratives, the group naturally went in a circle, sharing the narrative of their migratory experience as a narrated story,

como una historia narrada, mas que un dialogo. Los participantes consintieron oralmente, pasando el micrófono.

rather than a dialogue. Participants gave oral consent, passing the microphone.

b. Participant Information Sheet

Date produced: 14-10-2017

Project Title

Understanding the articulation of Caribbean cultural identity in Aotearoa New Zealand through a culturally relevant Caribbean methodology

Invitation

My name is Anabel Fernandez and I'm a student from Cuba. This research is part of the requirements to complete my doctoral studies. I am interested in understanding how people of Caribbean descent living in New Zealand articulate their identity. I am also interested in using our own Caribbean ways of sharing and constructing knowledge to reach this understanding. I hope this is appealing to you and you decide to take part.

What is the purpose of this research?

This study is part of my qualification as Doctor in Philosophy (Ph.D).

This study has two main objectives:

Understanding how we articulate our cultural identity in New Zealand as people of Caribbean descent

Developing a research methodology based on Caribbean cultural practices.

Specifically, I will use the Caribbean practices of called *Liming and ole talk* (English speaking Caribbean) or *compartir*, *descargar* o *janguear* y *dar muela* en el caribe hispano.

As part of this study, I will be using Caribbean ways of getting together and sharing as the data collection/analysis method. In other words, I intend to use what we call *Liming* in the English-speaking Caribbean, *compartir* and *dar muela* in Cuba and Dominican Republic, janguear, in Puerto Rico, etc. as the ways in which we as Caribbean people can get together and reflect about issues that are relevant to our communities –in this case, what it means to be Caribbean in New Zealand. These practices all imply getting together to share (food, drinks, music, information, etc.) and are open for participants to intervene freely in topics of their interest, walking in/out of conversation, telling stories, etc.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have been selected and invited to participate in this research because you were identified as a person of Caribbean descent living in New Zealand. To find and select participants, I have used several methods, including word of mouth and social media. I have also had the support in the West Indian and Caribbean Society of New Zealand to find and invite participants.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

If you decide to participate, during the *lime* (gathering) you will be asked to give oral consent to participating in the research, and to the information you share being used for research purposes. Alternatively, you may be asked to sign a consent form.

What will happen in this research?

As a participant, you will be invited to a *lime* (a specifically Caribbean way of gathering and sharing) where you will get together with other Caribbean people. During these sessions, the interactions and that take place will be observed and recorded by video, audio and note taking, so as to enable a detailed description of these sessions. These descriptions are crucial to the development of Liming and ole talk as a research methodology for the Caribbean. However, the recordings will not be published, shared or used for any purposes other than the analysis related to this research.

During the *limes*, I will not be asking pre-determined questions, instead, the group will be invited to talk freely about their cultural identity and cultural practices in New Zealand. As is usual in Liming contexts, participants are free to walk in and out of conversations or the session itself. After the session you may be invited to a follow up conversation about the topics discussed, which you are free to accept or decline. As is the case whenever we are Liming, you are free to invite other Caribbean participants along. This form will be available in print during the session for them to be informed.

The lime will be recorded in audio and video. This video will be used to analyse the discussion, but it will not be published or shared by any means. To protect your privacy,

I will be using pseudonyms to refer to participants. No personal information will be disclosed at any point of the research. If you feel that any specific information might identify you, it can be removed from the reports upon your request.

What are the discomforts and risks?

As we will be getting together to *lime* and talk about our cultural identity and practices, there is no major risk for participants. You will be free to share the stories, information and experiences that you feel comfortable sharing. As in any *lime*, it will be an open environment, for you to walk in and out. However, talking about our migrant experience and identity can be sensitive.

What are the benefits?

This research will be beneficial for me, as it is part of the requirements of my doctoral degree. It will be beneficial to our community to project informed strategies of support to our cultural practices. It will also be beneficial for Caribbean Studies in general, as a new methodology based on our cultural practices will be available for future studies.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your participation in the research will be confidential in the report. I will not be using your name of disclosing any personal information that may identify you. When you attend the lime however, the conversation that starts in the group may be ongoing, or repeated elsewhere. Share the information that you feel comfortable sharing in this context.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

All costs related to food, drinks and venue are covered. The lime location will be negotiated with the participants to find a convenient space, so excessive transportation costs can be avoided.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Two weeks

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes. A summary of the results will be sent to you by email.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr. Camille Nakhid- camille.nakhid@aut.ac.nz, phone number: 921 9999 ext 8401

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Anabel Fernandez- anafersantana@gmail.com

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr. Camille Nakhid- camille.nakhid@aut.ac.nz, phone number: 921 9999 ext 8401

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 9/11/2017, AUTEC Reference number 17/365.

c. Consent forms

(For use during Liming and ole talk sessions)

Project title: *Understanding the articulation of Caribbean cultural identity in Aotearoa New Zealand through a culturally relevant Caribbean methodology*

Project Supervisor: Dr. Camille Nakhid

Researcher: Anabel Fernandez

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 14-10-2017.

○ I understand that I may be asked to give verbal consent during the video or audio recording of the Liming and ole talk sessions.

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that notes will be taken during the sessions and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

○ I understand that the recordings from this session will not be published or used in any way other than analysis in the context of this research

○ I understand that if I choose not to be identified in the findings, no information that will disclose my identity will be recorded.

○ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

○ I understand that I might be asked to participate in follow up conversations and that I can freely decline that invitation

○ I agree to take part in this research.

○ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one):

Yes○ No○

Participant's signature:.....……
……

Participant's name:.....……

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

……..

……..

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on November 9, 2017 AUTEC Reference number 17/365

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

Consent Form: For use during follow up conversations

Project title: Understanding the articulation of Caribbean cultural identity in Aotearoa New Zealand through a culturally relevant Caribbean methodology

Project Supervisor: Dr. Camille Nakhid

Researcher: Anabel Fernandez

○ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 14-10-2017.

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that this conversation will be audio-taped and transcribed.

○ I understand that the recordings from this conversation will not be published or used in any way other than analysis in the context of this research

○ I understand that if I choose not to be identified in the findings, no information that will disclose my identity will be recorded.

○ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

○ I agree to take part in this research.

○ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one):

Yes○ No○

Participant's signature:

.....……

Participant's name:.....……

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

……..

……..

……..

……..

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on November 9, 2017 AUTEC Reference number 17/365

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

d. Types of questions asked by limers and examples

Question type	Examples
Personal questions	– What brought you to New Zealand, man? – Are you first generation? – How was your high school here? – When was the last time you went back home? – What do you miss about Trinidad? – So how would you describe yourself though if you were asked? – Where are your parents from? – How long have you been here?
Topic related questions	– What was the thing that was most difficult to get used to …in the sense of cultural shock? – What is your experience studying here in New Zealand, comparing it to studying back home in the Caribbean? In Guyana, where are you from? – What's your expectation from New Zealand? Are you all going to get a degree and bounce back home? – What do you find different between the education system back in the Caribbean and here? – You are doing undergrad, what's your experience? – How has your month in a tertiary institution in New Zealand been for you? Compared with your education experience back in the Caribbean? – But is that a good thing or a bad thing, having the time structured the way it is? – Why would you think they ask you the question about where you are from? – Can you give an example? Because it's fascinating. What sort of racism did you experience?
Topic introduction questions	– I have already worked out a few little pathways for myself but what are other people's coping responses to microaggressions? – Let me ask a question: what do you think about social media? I'm building a point now.

	– What do you guys think about driving on the road? – I have a question, the census, the census that's coming up… What are you going to put?
Leading questions	– How did you feel about having to explain that you were Jamaican when you were also Māori ? – Yeah, what's your impression about why they say it? Isn't it only after they talked to you for a little while that you see a few eyebrows? – But don't you think that makes it difficult for people here to not deal with us but yeah, deal with us in in a sense because they have their preconceived ideas of who and how people of colour should behave based on what they know? – (To encourage people to find the positive in their experience in New Zealand) Okay, what about crime? – But obviously, do you feel more safer here, than back home? – What about you walking down the street, and not being troubled? – What about public transport?
Synthesis questions	– Do you think that the positivity outweighs the negative? – So you would be prepared to forgive them…is what I'm hearing you say? – We started this conversation with social life eh? Then we went on to social issues and then alcoholism. – So what are you saying? That the environment in which you are now, kind of dictates how you socialise with people? – So, on the premise you just built, life was starting to boom for all of us, and then shit, you got an opportunity to come and study in New Zealand, you had an expectation, you got here. You're here one month. You've been in tertiary institutions before. You've been studying vet. You studied in Guyana, away from home already. You came here, thinking, I

	can do this shit somewhere else… Tell me about your expectations as compared to your experience.

Appendix C. Table 4: “Our ways” versus “their ways” in approaching relationships

Caribbean ways		New Zealand ways	
Attribute	**Examples**	**Attribute**	**Examples**
☺ **Warm**	“People are always asking, checking how you are.” “People were accustomed to: “Are you alright?” “You want food?” “They make a bed, they give you a couch, they feed you.” “We kiss and hug, and those things.” “We care. We have a caring heart.”	☹ **Reserved**	“They back away from you.” “They weren’t as friendly as you are used to.” “They lock themselves in their world.” “They have their bubble and that’s it” “They don’t talk about their feelings”
Fast and easy ☺	“People meet you and you are part of the family.” “Just being around, knowing people. It’s just easy man.” “We are open with others: We meet you, we talk to you, and then we know who you are.” “It’s kind of an easier flow to socialise, to connect with people, back home.”	**Slow and difficult** ☹	“They take relationships so slowly.” “They don’t want you to talk to them.” “They put up a barrier quickly.” “In the long run they come to create a relationship.”
☺ ☹ **Blunt**	“We can say what we really mean.” “We can be real mean.” “People go too far.”	☺ ☹ **Polite**	“You’ll never know how they feel because they won’t tell you.” “They don’t address the issues.” “Another thing they do, and we don’t do is to smile and say sorry.”

	“If you are Caribbean you have to have a though skin. It’s though love.” “One thing we don’t do is to smile and say sorry.”		

Appendix D: Outputs from the thesis

"An interrogation of research on Caribbean social issues: establishing the need for an indigenous Caribbean research approach" (Wilson, Nakhid, Fernandez Santana, & Nakhid-Chatoor, 2018)

Caribbean social issues, like so many other global issues, are often researched and addressed using traditional Western philosophies and methodologies. However, some societies have criticized the use of Western approaches recognizing their unsuitability to accurately assess the distinctive culture, identity, and overall social structures of these societies. An investigation of the use of Caribbean research methodologies or approaches revealed that there is a significant absence in the use of culturally specific ways of conducting research in the Caribbean region and diaspora. This pattern was found to be consistent with the authors' findings from a critical review of research methodologies used by postgraduate scholars in investigating Caribbean-related issues in the past 10 years. As a result, this article lobbies for the promotion of more culturally specific and relevant Caribbean research approaches that are respectful of the worldviews and practices of locals within the region.
Go to article

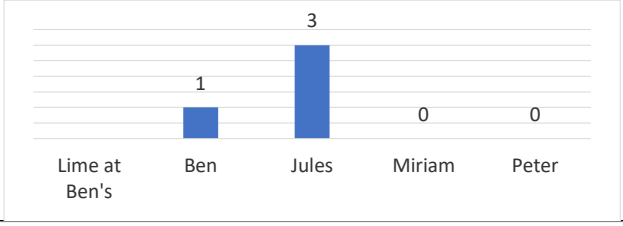
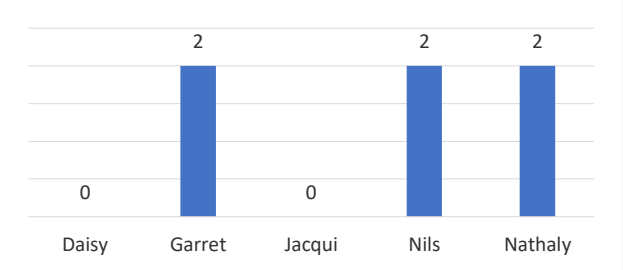
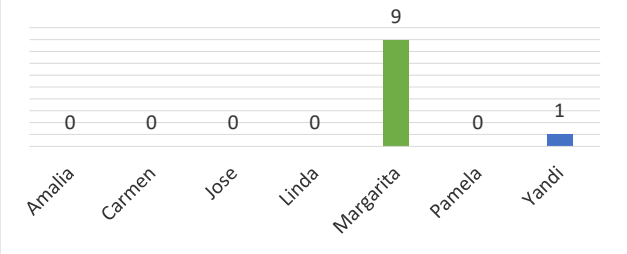
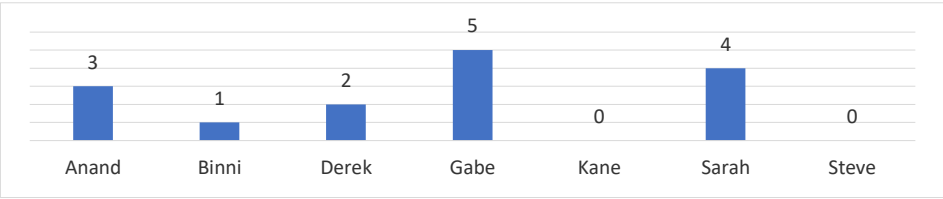
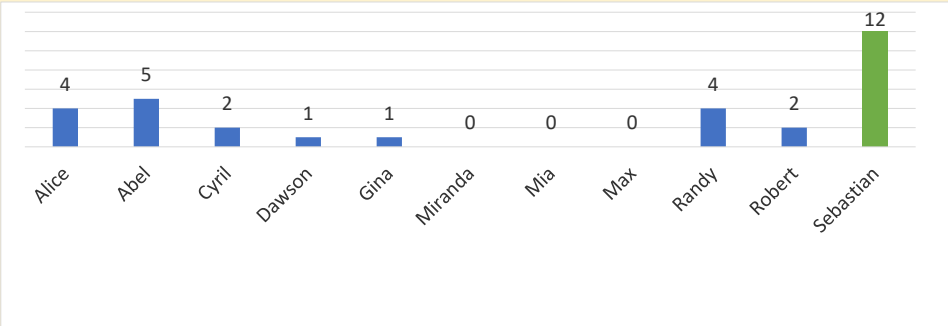
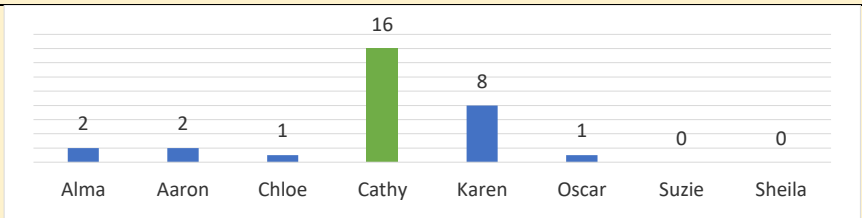
"Exploring Liming and Ole Talk as a Culturally Relevant Methodology for Researching With Caribbean People" (Nakhid-Chatoor, Nakhid, Wilson, & Fernandez Santana, 2018)

This article explores the necessity of developing a qualitative research methodology grounded in Caribbean peoples' worldviews and interactions. It presents the epistemology and ontology of liming and ole talk to show their natural employment in qualitative research settings. Liming offers an opportunity for social engagement and provides a culturally relevant purpose, environment, and space in which ole talk can take place. Ole talk is presented as a uniquely Caribbean way of engaging with one another in small or large groups. The potential of liming and ole talk to create new ways to research and share knowledge is discussed. Through a brief analysis of two limes, this article proposes liming and ole talk as an authentic research methodology for researching Caribbean peoples and their contexts.
Go to article

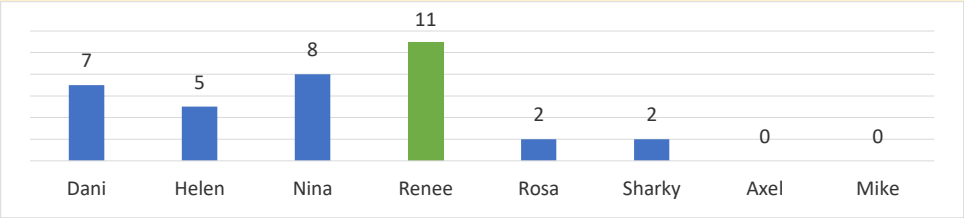
"Liming and Ole Talk: Foundations for and Characteristics of a Culturally Relevant Caribbean Methodology" (Fernández Santana, Nakhid, Nakhid-Chatoor, & Wilson-Scott, 2019)

In this paper, the authors argue that Caribbean practices used in research more accurately enable a process of knowledge construction that is consistent with how we think, live and feel as Caribbean subjects about issues that concern us. This allows for participants and researchers to draw on their cultural and communicative strengths to reflect about topics of relevance to their community. Caribbean diversity in terms of population, culture, ethnicities and language needs to be considered in the articulation of culturally relevant methodologies in the region. Through an examination of empirical data, we have endeavoured to show that Liming and Ole Talk can be utilised widely across the region for research purposes.
Go to article

Appendix E: Shaping ole talk interventions by participant in each lime

Lime with Lucas	Lucas: 2
Lime at Ben's	
Lime at Garret's	
Cuban lime	
Lime at Miriam's	
Lime at Ana's	
Lime at Chloe's	

Rosa's lime



Appendix F: Google trends analysis of search results for the terms "West Indies" and "Caribbean"