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THE ULTIMATE SACRIFICE:
THE CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATORY SEPARATION ON THE CARIBBEAN FAMILY

by

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A Major Research Paper
presented to Ryerson University

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ABSTRACT

One may wonder why a parent, especially a mother, would migrate without her children. For the majority of Caribbean women, their decision to emigrate without their children is mainly driven by necessity. The typical Caribbean mother operates on the premise that a mother will do anything for the betterment of her children. In this paper, I will provide a critical review of the available literature on transnational migration to North America, both Canada and the United States, as it relates to migratory separation, with an emphasis on the psychological consequences that this form of migration has on members of the family in the home and receiving country.

Key words:

Caribbean; transnationalism; serial migration; transnational motherhood; child shifting

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According to the African proverb, it takes a village to raise healthy children. This could be any truer in my case. If it was not for the support of friends and family, the completion of my Master of Arts would not have been possible. With that said I would like to thank the following; Julet Allen for taking it upon herself to check in with my children when I had evening classes to ensure that they completed their homework and house chores so that I did not have to when I got home; Kwasi Kefele, Zaira Duncan, Victoria Bowmen, and Lisa Tomlinson for their continued support and willingness to edit my MRP; Dianne Allison, Georgia, Allison, Hilda Walters, Cristina Pascual, Diane Lee, Wayne Blake, Stacy Mills and Conroy Jarvis for their encouragement and continued moral support. To Aricka Stanberry, Sipho Kwaku, Brigett Coleman, Giselle Dildy for providing childcare services so that I could hear myself think; To Kevin Speicher my direct supervisor at work who granted me the much needed time off to complete this paper, even though I had recently returned to work after an extended absence; To Andre George for this patience and computer support; Camille Hernandez-Ramdwar for her patience and for agreeing to be my second reader; Vappu Tyyskä for agreeing to be my supervisory but most important for her compassion, continual encouragement and belief in me; and last but not least, to the Creator for without him this would not be possible.

Dedication

This Major Research Paper is dedicated to my two beautiful children Shaimar and Shani Stanberry for their patience and understanding and for not having their mother's full attention over the past three years. With the attainment of my Master of Arts degree it is my hope that it is for the betterment of my children, for there isn't anything I wouldn't do for them. And to my mother, for making the ultimate sacrifice so that I would have a better life. Sending me to Canada was not in vain.

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A NEW KIND OF SLAVERY

Noh mahda (mother), Noh faada (father)!
Noh faada, Noh maaada!
Noh mahda, Noh faada!
Noh faada, Noh maaada!

I was taken from Grenada
At de tenda age of six
me memba a life of appiness
me memba a life of bliss

It didn't matta tuh meh (me), tuh meh, to mehhhhh
Dat meh, meh breada (brother) and meh mahda
Slept in a de same bed,
In a one room tenement yaad (rooming house)!
To me dis was much betta than going abroad

me memba Jamaica
de land of sunshinnnnne!
Children playing dandy-shandy (dodge ball)
In a middle a de road!
De clapping of dominoooooes,
Mahda's calling dem children to wipe dem runny nose!

Black people,
We are still living wid de slave mentalityyyy!
Like we fore parents
Who wuz taken from dem mahdaland...(motherland)!
Husband's separated from dem wives,
Children snatched right outa dem mahda's hands...Mahda's hands
Packed in slave ships
Like sardines...
As weh watch all weh hopes and dreams,
Dreams and hopes
Hopes and dreams
Simply disappear!
Disappear!
Disappear!

Wooyooo! Wooyooo yooyoo yooyoo!
Wooyooo! Wooyooo yooyoo yooyoo!

me was taken tuh a fareign countryyyy!

Tuh dis yeh country whey meh nehva know, noh baddy (body)!
A faada ar a mahdaaaa!

Parents don't rob yuh pickney (children) of their ancestry
From a early age dem need to learn wha is dem legacy

Nehva (never) give up yuh role of mahda ar faada
Nehva yuh mek anada ouman ar man walk ina yuh shoes
Dis is someting, someting, someting,
Dat nuh one else can do

It's betta tuh struggle wid yuh pickney
Instead of shipping barrel afta barrel back 'ome
Yuh children spending sleepless nights ina bed
Crying and all alone, all alone, all alone

Crying,

Noh mahda, Noh faada!
Noh faada, Noh mahda!

Noh mahda, Noh faada! (slowly fades out)
Noh faada, Noh mahdaaaa!

Noh mahda, Noh faada!
Noh faada, Noh mahdaaaa!

Noh mahda, Noh faada!
Noh faada, Noh mahdaaaa!

Sophia Stanberry

INTRODUCTION

I wrote this poem as a means of expressing the psychological impact that migratory separation had on me.

Historically, it was customary for a man to migrate unaccompanied by his wife and

children. Once he became established legally and was financially capable to provide for them his family would then be reunited with him in the receiving country (Adam, 2000; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001; Abrego, 2004; Mena et al., 2008). However, from the mid-1950s until present, there has been a surge in international migration (Mattingly, 1999; Sassen, 1988; Abrego, 2004), primarily due to global economic forces, which has led to a rise in the number of transnational families in Canada and other first world countries (Abrego, 2004; Crawford, 2004; Whitehead and Hasim, 2005; Yeoh and Lam, 2006). In addition, the globalization of the market economy has sparked a tremendous demand for female workers from developing nations, such as the Caribbean, to provide low-wage service labour in more developed countries (Parreñas, 2001); frequently to take care of “other people’s children” (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001). For instance, since 1967 women have been an astonishing majority in Caribbean migration to the United States (Ho, 1993; Adam, 2000).

This has resulted in an unprecedented increase in the number of mothers migrating alone and leaving their children in the custody of relatives (Falicov, 2007) for extended periods of time. Hence, global capitalism, by creating labour opportunities for women in numerous countries, has contributed to a feminization of migration (Hernández-Albújar, 2004; Falicov, 2007). For instance, 72 percent of dispersed Filipino workers in 2005 were women as compared to 59.4 per cent in 1991 (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration Report as cited by Fresnoza-Flot, 2009). Furthermore, according to a 2005 UN report, approximately 90 million women resided outside their native countries, accounting for nearly half of international migration (Bernhard et al., 2005).

Transnational Families and Migrating Women from the Caribbean

Due to the expeditious feminization of labour migration around the world, the body of literature on transnational families and their strategies of reproduction are rapidly expanding (Fresnoza-Flot, 2009). What is noteworthy; however, is that the economic immigrants who have arrived in developed countries, such as Canada, post 1965 are predominately Afro-Caribbean's, Asians and Latinos (Adam, 2000; Smith et al., 2004; Falicov, 2007). Moreover, a step pattern of immigration, or serial migration had become prominent. Serial migration has been a characteristic feature of the movement of Caribbean people throughout the globe: parent(s) migrate to the host country first, with the children following in succession (Smith et al., 2004). This type of migration is also becoming increasingly prevalent amongst Latinos and Asians. According to Horton (2009) family separation has long defined the modality of migration and yet experts are only recently starting to recognize separation as a real phenomenon, for example, in studies that identify it as an independent cause of stress on immigrant mental health.

It is important to note that the transnational family is not a contemporary phenomenon (Schmalzbauer, 2004; Hernández-Albújar, 2004). Nonetheless, there are analytical idiosyncrasies between the transnational families of the late 20th and early 21st centuries and previous configurations of transnational families; which will be outlined in greater detail later in this paper (Schmalzbauer, 2004). Additionally, transnational families are becoming increasingly commonplace, and the evidence in the literature indicates that transnational families will continue to be a hallmark of Canadian society as well as other developed societies (Schmalzbauer, 2004; Smith et al. 2004; Bernhard et al., 2005). For example, in their study of 385 early adolescents from various countries who had immigrated to the United States, Suárez-

Orozco, Todorova, and Louie (2002), reported that 85 percent of the participants had been separated from one or both parents for lengthy periods of time. In addition, research findings by Miranda et al. (2005), in which 5,122 Latina immigrant women were sampled, revealed that 232 (4.5 percent) reported that they had children younger than 18 years of age who were residing with relatives in another country.

Furthermore, the Harvard Immigration Project has attracted international recognition to the massive numbers of children, as many as 85 percent from Asia and the Caribbean, who encountered long separations (over two years) from their parents during the migratory process (Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). Therefore, as a society we need to identify migration patterns to better assess immigrants' integration into Canadian society so that we can tap into their human capital.

Currently, studies on transnational mothering are mainly concentrated on Caribbean, Latino and Filipino migrant mothers (Fresnoza-Flot, 2009). Therefore, the purpose of this paper is: (1) to add to and examine the existing literature on the short and long term effects of migratory separation on these three groups, predominately, Caribbean youth and their families as a result of transnational migration; as well as (2) enrich the literature on female-headed transnational families, as it pertains to migratory separation, by analyzing more thoroughly the emotional consequences of separation due to geographical distance and examining the standpoint of domestic mothers, surrogate caregivers and children on transnational family life, and (3) the methods they use to manage separation (Jones et al., 2004). In this paper, I will provide a critical review of the available literature on transnational migration to North America, both Canada and the United States, as it relates to migratory separation; with an emphasis on the

psychological consequences that this form of migration has on members of the family in the home and host country, while I will also identify major themes in the research findings. The population that I am most interested in highlighting is mothers who work as domestic workers, who are the primary breadwinner. The reason for this choice of focus is that domestic workers are the principal export of developing countries (Cohen, 2000). In addition, Afro-Caribbean female heads of households were one of the first racialized groups of women who entered Canada under the domestic worker scheme (currently the Live-in Caregiver Program).

Furthermore, I have chosen to conduct a critical review of the literature on migratory separation, as I am a product of Caribbean serial migration. My father immigrated to Canada in 1970, while my mother was seven months pregnant with me, with the intention of sending for the both of us at a later date. Although my father sent for me almost seven years later, he had moved on with his life and had two other children and was living in a common-law relationship. I went from being the youngest of three children to the oldest of their children. Upon my reunification with my father, it was the first time I could recall meeting him and I had no idea that he had started a new family. To this day I am still dealing with reunification issues and the psychological ramifications of this. Hence, this paper is a means of finding answers to many of my unanswered questions with the aim of finally having closure. This approach is in keeping with feminist methodology which encourages the subjective involvement of researchers in their subject matter (Hernández-Albújar, 2004).

Relevant Concepts

It is important to note that the terminology used to describe concepts in the transnational and migratory separation literature is copious. However, I will only discuss the most frequently

referenced concepts throughout the literature. They include the following (terms): Caribbean, transnational(ism), transnational families, child shifting, international families, stepwise migration, transnational motherhood and transferred mothering.

Caribbean/West Indian

For the purpose of this paper the terms ‘West Indian’ and ‘Caribbean’ will be used interchangeably; however, the term ‘West Indian’ normally refers to people from the English-speaking Caribbean islands such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, Montserrat, the Bahamas, Bermuda, and other smaller islands. The Spanish-speaking islands of the Caribbean include (but is not limited to) Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. The French-speaking islands include Haiti, Guadeloupe and Martinique, and the Dutch-speaking islands include Curacao and Bonaire. Despite the language differences there are numerous sociocultural similarities among the different people of the Caribbean (Baptiste, et al., 1997; Davis & Davies, 1997; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). For the purpose of this paper, emphasis will be placed on the English-speaking countries of roughly 5 million people, approximately one half of whom reside in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica (Davis & Davies, 1997). The population of the Caribbean countries is both multiracial and multicultural, but people of African ancestry constitute more than half of the countries’ populace; the exception being in Trinidad and Guyana, in which people of East Indian lineage comprise nearly 50 percent of inhabitants (Baptiste et al., 1997). Hence, the term ‘Caribbean family’ is in essence a pseudonym, because such families are not a monolith about which we can generalize, but rather a heterogeneous group representing many cultures, ethnicities, and races (Baptiste et al., 1997: 279).

Transnational(ism)

Transnational migration or transnationalism is mainly defined in the literature as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch et al., 1994:7 as cited in Schmalzbauer, 2004: 1319 and Abrego, 2004: 1). Although this definition by Basch et al. (1994) is the most widely used definition, I prefer Basch et al.'s (1991) earlier, yet similar, definition, which states that transnationals, “one of which is the family, operate through the regular circulation of goods, resources, individuals, and information across national borders” (as cited in Parreñas, 2001:363). Because of its broad usage, the concept has become more and more cryptic; thus, social scientists are continually working on making the term’s definition less ambiguous (Fitzgerald, 2004; Guarnizo et al., 2003; Guarnizo and Smith, 1998; Kivisto, 2001; Mahler, 1998; 2003; Portes et al., 1999 as cited in Abrego, 2004).

As will be discussed later at greater length, transnationalism is a direct answer to structural disparities (globalization) that make it inconceivable for families to financially support themselves in their native countries (Levitt, 2001 as cited in Schmalzbauer, 2004).

Transnational Families

Social scientists define the family as an affectionate bond between “two or more people who consider themselves related by blood, marriage, or adoption”; whether formal or informal (Henslin, 1997:429; Taylor, 2003:366 as cited in Abrego, 2004:2). Furthermore, it is not mandatory for them to cohabit in order to cultivate their kinship-based relationships (Abrego, 2004). Hence, (although there are slight variations in definition) transnational families refer to “the dispersal of members of kin groups across national boundaries (often oceans and

continents), along with the active and continuous maintenance of these kin ties by means of constant communication and travel and the exchange of goods, services and personnel” (Ho, 1993: 34).

Child Shifting/Child Fostering

The shifting of child rearing obligations from the birth mother or birth parent to other members within or outside of the family network is a deep-rooted aspect of Caribbean life and has been captured in depth in the Caribbean family literature (see Brodber, 1975; Dann, 1987; Powell, 1982; Roberts & Sinclair, 1978; Rodman, 1971; Senior, 1991; Davis & Davies, 1997; Smith, 1956 as cited in Russell-Brown et al., 1997). In general, its use in the literature denotes the informal “adoption” of children that may be temporary or permanent (Russell-Brown et al., 1997). Senior (1991) defines ‘child shifting’ as “a change in the child’s residence or in his or her primary caregiver” (as cited in Davis & Davies, 1997:7). However, I feel that Rodman’s (1971) definition on child shifting best captures the fundamental reasons as to why a mother or parent would have other relatives or friends raise their children. Rodman (1971) asserts that the ‘shifting’ of the child is compulsory as the family wealth deteriorates (as cited in Lashley, 2000). Nonetheless, it is important to note that child shifting is not always about wealth and is dependent on a number of other factors.

To a greater extent child fostering is indicative of low-income Afro-Caribbean families (Roberts and Sinclair, 1978 as cited in Davis & Davies, 1997; Russell-Brown et al., 1997; Leo-Rhynie, 1997) and among women in relationships with nonresident companions (Russell-Brown et al., 1997; Mena et al., 2008). Child shifting is also inextricably linked to the mother’s absence (Davis & Davies, 1997).

International Families

Christine Ho (1993) upholds that the current globalization process, in the Caribbean, has led to the creation of, what she coins 'international families'. Ho (1993) maintains that "the internationalization of kinship" amounts to the dispersal of members of kin groups across national boundaries (and often oceans and continents), along with the active and continuous maintenance of these kin ties by means of constant communication and travel and the exchange of goods, services, and personnel" (pg. 34). The end result of this process is the 'international family' whose principal members are scattered not only in different households, in diverse cities but are dispersed throughout different countries. These families operate on the principle of networks rather than households (Ho, 1993).

Stepwise/Serial Migration/Migratory Separation

'Stepwise' migration is one in which the parent(s) migrate first and then send for the child(ren) at a later date either all at once or one by one (Thomas-Hope, 1992 as cited in Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001; Smith et al., 2004; Pottinger, 2005; Miranda et al., 2005; Bernhard et al., 2005; Mena et al., 2008; Pottinger et al., 2008). Stepwise or serial migration is connected to the ambivalence and financial costs related with starting a life for a family in a foreign country (Roth, 1970 as cited in Smith et al., 2004) and, therefore, can be perceived as an adaptive strategy. Migratory separation entails two stages. The first stage is the original separation of children from their parents when parents immigrate to a new country. The second stage is the rejoining of children and parents in the host country, and a second separation from the children's surrogate caregiver in the home country (Smith et al., 2004).

Thomas-Hope (1992) emphasizes the fact that social class plays a significant role in the migratory behavior of Caribbean's, and it is imperative to understand that the Caribbean immigrant not be depicted as part of a socially homogenous collective. For example, whereas, working-class Caribbean families are more likely to migrate in a stepwise fashion, the movement of middle and upper-class families normally ensues with the entire family emigrating all at once (Crawford-Brown and Rattray, 2001 as cited in Pottinger et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2004).

It is important to note that the literature on transnational families uses the terms, stepwise migration, serial migration, and migratory separation interchangeably. Thus, in order to be consistent with the literature this author will also use these concepts interchangeably through the body of this essay.

Transnational Motherhood

'Transnational motherhood' is a term used by Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila (1997) to refer to "how the meanings of motherhood are re-arranged to accommodate spatial and temporal separations" (as cited in Crawford, 2004:101). Stated another way 'transnational motherhood' refers to "...a 'variation of organizational arrangements, meanings, and priorities of motherhood' (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997: 548 as cited in Fresnoza-Flot, 2009:252) and is identified via the child-mother separation resulting from migration.

Transferred Mothering

Hernández-Albújar, (2004) coined the term 'transferred motherhood' (Fresnoza-Flot, 2009) to "describe the relationships between mothers and children in the host society, taking into

account changes in the family performance, conflicts in the host society, and the strategies mothers devise to create harmony and wellbeing for their families" (pg. 66).

Prevalence of Serial Migration

For hundreds of years migration has been a way of life for Caribbean peoples (Adams, 2000). This theme of leaving family behind as a means of financially supporting them is perpetual in Caribbean peoples' history and it persists to this day (Adams, 1986; Ho, 1993; Gopaul-McNichol, 1993 as cited in Adams, 2000). In other words, migration is a common characteristic of English speaking peoples of the Caribbean (Ho, 1993). It has been a documented fact that the Caribbean region transports more of its population than any other region in the world (Palmer, 1990; Ho, 1993). Pottinger (2005) asserts that for many families in the Caribbean the migration process begins with migratory separation. Pottinger (2005) goes on to say that "migration is the most common cause of parent-child separation in Jamaica when compared with parental death or divorce" (pg. 492).

Although countless families participate in these transnational arrangements, there is limited knowledge of the prevalence of these kinds of family relations (Falicov, 2002 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001). In fact, studies looking at the prevalence of migratory separation in the Caribbean are only now appearing (Pottinger et al., 2008). There are also no available statistics on cross-cultural examples of immigrant family separations resulting from migrations (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). What we have learnt is likely to be unscientific or anecdotal in nature or acquired from clinical reports (Falicov, 1998; Glasgow & Gouse-Shees, 1995; Prince, 1968; Sciarra, 1999 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001).

Nevertheless, the research of the prevalence of stepwise migration is promising and the implications far-reaching. For instance, it has been determined that during the peak of Caribbean migration, 1953 to 1956, 162,000 individuals immigrated to Britain of whom 40 percent were women, and 8 percent were children. Of the adult Caribbean's who migrated between 1955 and 1960, they brought with them only 6,500 of their offspring, but more significantly they left 90,000 of their offspring behind in their home country (Lowenthal, 1972 as cited in Arnold, 1997).

Moreover, Roth (1970) reported that British figures from 1961 pinpoint the fact that 98 percent of children from Jamaican descent did not originally migrate with their parents (as cited in Smith et al., 2004). Furthermore, community school samples from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have recorded prevalence rates of 10.5 and 35 percent respectively of children with parents who have migrated (Jones et al. 2004; Pottinger 2003 as cited in Pottinger et al. 2008). Pottinger et al. (2008) maintains that unscientific narratives based on conversations amongst colleagues recognize that parental loss resulting from migration is also fairly common throughout numerous other countries of the Caribbean, including St. Lucia, Barbados, and the Dominican Republic. In addition, the pattern of bringing the children later to the host country was most prevalent among Central American families (in 80% of the cases) and among Dominican and Haitian families (in 61% and 59% respectively) (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001). As well, according to the 1980-2001 LIDS of the 6,389 Jamaican newcomers to Toronto CMA by Immigration Class, 1999-2001, 82% came under the Family Class (Lo et al., 2007).

The most promising research findings on migratory separation prevalence are those by Suárez-Orozco et al. (2002) who report that 85% of the 385 youth participants who were recent

immigrants from Central America, China, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico had been separated from one or both parents for lengthy periods, during the migration process, with some variations based on the cultural group in question. While these statistics are valuable in depicting the problems and its clinical consequences, they do not cast light on the prevalence of family separations resulting from migrations (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001). However, given that 20 percent of children in the U.S. are being raised in immigrant homes, a considerable number of children are undoubtedly touched by this phenomenon (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002).

Length of Separation

Families frequently assume that the process of establishing a home in the receiving country will be fairly quick, and that the family will be reconnected within an inconsiderable period of time. However, this normally does not happen for a number of reasons, including financial difficulties, complications with legalizing their immigration status, financial obstacles, as well as for personal reasons, such as separation of parents and divorce, partly triggered by the mental and emotional pressures resulting from the migration process (Arnold, 1991; Lashley, 2000; Simpao, 1999 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002; Crawford, 2004; Horton, 2009). Although foreign domestic workers are permitted to sponsor their spouses and/or children once they obtain landed immigrant status, this does not come into play until three years after their original arrival to Canada (Cohen, 2000). The primary reason is that 24 months as a live-in caregiver must be completed within a 36-month period, prior to registrants being able to move onto the next stage of applying for permanent resident status. The causes for the delays are multitudinous, and in a majority of cases are linked to the necessity of having to set money aside in order to cover the expenses related to processing the application in both Canada and their

native country (Cohen, 2000). Moreover, the processing times for visa applications fluctuate drastically based on the embassy location from which the applications were filed (CIC 2005 as cited in Bernhard et al., 2005). Possible efforts at reunification are further convoluted by the fact that a large number of domestic workers arrive in Canada without divulging their true parental or marital status. Most are advised by employment agencies in their home country to withhold this information if they wish to increase their chances of getting into Canada. But, paradoxically, the main reason they accept a position in Canada is to support the very dependents they claim do not exist (Cohen, 2000; Crawford, 2004).

There are differences (beyond the scope of this paper) between migrant women's experiences, based on their place of origin, in terms of the length of separation. According to Crawford-Brown (1993), the length of migratory separation ranges from three to ten years in Jamaica (as cited in Pottinger, 2005). Crawford-Brown & Rattray (2001) had similar research findings, of two to ten years, when it came to the length of migratory separation among the Caribbean community. Other studies on Caribbean migration to Britain (Robertson, 1975) documented that the average length of separation that children have from parents was approximately 5.2 years (as cited in Arnold 1991). Crawford (2003) also recorded similar findings of more than 5 years. Studies out of the Caribbean convey that children of migrant parents are likely to encounter lengthy durations of separation, occasionally up to 10 years (Crawford-Brown, 1999; Jones et al. 2004; Smith et al., 2004; Pottinger, 2005), before they are reunited with the parent in the receiving country (Pottinger et al., 2008). Pottinger (2005) concludes that many Jamaican parents put off sending for their children sooner due to the fact that they would rather have their children acquire their early education in their native country.

Although the periods of separation from their children and/or spouses vary and are longer than they generally anticipated, female domestic workers are more likely to contemplate extending their separation, if they are convinced that separation is tolerable and they can maintain a level of closeness with their loved ones (Parreñas, 2001).

Push and Pull Factors behind Women's Migration

Push Factors

In this segment, I will discuss the push-pull factors of women's emigration to Canada, with an emphasis on the Caribbean. It has been documented that the economic instability of “third world” countries was a by-product of International Monetary Fund's (IMF) or World Bank's structural adjustment policies and large deficits (Crawford, 2003; Schmalzbauer, 2004). However, it is important to note that these are present day consequences of over 400 years of slavery resulting from neocolonialism, as will be discussed in greater detail later in the paper. During the majority of the twentieth century Caribbean economies were devastated by bankruptcy, and social conditions had eroded resulting from International Monetary Fund/World Bank policies. Debt, currency depreciations, exorbitant amounts spent on food import, and cuts to health, education and social welfare had taken its toll on Caribbean populations (Ho, 1993; Baptiste et al., 1997; Cohen, 2000; Crawford, 2003; Sorensen, 2005). This resulted in extreme poverty, extensive unemployment and underemployment, and grave scarcity of the basic necessities of life (Ho, 1993; Crawford, 2003). Hence, many African Caribbean women, who were heads of households, wanted to migrate in order to escape poverty (Bonnett, 1990; Cohen, 2000; Crawford 2004), unemployment (Bonnett, 1990; Crawford, 2004), and limited opportunities in their home countries (Bonnett, 1990) as well as being able to provide for their families.

During the early part of the 1960s, when many Caribbean countries obtained independence, their interest keenly turned to Canada and other developed countries as a means of establishing economic networks (Satzewich, 1989). Hence, numerous Caribbean governments have, at different periods in their history, vigorously promoted the out-migration of their citizens as a means of relieving the economic and social conditions resulting from unequal economic infrastructural development (Satzewich, 1989; Palmer, 1990; Ho, 1993; Rousseau et al., 2008). These “third world” nations benefited in that this enhanced their development plans (Crawford, 2003). Moreover, Caribbean countries also profited from the transport of female labour “through market affiliation with Canada and from remittances sent home by domestic workers” (Daenzer, 1997 as cited in Crawford, 2003:106). Emigration has been used as a mechanism to decrease population levels in order to trigger economic growth through the procurement of foreign currency through remittances, and as a means of transfer of skills and enhanced technology to the country (Satzewich, 1989).

Palmer (1990) asserts that Caribbean governments conventionally encouraged migration amongst their unskilled workers to guarantee a continuous flow of remittances in future years. Monetary remittances are a significant source of foreign currency for Caribbean countries. On a micro level, remittances provide shelter, food, education and medical care for Caribbean nations, an overall improvement in the quality of life for a large portion of the population, and fuel the manufacturing of goods and creation of services. On a macro level remittances aid in debt servicing and financing imports (Itzigsohn, 1995; Crawford, 2003). The Caribbean nations also benefited from the export of their female immigrants through market affiliation with Canada, and other first world countries (Satzewich, 1989; Itzigsohn, 1995; Crawford, 2003). Moreover,

Crawford, 2004). Furthermore, by 1970, the Canadian government was frantic to fill the scarcity in the domestic work sector for white middle-class households since more women were working outside the home, particularly dual-career couples with young children who were ineligible for childcare subsidies (Pedraza, 1991; Arat-Koc, 1990 as cited in Crawford, 2003).

The proliferation of women entering the labour market has resulted in the creation of a countrywide appeal for live-in childcare and eldercare workers. This is connected to the fact that there is a scarcity of subsidized day care spaces in Canada (Cohen, 2000). Pressured to meet the needs of its labor force, Canada was compelled to open its doors ever so slightly to non-traditional sources of immigrants. As a result, the Canadian government entered into the domestic worker scheme in 1955 with the Caribbean which will be discussed later in the paper. Jakubowski (1997) echoes similar sentiments by asserting that this mass exodus to Canada, in the 1970s, by immigrants of colour who had formerly been declined entry, was the direct result of changes to Canada's immigration policy and the implementation of the points system and the need to fill shortages in specific employment sectors (as cited in Crawford, 2004; Pedraza, 1991; Crawford, 2003; Crawford, 2004), jobs that yielded a low wage and that the average white Canadian circumvented (Crawford, 2003).

Arat-Koc 1990 upholds that "for parents with two or more pre-school children, employment of a live-in nanny would cost significantly less than sending children to daycare centre or hiring live-out help" (as cited in Crawford, 2003:105). In addition, the Canadian government benefited as it was able to lower its expenditure costs on social reproduction by importing inexpensive domestic aid instead of supplying families with affordable public childcare facilities (Crawford, 2003). Arat-Koc (1999) asserts that the Canadian federal

government was simply continuing its unequal neo-colonial relations with “third world” countries through “the importation and commodification of non-white labour to benefit its economic needs” (as cited in Crawford, 2003:105), specifically cheap labour. Furthermore, accepting entrants from decolonized countries in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean was a means of filling jobs in sectors that the typical white Canadian evaded (Arat-Koc, 1999 as cited in Crawford, 2003). In addition, Canada also wanted to capitalize on the recent independence of a number of Caribbean countries by increasing their exports and capital in these countries (Satzewich, 1989).

The push-pull factors that draw Caribbean and other “third world” women to other post-industrialized nations, such as The United States and Britain are nearly parallel to those in the Canadian context. They include: the increase in the demand for domestic workers (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parrenas, 2001 as cited in Schmalzbauer, 2004) and skilled labour (Adams, 2000); change in immigration policy (Arnold, 1997; Adams, 2000; Fresnoza-Flot, 2009); devaluation of the national currency; high inflation; high unemployment rates (Hernández-Albujar, 2004; Moran-Taylor, 2008); poverty (Moran-Taylor, 2008); political and social instability (Hernández-Albujar, 2004; Moran-Taylor, 2008); abandonment by spouse (Moran-Taylor, 2008); fleeing abusive relationships (Moran-Taylor, 2008); lack of feasible alternatives (Hernández-Albujar, 2004); and the native government signing work scheme agreements to reduce foreign debt through remittances (Cohen, 2000).

A Short History of Caribbean Immigrant Domesticities

The history of Caribbean women domestics in Canada can be traced as far back as 1921 when West Indian women were solicited as domestics from Guadeloupe in the French-speaking

Caribbean to Quebec (Satzewich, 1989). By the mid-1950s, faced with a constant demand for domestic workers and its inability to obtain domestics from eastern and northwestern Europe, Canada reluctantly began to widen its doors to the south (Palmer, 1990 as cited in Glenn, 1992; Cohen, 2000). Thus, the increasing demand for domestic workers and child care providers forged the agreement with Canada and the Caribbean known as the 1955 Domestic Scheme (Satzewich, 1989; Carty, 1994; Arat-Koc, 1999; Cohen, 2000). The Scheme was an employer-sponsored program that attained women from the English-speaking Caribbean, primarily Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados, to do work that white women were refusing to do. Under this scheme single women, between 18 and 40 years old, with no dependents, a minimum grade 8 education, and who cleared their medical examination were permitted as landed immigrants on the condition that they would spend a minimum of one year as domestic servants (Satzewich, 1989; Arat-Koc, 1990; Carty, 1994). In addition, they had to remain in domestic positions for one year after entering Canada and were in danger of deportation if they left their employer without authorization from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Upon completion of the one year contract they obtained permanent landed status and were free to enter any profession in the Canadian labour market. After five years of consecutive residence in Canada they were eligible to apply for Canadian citizenship. Upon receiving their citizenship they could sponsor certain classifications of their family to become permanent residents (Satzewich, 1989). The scheme benefited both parties; the Caribbean countries by fuelling their economies through remittances and reducing the levels of unemployment, and Canada by providing cheap labour (Carty, 1994).

It would seem that by 1962 Canada had implemented unbiased criteria in terms of its selection process for entry into the country, as ethnic quotas were eliminated and substituted with a point system derived on the basis of skill and education instead of on race; religion, or country of origin, leading to an influx of Caribbean people (Coelho, 1988; Satzewich, 1989; Gopaul-McNicol, 1993; Cohen, 2000; Winks, 1997 as cited in Smith et al., 2004). However, under the 1967 Immigration Act and the implementation of the point system, household labor was not considered to be a meaningful skill. Therefore, domestic workers continued to experience obstacles qualifying as independent immigrants regardless of the continual demand for their services (Cohen, 2000).

In 1973 policy changes for foreign domestics resulted in them no longer being granted immigrant or 'landed' status. Instead they entered the country on work permits or employment visas (Crawford, 2004). It was also mandatory that the domestic worker live with her employer. In addition, the temporary work permits specified the employer (Arat-Koc, 1989 as cited in Arat-Koc, 1999). In addition, domestic workers had to complete a two-year contract with their given employer. Once the terms of the contract were fulfilled the domestics would need to be sponsored in order to stay in Canada or would be faced with deportation (Arat-Koc, 1999; Crawford, 2004; Bakan & Stasiulis, 1997; Calliste, 1991; Daenzer, 1997 as cited in Crawford, 2004). In addition, in order to be eligible for employment as foreign domestic workers these women still could not bring their children with them (Crawford, 2003; Crawford, 2004). Therefore, plenty of African-Caribbean women with children felt the need to withhold this information in order to work in Canada as domestics to support their families as they were experiencing poverty and unemployment in their home countries (Crawford, 2003; Crawford,

2004). Private employment agencies and Canadian officials often overlooked the deception of Caribbean women's motherhood status in order to fill the heavy demand for domestic workers. Restricting the eligibility to single women without children, the government further benefited as it did not have to pay for the additional costs of financing dependents (Crawford, 2003).

Further changes were to follow. In direct response to outcries from numerous human rights activists and domestics' organizations, over the exploitation and oppressive circumstances of domestics, the federal government unveiled the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) Program in 1981; which was in effect until 1992. Domestic workers were no longer compelled to leave Canada immediately after their contract expired. Under this scheme they were able to apply for permanent landed immigrant status upon the completion of two years of domestic work in Canada. However, it was still a mandatory requirement for domestic workers to live with their employers for a minimum of two years. This led to a number of domestic workers being further abused by their employers (Arat-Koc, 1999; Cohen, 1987, 1991 as cited in Cohen, 2000; Crawford, 2003). The abuse that domestic workers experienced was due to the mere fact that they had to live-in with their employer and this abuse had been going on for a long time before the program. In addition, there was no guarantee that permanent landed status would be awarded. Furthermore, domestic workers had to fulfill supplementary requirements not required of other immigrants applying for their independent immigrant status (Arat-Koc, 1999) which allowed domestics to file for permanent landed status. The program was finally replaced with the Live-in Caregiver Program in 1992 (Cohen, 2000).

In 1992, once again, immigration policy and regulations pertaining to domestic workers were changed. The new program, which is still in existence, is called the Live-in Caregiver

Program (LCP) (Arat-Koc, 1999; Cohen, 2000). The LCP introduced even more onerous criteria for domestic workers entering Canada. Under the original scheme of 1992, applicants had to have at least 12 years or equivalent of Canadian education and 6 months of certified training in a specialized area of care: disabled, seniors, or children (CEIC 1992 as cited in Arat-Koc, 1999; Cohen, 2000). The changes in the educational credentials of domestic workers were instantaneously criticized by domestic workers' advocacy groups who claimed that the new program was exclusionary and that in many Third World countries basic education only went to Grade 10 or 11 (Arat-Koc, 1999). Instead; in response to concerns voiced from employers around the decrease in the number of domestic workers entering the Live-in Caregiver Program, in 1983 the Minister of Employment and Immigration made modifications to the qualifications of the program. The six months of certified training could be substituted by one year's experience in a specialized area of care giving (Mackin, 1994 as cited in Arat-Koc, 1999). In addition, domestics are now eligible to apply for permanent landed status upon completing at least two out of three consecutive years as a live-in caregiver. However, under the LCP women continue to be prohibited from emigrating with their children and/or spouses (Cohen, 2000). The only advancements for domestic workers under this program was that they no longer needed a "release letter" from their previous employment in order to change employers, and the upgrading and supplementary requirements for obtaining permanent status was eliminated; the only requirement needed from the domestic worker was documentation that she fulfilled two years of full-time employment in domestic work (Arat-Koc, 1989 as cited in Arat-Koc, 1999; Mackin, 1994 as cited in Arat-Koc, 1999).

In conclusion, it is important to emphasize that migration from the Caribbean has historically been closely connected to labour demands of the countries in Canada where West Indian people have migrated (Smith, 1981 as cited in Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). Nevertheless, Satzewich (1989) upholds that Canada's immigration policy appeared to be less discriminatory and racist because a racially discriminatory immigration policy did not suit the role Canada desired to play in the Commonwealth and internationally nor as a trading nation to newly independent former Commonwealth countries such as those found in the West Indies.

Consequences of Race, Gender, Class and Immigration Status

Even though employers preferred to hire European immigrant domestics they could not easily retain their services. It was not until the immigration of European settlers became almost non-existent that domestic work became dominated by visible minority women. During the early twentieth century Canada persistently solicited domestic workers from Britain and Scotland by setting up immigration offices in these countries; something that the Canadian state refused to do in the Caribbean until it was no longer economically feasible to administer permits solely in Canada (Arat-Koc, 1990). However, with the replacement of European domestics with 'third world' foreign domestic workers, drastic transformations in Canada's immigration policy were to follow (Arat-Koc, 1999).

Moreover, prior to domestic work becoming disproportionately work that racialized women perform, the organizations involved in female immigration wanted to make certain that the recruits would become more than servants but would also be contributing as mothers to the building of a moral White Canadian nation (Arat-Koc, 1990). However, this sentiment that domestic servant women belonged in Canadian society, based on their phenotype, was no longer

conveyed when racialized women comprised the majority of domestic workers (Arat-Koc, 1990). The increasing number of African Caribbean women coming into Canada was of continual grave concern. According to a memo from the Director of Immigration to the Deputy Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1960:

One single female domestic servant may take a year or two to become established but she may then begin to sponsor brothers, sisters, fiancée, and parents, at a fairly rapid rate. The one unsponsored worker may meet someone's need for a domestic servant for a year or two but the result may be ten or twenty sponsored immigrants of dubious value to Canada and who may well cause insoluble social problems...I am greatly concerned that we may be facing a West Indian sponsoring explosionⁱ (Satzewich, 1989:91).

The apprehension around Caribbean domestic workers' migration was also connected to assumptions around the questionable sexual practices and immorality of women from the Caribbean. According to the Canadian High Commissioner of Trinidad & Tobago:

Promiscuity is wide-spread here and it is quite usual, especially in the lower end of the social scale, to find (a) that people who describe themselves as 'married' are not, in fact, legally married; (b) that parents have children of diverse paternity or maternity, and (c) that single, unmarried women have one or more (sometimes several) children, more often than not entrusted to the care of relativesⁱⁱ (as cited in Satzewich, 1989:92).

This notion of black female immorality seems to have been the underlying reason for the implementation of additional mandatory medical examinations for Caribbean women who entered Canada as domestic workers; such as testing for syphilis. The Barbadian and Jamaican government apparently were not aware of such tests (as cited in Satzewich, 1989:92).

Moreover, as a means of dealing with the possible 'explosion' of Caribbean sponsored immigrants, or Caribbean domestic workers, regulations were adopted to impede the entry of their fiancés into Canada. If a fiancé was granted entry, the couple had to be married within thirty days or the fiancé would be deported back to the West Indies. Likewise, female Caribbean domestics had to provide documentation (e.g., personal letters) to Immigration

officials to validate the relationship. Neither of these methods was utilized on white female domestics and their white fiancés (Satzewich, 1989).

Another way in which the Canadian government tried to curtail the sponsorship of Caribbean and other racialized female domestics was through further changes to the Domestic Worker Program. In 1973, due to the introduction of the points system, the government changed the policy for foreign domestics which resulted in them no longer being granted immigrant or 'landed' status. Domestic workers, despite having occupational training and experience in their profession, were still ranked low on their occupational skills. By keeping the points designated to occupational demand for domestic work fairly low, Caribbean women were unable to accumulate the points they required for permanent residency. Instead, more and more of them started coming in as non-immigrants on temporary work permits or employment visas, hence meeting the ever-increasing needs of the labor market while limiting racialized domestic workers' rights as citizens (Arat-Koc, 1990; Arat-Koc, 1999; Crawford, 2003; Crawford, 2004). For instance, by 1978, five out of six foreign domestic workers who entered Canada came as temporary workers (Daenze, 1993 as cited in Arat-Koc, 1999). However, their white European counterparts were ranked higher and sponsored as "nannies", "child care workers" and "nursemaids". These labels assigned to them denoted a higher status than 'domestics'. The only possible explanation for this is that of race. Furthermore, the point system's definitions of 'education', 'skill', and 'work' limited women: "education" refers solely to formal education while "work" refers only to paid work in the formal labor force, and "skill" is a term which involves perceptions of a job and the worker doing it. Moreover, the way in which "skill" is defined either excludes or undervalues skills and personal qualities women are inclined to

develop during gender socialization and in learning to perform domestic work (Arat-Koc, 1999). In addition, under the universal points system, occupations are ranked by demand value. Domestic work should have been assigned higher points, since few Canadians are interested in this profession and demand for domestic work has verifiably exceeded supply (Arat-Koc, 1999). Furthermore, the benchmark applied to evaluating applicants for permanent landed immigrant status frequently resulted in discrimination against women who demonstrated an interest in sponsoring their children and also discriminated against domestic workers over a certain age (Mackin, 1994; Silvera, 1983 as cited in Arat-Koc, 1999).

The consistent changes in immigration policy and procedures for domestic workers, lead to domestics being taken advantage of by their employers. They received extremely low wages and were required to stay with the same employer for two years until their contracts expired, upon which time they had to return to their country of origin (Crawford, 2003). As a result of increasingly restrictive immigration policy and regulations, and the fact that domestic workers were no longer entering the country landed, they lost their economic autonomy in human capital, and the duration of the separation from their child(ren) widened (Crawford, 2003; Abrego, 2004; Bernhard et al., 2005; Horton, 2009).

Moreover, domestic workers are the only classification of immigrants, under the LCP, with the exception of seasonal farm workers, who are prohibited from entering Canada with their immediate family (Cohen, 2000; Bernhard et al., 2005). Nonetheless, 'skilled' foreign workers (who are predominately white) are permitted to enter Canada with their spouses. Their spouses are also given independent work permits (Cohen, 2000).

The status and circumstances of both foreign domestic workers and sponsored immigrant women symbolize gender inferiority in settlement and immigration policies. Whereas there is disapproval of domestic workers as mothers to their own offspring, sponsored “family class” immigrants are characterized by their connection to their family. However, the commonality between both groups is that neither domestic workers nor sponsored “family class” immigrants are treated or recognized as citizens and persons. Instead, their status as non-citizens insinuates that their circumstances and well-being are not the responsibility of the government, but the personal responsibility of their employers and relatives. Thus, both classes of women are made vulnerable and dependent on their employers and families (Arat-Koc, 1999). Hence, racialized sexism resulted in the limited citizenship rights designated to Caribbean women domestics and other domestics of color, making them, according to Arat-Koc, “good enough to work but not good enough to stay” in Canada (Crawford, 2003: 106).

Regardless of their qualifications, Caribbean women who were landed immigrants found themselves steered into domestic work or other forms of paid reproductive work as nurses and healthcare aides (Satzwich, 1989; Pedraza, 1991; Crawford, 2003; Crawford, 2004). Domestic service in private households and institutional service work has been the two forms of waged reproductive work that racialized women have performed disproportionately (Gordon, 1990; Glenn, 1992). This was a direct result of the systemic racism in immigration policy and regulations, which was verbalized by many government representatives. For instance, a 1960 memo to the Cabinet from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and Labour regarding the Domestic Worker Program exemplifies this: “There is little danger of these girls, once admitted leaving domestic employment to seek higher wages in industry for there are very

limited opportunities for them in Canada other than domestic service” (Carty, 1994)ⁱⁱⁱ. Prior to 1955, domestic work in Canada was seldom provided to racialized women (Cohen, 2000). However, at present, except in times of severe economic crisis, whites and blacks (and other racialized women) did not compete for domestic work (Glenn, 1992).

Cohen (2000) maintains that the temporary visas placed Caribbean women in a designed category of “visitor” which exposes a fundamentally racist timetable indicating the government’s intentions of preventing West Indian women from permanently staying in Canada. Reminiscent of slavery, African Caribbean domestic workers were re-generating white families at the sacrifice of their own (Crawford, 2003).

Statistical Data on Female Domestic Workers

Although the demand for foreign domestic workers has been extensively documented, it is difficult to truly pinpoint in relative terms the number of domestic workers who entered Canada and the significance of these numbers, due to the modified domestic worker schemes, quotas, and changes to immigration policy and procedures.

Between 1947 and 1950 approximately 11,000 domestic workers were admitted into Canada from European refugee camps (Cohen, 2000) and from 1951-1952, the Department of Labour accepted over 500 domestics from Italy, however, only 357 entered Canada before that specific arrangement was dissolved (Cohen, 2000).

During the first year of the 1955 Caribbean Domestic Worker Scheme, a quota of 100 females was set. In the following years the quotas were raised to 280 Caribbean women per year. In addition, between 1946 and 1961, a total of 12,841 Caribbean’s emigrated to Canada, the majority of whom were either female domestic workers, close relatives of already West

Indian permanent residences of Canada, or 'cases of exceptional merit' such as graduate students and professionals or trades people who were in high demand. However, they only comprised less than one per cent of the total movement of permanent residents to Canada (Satzewich, 1989). After 1962, an unknown number of Caribbean women also migrated as domestics independent of the quota agreement, arriving through the normal immigration channels (Satzewich, 1989). Therefore, it is difficult to quantify accurately how many Caribbean domestic entered or are presently working in Canada. By 1965, 1,690 women from various Caribbean countries entered Canada under the domestic worker program (Cohen, 2000).

According to the 1981 Task Force on Immigration Practices and Procedures, since the mid-1970s between 10,000 and 16,000 domestic foreign workers (primarily from Third World countries) a year have been granted temporary work permits; 96 percent of these workers are in live-in services (Arat-Koc, 1990). However, what is not known is the percentage of immigrants from the Caribbean this represents. From July 1975 to June 1976, 44.8 percent of all arrivals to Canada's foreign domestic program were from the Caribbean, and only 0.3 percent was from Asian countries (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995 as cited in Crawford, 2004; Crawford, 2003).

By 1982, over 16,000 domestic workers entered Canada (Arat-Koc, 1990; Crawford, 2003). However, it is not known how many of these domestics were from the Caribbean. What is known is that, by 1984 Caribbean domestics from the Caribbean made up only 6.4 percent of landed entrants (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1994 as cited in Crawford, 2003).

According to Statistics Canada in 1995 Statistics Census, a total of 11,000 Canadian families hired live-in domestic workers (Cohen, 2000). In 2003, the Live-In Caregiver Program Fact Sheet reported that, 4,074 women and 225 men entered Canada on temporary work visas;

91.4% of these came from the Philippines, and roughly one third were married. In the same year, 2,230 LCP participants Canada-wide acquired permanent resident status, 97.3% of whom were women. Moreover, they sponsored roughly 1,100 dependents and spouses (Live-in Caregiver Program Fact Sheet, distributed at National Live-in Caregiver Program Roundtable, January 13 and 14, 2005 as cited in Pratt, 2006).

Even though it is challenging to make sense of these numbers what is clear is that domestic work continues to be dominated by racialized women from developing countries and that as long as the economic disparity between post-industrial nations and developing countries continues to widen, this will not change in the foreseeable future. Domestic work will continue to be racialized women's work.

In summary, international migration has been a by-product of economic globalization, which has lead to increasing numbers of transnational families in which the wage earner is the women who emigrates leaving her children and/or spouse behind to join her in the distant future. This has resulted in the feminization of migration, due to the demand in developed countries for female workers to fill low wage jobs such as taking care of other peoples' children. However, due to their low economic status in their native country, these women are compelled to migrate in a stepwise fashion. Although family separation has always been a feature of migration, especially Caribbean migration, researchers are only now beginning to grasp the impact that this migration has on the mental health of those involved. Our need to understand the ramifications of this form of migration is crucial since all evidence points to the fact that transnational families are here to stay due to the continued global economic crisis in developing countries. However, the prevalence rates of serial migration are still relatively unknown. The sparse information we

do have indicates that prevalence rates as it pertains to the number of children left behind in the home country, and the length of separation before family reunification fluctuate from individual to individual and from culture to culture. Although families assume that the reunification process will be a short one, legal status, financial obligations, immigration bureaucracy and processing, and other such issues, must be factored into this equation. In order to increase replicability and generalizability researchers must begin to use the same terms and concepts.

Ramifications of Transnationalism on the Caribbean Family

Although emigration for economic motives is typically encouraged by family members and the community (Waters, 1999 as cited in Pottinger et al. 2008), I will illustrate how Caribbean mothers' separation from their children elicits strong emotions (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002 as cited in Pottinger et al., 2008). Falicov (2007) asserts that migration always involves separation. Therefore, leading to 'transnational relational stress' (the stress resulting from migration) is virtually impossible to avoid and frequently creates family tensions (Lashley, 2000; Parreñas, 2001; Gopaul-McNicol, 1998 as cited in Smith et al., 2004; Falicov, 2007).

It has been maintained that migration brings about pressures that come from the difficulties experienced in entering a new economic system and culture, and changing one's personal ties. These stressors are reflected in the immigrants' mental health; psychological distress or depression (Pedraza, 1991). Furthermore, Pratt (2006) asserts that the process of serial migration sets up a situation of sacrifice and indebtedness within the family which itself can create tension.

Psychological Impact on Mothers

Caribbean domestics are subjected to similar experiences as their children in that their suffering is frequently expressed in remorse, unhappiness, and apprehension (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2002; Crawford, 2003; Bernhard et al., 2005; Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006; Pottinger et al., 2008), withdrawal (Bernhard et al., 2005; Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006), depression and pain (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002; Crawford, 2003; Pottinger et al., 2008).

However, some women deal with the emotional distress they feel over being separated from their children by 'not thinking' or blocking out their feelings. Falicov (2007) upholds that subduing or blocking one's emotions may be universal responses to traumatic events (Parreñas, 2001; Falicov, 2007). Moreover, the psychological and physical impact can be so tremendous that, for example, one Chilean woman lost a lot of weight and all her hair, after migrating and leaving her daughter behind. She related her emotional condition as a 'cancer of the soul' (Falicov, 2007). Falicov (2007) maintains that numerous cclinics in post-industrial cities are prescribing drugs to treat psychosomatic ailments or symptoms of depression, of an increasing number of female immigrants, who left their children behind, but who rarely speak about the trauma of separation.

To further add to their stress and sense of guilt, in some cases, issues arise around the use and abuse of money and the ill-treatment of their children, or the challenges their children are experiencing with the child fostering agreement. Some mothers appear to be in denial due to a sense of powerlessness; while others are unable to comprehend the immensity of the emotional effect the separation has on their children (Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). Bonnett (1990)

documents that in some cases, where African Caribbean women suspected or realized that their children were being abused, they removed them and entrusted them in the hands of another caregiver. However, this was not very common, presumably because the surrogate caregiver lived in fear that the remittance they received for the children would be taken away. On the contrary, according to Toney (1998), migrant children were more likely to be spoiled, and pampered. They were often better dressed, had more money, and were more likely to attend secondary school than their peers. Migrant parents themselves also compensated materially for their physical absence (Bonnett, 1990).

It is believed that when the mother, child and caregiver are satisfied with the child fostering arrangement, the pain can be minimized. Nevertheless, even under those conditions, mothers continue to be extremely uneasy regarding their children and experience a persistent feeling of regret coupled with guilt with stints of loneliness (Suarez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie, 2002 as cited in Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). Therefore, it is not unusual for mothers to struggle with adverse emotions between wanting to remain in the host country for the benefits, and returning to their native country to rejoin their children and yet be faced with continual financial challenges. Parents who opt to stay in the receiving country regardless of their turmoil may endeavor to atone for their absence by sending inordinate amounts of money and gifts for their child. Social work professionals in Jamaica have invented the phrase ‘barrel children’ when speaking about children who receive barrels of personal possessions from their migrant parents (Crawford-Brown and Rattray 2002 as cited in Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). There is extensive research on techniques that are used by mothers (who leave their children behind) to maintain affinity between their children and themselves. However, the scope

of this paper does not afford a lengthy discussion of this matter (See Cohen, 2000; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001; Crawford, 2003; Falicov, 2007; Fresnoza-Flot, 2009).

Ramifications upon Reunification

Parents are happy to be reuniting with their children; however, this is often short-lived as reality sets in with the challenges they are forced to contend with. For instance, they may soon realize that their children are conflicted about reuniting with them (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002; Arnold, 1991 as cited in Pottinger, 2005). It is not unusual for parents to feel incompetent and unfamiliar with their children upon reunification (Cohen, 2000; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Hernández-Albújar, 2004) and although the reunification with their children is recognized as a joyous occasion, it is also remembered as a point of tension (Hernández-Albújar, 2004). Moreover, mothers anticipate that their children will be happy to reunite with them. In no way would they imagine that their child might reject them. Many mothers are despondent with the results of reunions as their children are often withdrawn or resentful (Cheetham, 1972 as cited in Arnold, 1997). At times, both mothers and children are disengaged and emotionally distant from one another (Mitrani et al., 2004).

In other cases, mothers strive to catch up on lost time with their children and as a result became overprotective of them. These mothers are more likely to be stringent in their approach with their children (Robertson, 1975 as cited in Arnold, 1997; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). Mothers who are less affectionate have higher expectations for themselves and their children and are unable to make adjustments for their children who are not only in a foreign country but with a mother who is virtually a stranger to them. Ironically, these mothers are the

least capable of forging adequate relationships with their children (Robertson, 1975 as cited in Arnold, 1997).

Mothers' aspirations for their children are also another source of stress on family dynamics. Parents who bring their children to the host country are convinced that they are providing the best opportunities to their children. However, problems occur when the children, especially teenagers, do not share these aspirations. Some mothers, wanting all the things for their children that they were unable to have or accomplish, dictate to their children what they are to become (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). The expectations for teenage females are even more rigid and in cases where they become pregnant, they are often abandoned by their parents because their parents' sacrifice and dream for a better life is perceived as being 'destroyed' (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). Furthermore, when mothers' and children's expectations about the reunion are unfulfilled, children may respond with resentment and disobedience and parents may perceive this behavior as ungratefulness and resort to punitive measures (Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006).

Change in Family Composition

The problems associated with reunification are further intensified if the mother has remarried or is in a common-law relationship, and are compounded if there are siblings that arise from this union (Gordon, 1990). Adams (2000) asserts that upon reunification it is not uncommon for the mother to have other children or live with a partner. Mitrani et al. (2004) maintains that in circumstances in which the mother has remarried, the bond between mother and immigrant child is often jeopardized. The modifications needed in successfully melding a family are complex in reunified families because of the fragile bond between mother and

children and because a new union (and sometimes new children) proceed the children's immigration.

Moreover, it is not unusual for mothers to feel a closer bond to their children who are born in the receiving country and who have never been separated from them. These mothers grapple to reattach with their children whom they left behind and although they carry out their parental responsibilities, they do so at times with minimal affection (Robertson, 1975 as cited in Arnold, 1997).

Child Rearing

While attempting to educate the child who has reunited with them concerning the realities of the receiving country as a means of aiding the child in his/her adaptation, mothers immediately want to resume their parental role with their reunited child(ren) and can be over zealous in enforcing these guidelines. Moreover, parent(s) also want to ensure that order is preserved in the household for the sake of the other children (Lashley, 2000). It is not uncommon for children who reunite with their mothers to encounter new siblings and/or step-father (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Confronted with the rebellion and upheaval of the child, parents may rely on harsh disciplinary methods to retain their authority (Arnold, 1997; Adams, 2000; Lashley, 2000; Pottinger, 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001 as cited in Falicov, 2007). The parent(s) often perceive the child's disobedience as the child being unappreciative, and feelings of family embarrassment (Adams, 2000; Lashley, 2000; Pottinger, 2005). Mothers also may consider their child(ren) to be rude and "spoilt" (Adams ,2000; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

One example is the use of titles (such as ma'am and sir) which is standard practice in the Caribbean, where formality between children and adults is considered mandatory and commonplace. The titles used to address adults in the Caribbean are a symbol of respect and obedience. However, in the receiving country, children, to the embarrassment of the mother, will address her or the stepfather and start speaking without using any title due to their lack of understanding of when to use the social mores of the home or receiving country. These, what would appear to be minor things, can put a strain on an already fragile relationship (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

In addition, parent(s) have to miss work without compensation, to discuss the child's difficulties at school (Adams, 2000). These frustrations often lead these parents to physically punish their child(ren) which then involves the attention of Child Protective Services (Adams, 2000; Cohen, 2000). Parents also complain that their children have adopted the values of the host society and are being swayed by the ill influence of their peers. Furthermore, parents may feel that there is no cultural transmission of their values or work ethic being passed onto their children (Arnold, 1997; Cohen, 2000; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

Psychological Impact on the Father

If these women have left behind spouses, once their husbands reunite with them in the new country, they too have difficulty adjusting to the values of the host country. For instance, for the first time they may be confronted with racism and face the mental health issues typically associated with immigration (Lashley, 2000). As well, they have to adjust to the social norms of their new country which are significantly different from those in their native country (Lashley, 2000; Hernández-Albújar, 2004).

Furthermore, husbands may have to take on more child care and household responsibilities due to the long hours that their wives work or because they have not yet been integrated into the labour force (Gordon, 1990; Baptiste et al., 1997; Adams, 2000; Cohen, 2000). This leads to the husband having to renegotiate his patriarchal role in the family unit, having to compromise in order not to lose his spouse, while maintaining the respect of his male cohorts who might still uphold and adhere to the roles in the home country. When it comes to his children, it is not uncommon for him to experience stressors resulting from his biological children, not to mention any possible step-children, disobeying him. He may feel a continual need to reaffirm his authority which may result in enormous pressure between him and the children; at times harming the already delicate relationship (Gordon, 1990). Moreover, even if the husband experiences great pleasure from taking care of his children and/or step-children and is doing a tremendous job, this is a minor consolation to him (Adams, 2000). This further adds to marital stress (Hernández-Albújar, 2004).

Marital Relationship

Pratt (2006) asserts that the nature of the separation itself produces tension on marriages. Spouses may commit adultery, become aloof or emotionally drift apart, become jealous or bitter or even depressed (Cohen, 2000).

To make matters worse, domestic workers work extremely long hours for low wages; job security is unusual and opportunities for economic mobility are non-existent. In addition, they are far removed from friends and family due to their demanding work schedules and the location of their jobs (Ho, 1993; Baptiste et al., 1997). Due to the nature of their work many African Caribbean women have very little time to spend with their children or spouses; putting further

strain on the family unit (Baptiste et al., 1997; Cohen, 2000; Crawford, 2004; Hernández-Albújar, 2004; Pratt, 2006). Another notable cause of friction between domestic workers and their spouses is lack of finances, as the salary for care giving jobs, is insufficient to support a family in Canada (Cohen, 2000). Moreover, as new immigrants, Caribbean husbands frequently lack the fundamental experiences and language requirements (due to accent discrimination) to enter the labour market, and they may find themselves agitated and disillusioned at the possibility of continuing to depend on their wives as the primary, if not sole, wage earner of the family (Sherman, 1996; Baptiste et al., 1997). For some husbands, the switch in spousal roles is less troublesome if their wives do not challenge their authority as the head of the household, which includes a belief that their wives will engage in all household chores regardless of being employed outside the home (Baptiste et al, 1997). Hence, this inevitably produces enormous amount of strain on recently reunited family which may lead to family violence (Baptiste et al., 1997; Cohen, 2000).

Lack of Supervision of Children

In situations in which mothers do not have a spouse, their children are left unsupervised after school and on weekends (Mitrani et al., 2004). Although initially their children reluctantly comply and stay home they may eventually disregard their mothers' directive. The mother's request is even more difficult to adhere to if the child is at the stage of adolescence because they seek interaction with peers and desire more freedoms. Moreover, in the home country the children had a greater deal of autonomy and could be outdoors at will due to lax supervision or strong familial and social networks (Lashley, 2000; Mitrani et al., 2004).

Lack of Extended Family Support Network

The social organization of the extended family system in the sending country, which provided numerous supports to the family members (including nurturing children of working mothers) is practically non-existent in the receiving country, making family adjustment that much harder (Gordon, 1990; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). Adams (2000) found that mothers experienced distress managing the heartache of not having accessibility to their supportive extended kin network and their inability to comprehend why the children were reacting in a specific way. These women feel further emotional instabilities for experiencing such sorrow and anguish (Adams, 2000). This is not surprising since the extended family network has been an integral practice in the West Indies (Ho, 1993). Parents also recognize the distress that their children endure from being separated from extended family remaining in the home country (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). The Caribbean family in the new country is faced with a lack of suitable elders to assist the parents or the child to handle challenging circumstances that accost them. There is no extended support system to guarantee that the child goes to school once the parents have left for work. If both parents are employed, not only might the child be unsupervised, but they have no one to speak to concerning his/her day and any issues they may have. Hence, this leaves the child susceptible to the influence of peers (Lashley, 2000).

In summary, West Indian people have always been a migrant population and historically have utilized migration as a financial tool for survival and upward mobility (Pottinger, 2005; Thomas-Hope, 2002 as cited in Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). Diminishing financial prospects in their native country has forced Caribbean mothers, who are the heads of their

households, to emigrate internationally and has forced them to leave their children behind (Andrade-Eckhoff and Silva-Avalos, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 1998 as cited in Abrego, 2004). However, this is only feasible because of the structure of the extended support network of the Caribbean family (Lashley, 2000). Moreover, many Caribbean women leave their children behind because they assume that the separation will be a temporary one and that their children will reunite with them shortly in the host country. However, Caribbean women's decision to emigrate is largely influenced by the push-pull factors in the native and receiving country, such as the need for out-migration to stimulate the economy of the source country through remittances, or the need for unskilled domestic workers in the receiving country. Regardless of the push-pull factors, Palmer (1990) upholds that for the immigrant the decision to migrate is primarily based on the fact that the situation has become so despairing that emigration is the only alternative.

As Canada's immigration policies became increasingly restrictive as the phenotype of domestics changed and the implementation of a universal point system; Caribbean mothers and their children are being forced to endure lengthy separations (Abrego, 2004). Furthermore, although reunification with their children and/or spouses is a source of joy for many Caribbean women they also pinpoint this as the beginning of tension in their reconstructed family. Moreover, it is not uncommon for children and mothers to feel like strangers and for spousal relationships to be weakened. Adjustment is further complicated if the mother has a new partner or spouse and children born in the host country. This frequently leads to anger and resentment on the part of the children left behind (Lashley, 2000; Pratt, 2006). Caribbean mothers often perceive their children's behavior as rude and frequently resort to harsh disciplinary measures as

a way of maintaining control. Because these women work long hours their spouses are forced to take on domestic responsibilities, if they are unemployed, which further adds to the strain on their relationship and possibly leads to violence. In the case where the mother is single, the children are left unsupervised which puts the child and mother at risk of encountering Child Protection Services, and for the child to get into trouble with peers.

Children of Caribbean immigrant women

Although it is unclear, from the research, as to the number of Caribbean domestic workers who were able to migrate with their children, it is evident from Canada's immigration policy (both historically and at present under the Live-in Caregiver Program) that none of the Caribbean domestics who entered Canada under any of the domestic worker schemes were able to bring their children. What has not been documented is the percentage of independent West Indian domestic workers, who entered Canada on their own merit, who emigrated with their children. What has been well documented (as will be discussed later) is the length of separation from their children that these women experienced due to their financial situation, landed status and other obstacles inherent in Canada's immigration policy. The extent of the separation for Caribbean domestics from their children and/or spouse averages between five to ten years.

It is not usual for Caribbean women (and other women from Third World countries) to leave their children at a fairly young age (i.e., a few months old) in their native country with relatives or friends (Freud, 1977 as cited in Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Bernhard et al., 2005). As stated earlier, migration affects those who are left behind in the country of origin (Moran-Taylor, 2008). Thus, these many relationships will play a crucial role in the adaptation process, in conjunction with the child-parent attachment preceding the migration (Arnold, 1991)

as well as the affinity between the child and caregiver(s) (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Hence, the focus of this section is the ramifications of migration and reunification on the surrogate caregivers and the children left behind.

Consequences for the children who are left behind

Psychological Impact on the Child

In transnational families, childhood not only encompasses the extravagance of collecting monthly remittances and personal packages but also consists of the frequent unrecognized grief of obtaining, what is perceived as a lesser amount of attention, affection, love, and support (Parreñas, 2001). Regardless of the differences in children's geo-political or ethnic composition or countries' economic status in the West Indies, they experienced similarities in their psychological reactions to separation resulting from stepwise migration. These emotions range from unhappiness, immense happiness, isolation, resentment and feeling forsaken, in spite of having frequent communication with their mothers (Jones et al., 2004; Pottinger, 2005). Crawford (2003) also found that teenagers experienced a sense of grief and loss, depression (Jones et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2004; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Pottinger, 2005; Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006) feelings of abandonment (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Pottinger, 2005; Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006), rejection (Arnold, 1997) and displacement as a result of being left behind. Approximately one-third of the children in Pottinger's (2005) study reported feelings of anger and loneliness associated with being apart from their parents. Children who have been separated from their mothers have reported feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, and difficulties with their identity (Pottinger, 2005). Other symptoms experienced by children left behind include: poor mental health (Pottinger, 2005;

Jones et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2004), feelings of fear, negative self-perception, poor self-esteem (Pottinger, 2005), and suicidal thoughts (Pottinger, 2005; Jones et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2004).

It is believed that when children feel a sense of abandonment (Glasgow & Ghouse-Shees, 1995 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002) they may react by disassociating from the parent that left (Glasgow & Ghouse-Shees, 1995 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Boss (1999) upholds that children experience loss in the form of uncertainty due to the fact that their parent(s) are “physically absent but psychologically present” (as cited in Pottinger, 2005: 493) and that this may result in the child being “stuck in a chronic state of mourning” (as cited in Pottinger, 2005:493). Although separation is hard on both mother and child, Crawford-Brown & Rattray (2001) assert that for the child who is left at a tender age, the recollection of the parent dwindles while the child who is left at an older age struggles with rejection, resentment, anger and fear. However, children whose parents migrated when they were infants fear losing their recollection of their parent (Pottinger, 2005).

Moreover, children who have been left behind exhibit more depressive symptoms than children who had not been separated from their parents (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002; Pottinger, 2005). As well, numerous children of parents who have emigrated have conflicting feelings about being deprived of their mothers. On the one hand, there is the belief by individuals in the community that these children are in a more advantageous position or more fortunate (Bauer and Thompson, 2006), a perspective that is normally communicated to the children and is evidently seemingly evidenced by the accumulation in material goods supplied by the mother (as cited in Crawford-Brown, 1999). On the other hand, many of these children report tremendous loss and a sense of being deserted as well as remorse for having these feelings (Pottinger, 2005). A study

by Crawford-Brown (1993) alludes to the fact that delinquent tendencies were considerably more habitual in adolescent boys in Jamaica when their mothers were absent. For Caribbean children, migration was cited as the culprit for their mothers' absences (as cited in Pottinger, 2005). Research findings by Pottinger (2005) revealed that, when loss of a parent through migration was measured against other parental loss, such as parental separation or divorce and death of a parent, children whose parents had migrated expressed a more pervasive adverse ill effect on their health (Pottinger 2005). Caribbean children who have been left behind by their parent(s) tend to perform poorly at school (Pottinger, 2005; Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006; Pottinger et al., 2008), possibly due to the psychological upheaval associated with the separation or for some, they endorse a 'waiting to migrate' mind set thus losing interest in their studies (Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006; Pottinger et al., 2008).

Asis (2006) upholds that although the absence of their parents is accompanied by psychological withdrawal, for adolescent children, youth view this as granting them freedom from overpowering parental supervision. However, as will be discussed later the negative consequences of children being left unsupervised are delinquency and child abuse. Hence, the experiences of children left behind signify that they cannot be neatly classified as either negative or positive (Asis, 2006).

Impact of Child Shifting and the new Living Environment

According to Davis & Davies (1997) there are ramifications to children who have been moved when they are not treated identically with other children in the family unit or when the child shifting takes place under less than favorable circumstances. For instance, the child may experience feelings of abandonment (Leo-Rhynie, 1997), loss, anxiety (Leo-Rhynie, 1997),

distrust, or of yearning for the absent parent. The child may also have difficulty developing self-esteem and self-confidence. In addition, children may experience difficulty bonding with the surrogate parent or developing an affinity with them.

It has been maintained that factors associated with behavioural and emotional problems in children over the duration of separation include receiving insufficient preparation for the separation; being moved from one caretaker to another; perception of marginalization in the kinship home; and lengthy durations of parental absence (Christiansen et al., 1982; Crawford-Brown, 1997; Douglin, 1995; Davis & Davies, 1997; Leo-Rhynie, 1997 as cited in Smith et al., 2004).

Parentification of the Child

Many of these children, who receive remittances or lavish gifts, have been thrust upon them a 'parentified' role since they are often required to handle large sums of money as well as other adult functions, such as tending to the entire household and caring for their father and their younger siblings (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Pottinger, 2005; Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006; Pottinger et al., 2008). These added responsibilities further impact these children as they cannot adequately devote themselves to their studies. It is believed that this may also lead these children to become promiscuous or exhibit depressive symptoms (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001), however, the researchers do not go on to explain why this is. Large numbers of these children are given responsibilities unsuitable for their age. For instance, parents may send barrels of consumer goods to their children, who are counted upon to sell the items to sustain themselves (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). Pottinger et al. (2008) asserts that these

obligations, combined with an inadequately run home frequently leave these children confused, anxious and at risk of emotional impairment.

Child Neglect/Abuse

Although mothers put a surrogate caregiver arrangement in place as a means of minimizing the interruption in their child's life after they have emigrated, there have been many anecdotal accounts suggesting that a lot of children who are left behind receive no or hardly any physical or emotional affection from their caretakers and generally feel abandoned by their biological parent(s) (Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). Furthermore, there have been informal reports from family clinics, schools, and social service agencies documenting the fact that children left in dysfunctional home environments or who are unsupervised and unprotected in the Caribbean by parents, generally come to be the victims of sexual abuse due to the fact that they are powerless and vulnerable against, strangers, neighbours, and relatives. Due to the inadequacy of policy and enforceable repercussions in many Caribbean communities for the handling of the sexual abuse of children, countless numbers of these occurrences go unreported and untreated, with large numbers of these children shouldering the blame and carrying the scars from these events into adulthood (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

The Surrogate Caregiver

Crawford (2004) asserts that as long as can be remember, African-Caribbean women, on both a regional and international level, have taken advantage of the support of their family networks (e.g., grandmothers and aunts) by amalgamating child-shifting and child-minding arrangements to sustain their families from abroad (Arnold, 1997; Davis & Davies 1997; Russell-Brown et al., 1997; Lashley, 2000; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001; Crawford, 2003;

Crawford, 2004; Smith et al., 2004; Asis, 2006; Moran-Taylor, 2008; Pottinger et al., 2008) in order to safeguard against the effects of poverty and unemployment (Crawford, 2004). The surrogate caregivers are rewarded by the migrant parent(s) through various levels of financial support, such as remittance or material possessions, housing or access to land (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

According to research findings by The Women in the Caribbean Project (1979-1982), in which 1, 600 households were surveyed in three Eastern Caribbean countries, over 50 percent of the children were raised by female relatives (as cited in Leo-Rhynie, 1997), and that primarily children are taken care of by their maternal grandmother (Adams, 2000; Lashley, 2000). Crawford (2003) refers to the rearing of children by their grandmother or other female relatives in the Caribbean as 'communal mothering'. However, the most common terminology used to describe these women in the literature is 'transnational mothers', 'other-mother' or caretaker. According to Schmalzbauer (2004) transnational mother refers to "a woman in the migrant mother's extended family who takes care of the children she has left behind" (as cited in Fresnoza-Flot, 2009:255; Moran-Taylor, 2008; Horton, 2009). In kinship structures of transnational mothers, child minding is illustrated by performing acts of caring and nurturing and not one based on the biological connection of the mother to child (Stack & Burton, 1994 as cited in Schmalzbauer, 2004). Shaw (1994) asserts that surrogate mothering is pivotal to family continuity in the history of Caribbean cultures and among low income peoples across the world (as cited in Schmalzbauer, 2004; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

However, in theory, the Caribbean concept of family implies that whoever is most capable ought to care of a child if the parents cannot. Nonetheless, child rearing nearly always

ends up be the responsibility of women (Ho, 1993; Smith, 1996 as cited in Schmalzbauer, 2004; Moran-Taylor, 2008). Hence, additional burden is placed on older women, who have already raised their own children, for inter-generational childrearing (Crawford, 2004).

The surrogate caregivers may be uneasy about rearing the child ‘the right way’ and frequently need encouragement from the mother who has emigrated, as well as reassurance from the community and the child that they are doing a good job. Furthermore, the caretaker parent may be reluctant around enforcing discipline for fear that she might be perceived as ‘being hard’ on someone else’s child or that they are finding it challenging to attend to the child (Pottinger et al., 2008).

When the caregiver arrangement breaks down the ramifications are enormous for the children and the family and often result in the child(ren) being unsupervised and unprotected and becoming susceptible to such things as sexual abuse (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2002; Pottinger, 2005; Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006), child prostitution (Morrison, 1993 as cited in Pottinger, 2005), and adolescent drug use (Leo-Rhynie, 1993 as cited in Pottinger, 2005). However, it is not uncommon for children to establish strong attachment/affinity with their surrogate caretaker (Falicov, 1998 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002; Sewell-Coker, Hamilton-Collins, & Fein, 1985 as cited in Mena et al., 2008). In general it is the surrogate caregiver who provides the emotional and physical nurturance that the child requires; children often only see their mothers as providing for their material needs (Adams, 1986 as cited in Adams, 2000; Crawford-Brown, 1998 as cited in Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). In some instances, children who have been cared for by ‘other-mothers’, may come to perceive these

women as their 'real' mothers or in extreme cases forget who their biological mothers are (Schmalzbauer, 2004).

Over and above guaranteeing the health and physical welfare of children, other-mothers play a pivotal role in preserving family unity and in easing the emotional baggage carried by children who are separated from their parents (Artico, 2003; Levitt, 2001 as cited in Schmalzbauer, 2004). Another facet of shared transnational care is the nature of the relationships between the adults and the attempts they make to collaborate with and involve one another. However, it is important to note that the nature of the relationship among adults is contingent on whether or not the surrogate caregivers agree with the mother's decision to leave the child behind (Minuchin et al., 1998 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001; Falicov, 2007). Research findings by Pottinger (2005) revealed that 'protective' factors such as living in a supportive household and having someone to speak to concerning the migration aided in these children's adjustment. The quality of several relationships will play a significant role in the nature of adjustment including the child-parent(s) relationship bond prior to the migration (Arnold, 1991; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001) as well as the rapport between the caretaker(s) and child (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001).

However, problems may arise if the mother feels threatened by the surrogate caregiver or if the other-mother is belittling or discrediting the mother. When the mother and surrogate caregiver are able to work collaboratively as co-parents, disruptions are minimized than when there is an uncertain or openly antagonistic relationship. It is believed that a collaborative caretaking dyad can enhance the child's experience.

It is also crucial to recognize that if the surrogate caretaker's daughter is the person who has migrates, the uncertain relationship between the caretaker and the mother may prevent positive conversations concerning the missing parent (Shapiro, 1994 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001). Moreover, if the surrogate caregiver is simultaneously grieving the absence of the mother, the child left behind is most likely to refrain from speaking about the loss. As well, if the other-mother is distressed by the separation, she will be psychologically unavailable to the child (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001).

On a positive note, research findings allude to the fact that outcomes for children left behind may not be as bleak as anticipated (e.g., Cruz, 1987; Asis, 1995; Battistella & Conaco 1996, 1998; Parreñas, 2002; UP, Tel Aviv University & Kaibigan, 2002; Asis et al., 2004 as cited in Asis, 2006) and that children left behind are managing with the absence of their parents. Moreover, initial results from a 2003 Children and Families Study suggest that the children of migrant workers are not impaired but are faring better in terms of a few well-being markers when compared to the children of non-migrants (ECMI-CBCP/AOS-manila, SMC & OWWA 2004 as cited in Asis, 2006).

Consequences for the children who are reunited

Crawford (2003) established that the longer the period of separation the child had from the mother, the more difficult it was for the mother and child to establish bonds upon reunification. Variables such as whether mothers kept in touch with their children (through letters and telephone calls) were determining factors in how children reacted to their mothers upon reunification (Crawford, 2003). Glasgow and Gouse-Sheese (1995) also found that the longer the length of separation between mother and child the harder it was to establish trust and

attachment upon reunification. Determinants such as whether or not mothers corresponded with their children, and whether or not children were left in a safe and loving atmosphere affect how children react to their mothers upon reunification (as cited in Crawford, 2003).

For the majority of children, departure from their native country is a time of conflicting emotions. There is an enthusiasm around the anticipation of reuniting with their mother. On the other hand, migrating involves leaving behind the surrogate caregivers, who may have provided the emotional nurturance for the child and with whom the child has formed a strong bond (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Moreover, although these youth are divided emotionally about migrating, they often envision a better life, one of abundance and wealth, in the host country (Pottinger, 2005).

Child's age at Reunification

The reunification between child and parent, although a joyous time, can also be a challenging one. For one, reunification typically occurs in adolescence when children are struggling with identity issues and sorting out who they are and where they belong. Furthermore, they are at the stage of their development where their peers are the strongest influence in their lives (Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). According to Lashley (2000), reunification typically occurs during adolescence due to the fact that many parents take many years to build themselves psychologically, physically, financially, and as legal residents in the host country. Generally, a large portion of children migrate between the ages of five and nineteen (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

Loss of Surrogate Caregiver

Children are faced with losing the security they had formed with their surrogate caregiver (Lashley, 2000; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002; Mitrani et al., 2004; Pottinger, 2005; Pratt, 2006). The child, once reunified with the biological parent(s), once again is faced with having to cope with another grief process when he or she separates from the surrogate caregivers (Bernhard et al., 2005; Pottinger, 2005; Pottinger et al., 2008). However, when the caretaker in the country of origin supports the relationship in the absence of the parent, easier reunification is reported (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001).

Integration/Acculturation

It is not common upon reunification for children left behind, to be thrown into the receiving country although unfamiliar to them. For some of these children it is the first time that they have travelled and in the majority of cases neither their parents nor surrogate caregivers thought of preparing them for this experience (Crawford-Brown and Rattray, 2001; Pottinger et al., 2008). Hence, immediately upon migration, many of these children, and adolescents, must come to terms with adapting to a new culture, community, way of speaking (language), and social order, practices, and customs (Pottinger, 2005). Pottinger (2005) asserts that this loss takes place during a time when issues of belonging and identity are paramount to youth; hence, impeding the reunification process.

Psychological Impact on the Child

A study by Glasgow and Gouse-Sheese's (1995) on Caribbean youth who were left behind by their mothers and then later reunited with them revealed that these youth experienced depression, feelings of abandonment (Arnold, 1997), a sense of loss, dislocation and rejection.

Others experienced adjustment issues related to their family environment and new culture, and demonstrated signs of self harm and suicide tendencies. Caribbean children report externalizing and internalizing problems (Rousseau et al., 2008). As stated earlier, the longer the period of separation the child had from the mother, the more difficult it was for the mother and child to establish bonds upon reunification (as cited in Crawford, 2003; Lashley, 2000; Mitrani et al., 2004).

Children who have been separated from their mothers have reported feelings of depression (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Pottinger, 2005). Pottinger's (2005) study revealed that 71% of these children experienced somatic aches and pains. This was despite the fact that 84% of the children in Pottinger's study communicated on a regular basis with their parents and 77% reported feeling content the majority of the time. Pottinger (2005) asserts that the concomitance of contradictory feelings in these children is not surprising considering the social conditions in which migratory separation materializes in Jamaica; while the children are mourning their separation they are simultaneously in receipt of barrels of gifts from their migrating parents. Moreover, research findings by Suarez-Orozco, Todorova, and Louie (2002), in which they studied 385 early adolescents from China, Central America, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico in a nonclinical sample, found that children who had experienced separations related to immigration were more likely to exhibit depressive symptoms than children who did not encounter migration separation (Mena et al., 2008).

Findings by the Harvard Immigration Project (Harvard Graduate School of Education, 2001), who conducted research on migratory separation among children in China, Central America, and the Caribbean, found that 85% of children who were separated from their parents

for more than five years during the migratory process were more likely to reveal mental health issues as opposed to children who migrated with their family (as cited in Pottinger, 2005).

It is believed that where the parents are perceived as being denied acceptance and economic privileges in the host country the children foster a sense of hopelessness, which manifests itself in the form of rebellion from their parents and from the host country's norms. Research findings by Pottinger (2005) revealed that as a group there were no significant differences statistically in children whose parents migrated versus children whose parents did not migrate and remained in the home country, when it came to grades, negative behaviors, or psychological well-being.

Family Composition and Relations

Upon reunification the first emotional and behavioral responses mothers and children exhibit include feelings of elation, anxiety, and uneasiness (Hernández-Albújar, 2004). According to Crawford-Brown & Rattray (2001), for many children the reunification process is further complicated, as many of their mothers' have reconstructed families, such as a stepparent or half-sibling. However, many of these children who have been left behind do not know about the mothers' new children and/or spouse (Adams, 2000). In a study conducted by Smith et al. (2004), they found that 58 percent of the participants, upon arriving to the host country, encountered additional family members. As a result, many of these children feel like outsiders (as cited in Pottinger, 2005; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Arnold, 1991; Suárez-Orozco, 2002). For the child that had been left behind the primary issue that is often reported by the parent and child is the immigrant child's outward jealousy toward new siblings or a new partner (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001). The reunited child (and his or her new family) now has to

delineate how to join and fit into the new family. Thus, it is imperative that the mother and stepfather (if she is married) understand how to integrate or make room for everyone's needs. These aspects of the separation can result in added strain between the siblings and differential affinities of the parents toward the diverse children (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001). Regrettably, neither parent nor child has the luxury of taking time out to address the needs of the individual members of the family due to the fact that the Caribbean mother often has little time to help the child with adapting into a new environment (Lashley, 2000; Pottinger et al., 2008). Lashley (2000) maintains that the reunification process is further strained due to the fact that many parents work multiple jobs or go to school during the evenings, and therefore do not have adequate time to spend with their children. In several cases, the relationships between mother and child or stepfather and child become strained and combative. These disagreements can bring about parental dissention that occasionally leads to estrangement of child and parent and even parental divorce (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). Psychologically the child's behaviour can be frustrating for the mother as it frequently fluctuates between being oppositional to clinging to the mother and avoiding her (Adams, 2000).

Baptiste et al. (1997) documented those children whose parents pioneered ahead of them to the host country encountered greater challenges adapting than children who emigrated at the same time of their parents. Likewise, Elliston (1985) noted that families that migrate as a group are better able to manage the challenges inherent with a foreign country in comparison to those that emigrated in a stepwise fashion. Moreover, the adversities associated with separation and reunification may oftentimes lead to the fragmentation or dissolution of the family unit (as cited in Smith et al., 2004).

Acculturation and Adjustment in the Receiving Country

Not only do children from the West Indies experience countless adjustments in terms of climate, routine, race, language, and relationships, they also carry with them false images that assist them in formulating unrealistic expectations. These unrealistic expectations originate from their parents in the host country, their family and community in their native country, and from representation in the media (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Mitrani et al., 2004).

Parents often forget what it was like to adjust to a foreign country. Therefore, when their children are experiencing similar acculturation challenges and the mothers are going through their own issues, the child is accused of causing the conflict in the family (Rousseau, et al., 2008). Hence, the accusations generally become one of the many factors that lead to the child withdrawing himself or herself from the family unit and perhaps leaving home (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

As children or adolescents adjust to the host society, they can establish habits and behaviours that are displeasing to their parents and which may elicit fear, such as, using shopping malls to hang out, wearing attire that the parents affiliate with licentious people and antisocial behaviours, using language conflicting with the parents' mores and even skipping school (Lashley, 2000). Furthermore, they are confronted with having to grow up among two cultures, being perpetually disconnected from one of them. They lack cultural eloquence in their speech of that of the host country and are rarely comfortable in either their native language or the language of the host country. This can further elicit a slew of emotional and behavioural issues (Levitt as cited by Schmalzbauer, 2004).

The Education System

Many of these children are reported as having difficulty in schools (e.g., poor social skills, lack of age-appropriate academic intellectual skills, emotionally needy, academically delayed) (Adams, 2000) due to the psychological effects of the migration and reunification process. For many Afro-Caribbean youth, the educational system is often the first institutional barrier that they face. For instance, placement tests and entrance examinations can be culturally biased. The parents too are generally perplexed by the various testing measures used for the placement of their children and uncover that they have to communicate with a school system that sees their child to be at a disadvantage compared to children in the receiving country (Gopaul-McNichol, 1993; Loudon, 1993 as cited in Pottinger et al., 2008). This process is further complicated when the children arrive in the new country without their school records (Adams, 2000).

Moreover, the school system might be resistant to how Afro-Caribbean youth articulate themselves (Pottinger, 2005). Therefore, some teachers may view these children as intellectually delayed and recommend special educational supports (Pottinger, 2005). The children struggle in terms of their adaptability to new and contrasting socio-cultural norms which their parents are not equipped to help them negotiate. Oftentimes their Caribbean accents make it hard for them to be understood by other students and may expose them to taunting and ridicule. Teachers frequently display the same intolerance, regularly skipping over them during question and answer sessions in the interest of time. The end result is that the Caribbean student develops a poor self-esteem, has difficulty or refuses to learn, finds him or herself ostracized by other

students and ultimately may establish negative perspectives about school and learning (Bonnett, 1985).

According to a report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of Black Students in Toronto Schools, researchers identified social and home circumstances as major factors that infringed on the academic performances and social adjustment of black/Caribbean students in the schools. Students from low occupational status homes were less likely to be in level five secondary schools (formally known as grade 13); were more likely to be from the Caribbean; and the report noted that separation of parents and children during the migration process was partly responsible for low academic achievement (Richmond & Mendoza, 1990).

Interviews with a variety of teachers, administrators, and community workers affiliated with the former Metropolitan Toronto school system conducted in 1986 revealed that family reunification issues, stresses resulting from the unfamiliarity with the new school; language and communication problems; disciplinary conflicts; and trouble adjusting to the mother's employment outside the home affected recent West Indian students and their adjustment in the school system (Richmond & Mendoza, 1990).

Racism

Lashley (2000) asserts that many Afro-Caribbean immigrants are ill-equipped for the life they face in the host country. For instance, for the first time they are faced with being a minority in a country where members of their race encounter discrimination and systemic racism (as cited in Pottinger, 2005; Gopaul-McNichol, 1993 as cited in Pottinger et al., 2008). Rousseau et al. (2008) maintain that the recognition of one's racialized status can significantly influence one's sense of attachment to one's ethnic community and to the receiving society.

Childrearing

At times, the children's behavior is so challenging that mothers, on occasion, will send the child back to the home country to reside with grandparents or other family members because of their mother's inability to handle the child (Baptiste et al., 1997).

The effects brought about by separation become visible later through the absence of affinity between mother and child, the "strangeness" upon reunification, and the hostile and disruptive tendencies exhibited by the child (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Bernhard et al., 2005; Pottinger, 2005; Jones, Sharpe and Sogren, 2004 as cited in Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006); as well as in 'acting out' behaviors (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Bernhard et al., 2005). Psychological impairment is often reported regardless of the fact that these children have been raised with family members and neighbours who they were familiar with prior to their mothers' migration (Pottinger, 2005; Jones, Sharpe and Sogren, 2004 as cited in Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). Bernhard et al. (2005) asserts that one indication of the child's likely failure to re-attach to the parent(s) is that the child will no longer submit fully to the parent's authority.

Children in the Care of the State

Abusive behavior against children who have reunited with their families typically takes the shape of verbal assaults and expressed dissatisfaction by their parents, who may constantly remind their children of the sacrifices they made to send for that child. Therefore, children who encounter difficulty adapting to the host country are perceived as selfish and unappreciative. Hence, these children are in a situation in which they feel remorseful and rejected, yet again.

Meanwhile, the parent might feel hurt and disheartened, convinced that the child they have long dreamed of reuniting with, as turned out no different than the children from the receiving society: defiant and rebellious. As a means of controlling their children's behaviour, Caribbean mothers may resort to punitive measures and may get in difficulty with social service agencies (Arnold, 1997; Adams, 2000). West Indian parents may also encounter problems with social service agencies for leaving their under-aged children in the care of their older children, who might also be considered as legally under-aged (Adams, 2000).

On the flip side, these children may have become knowledgeable concerning their rights and that the host country has perspectives concerning child abuse. These children's newfound knowledge may lead to circumstances in which their parents cannot utilize the old forms of punishment possibly leaving the parents to feel that the child will go astray without guidance (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001).

It is important to note that most of the children discussed in this paper, although reluctant, adapt in an acceptable manner and do not require counseling (Baptiste et al., 1997). For instance, when the surrogate caregiver in the native country encourages the relationship between the child and mother, in the absence of the parent(s), the reunification process is smoother (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002).

While it is imperative to not lose sight of the reality that numerous family reunifications are successful, it is families whose members are in pain and grief who are brought to the attention of mental health experts and that typically receive attention in the literature (Smith et al., 2004).

Summary, Research Gaps, and Policy Implications

In this section the research findings relating to the lives of Caribbean migrant families that have experienced migratory separation due to the departure of the mother for employment reasons will be outlined, based on the literature review presented. After a summary of what is known, emphasis will be placed on the areas that require further research, in order to get a larger picture into the lives of the Caribbean migratory family upon separation and reunification.

Summary

One may wonder why a parent, especially a mother, would migrate without her children. Thomas-Hope (2002) infers that this is due to the robust familial kinship network associated with the working class in Caribbean communities (as cited in Pottinger, 2005). Waters (1999) maintains that since this custom is regarded as typical there is no disgrace attached to it, hence, making it easier for a mother to migrate leaving her children in the care of family and friends (as cited in Pottinger, 2005). It is believed that migratory separation is a common practice, as migration is affiliated with upward mobility (Pottinger, 2005; Lashley, 2000). Like other women in the African Diaspora, Caribbean women see mothering and motherhood as a shared rather than an individual act (Crawford, 2003; Crawford, 2004; Thomas-Hope, 2002 as cited in Pottinger & Williams Brown, 2006). Crawford (2003) coins this practice 'communal mothering'. In the Afro-Caribbean family, kin other than parents play a pivotal role in childrearing. Therefore, in a typical Caribbean family, both paternal and maternal kinship can presume a certain level of accountability and obligation in the child's well-being. Hence, it is not unusual to come across a child being raised by one relative; while other siblings are being reared

by the children's parents or grandparents (Lashley, 2000). Furthermore, within Afro-Caribbean populations, parents are often living in a common-law arrangement or are typically not married to each other resulting in a matrifocal family composition; thus, the female becomes the head of the household and the primary wage earner (Olwig, 1993; Henry, 1994; Smith, 1996 as cited in Lashley, 2000).

On the most basic level, for many of these women, the separation from their children was not meant to be permanent (Russell-Brown et al., 1997; Arnold, 1997; Crawford, 2003). For instance, in a study conducted by Horton (2009) Salvadoran mothers anticipated that they would be reconnected with their children within a matter of months after their arrival to the receiving country. These echo similar findings by Suárez-Orozco et al. (2001) who recorded that families frequently assume that the process of building a life in the host country will shift, and that the family will be reconnected within a fairly short length of time.

On the economic level, women who migrate without their children do so as a means of achieving their financial goal of increased earnings more quickly (e.g., no childcare expenses). Since many Caribbean and other racialized women who leave their children emigrate for economic reasons, bringing their children along makes it challenging for them to enter into the labour market; especially as domestic workers (Parreñas, 2001; Moran-Taylor, 2008). Most parents who migrate without their children stated as their primary reason the desire to financially enhance their families, specifically their children (Lashley, 2000; Thomas, 2003 as cited in Pottinger et al., 2008). They want their children to have a better life; they want their children to have everything that they never had (Horton, 2009). Moreover, it is important to recognize that the decision to emigrate (with or without their family) is one that is upheld by other members of

one's family as it is perceived as a way of financially sustaining both the immigrant and the family members left behind. As well, the ability to proclaim that one has family abroad significantly enhances the status of the remaining family members in the Caribbean (Sewell-Coker, Hamilton-Collins, and Fein, 1985 as cited in Lashley, 2000).

On a theoretical or philosophical level, many have maintained that 'child shifting' or the process of separation has become a universal cultural practice. The fundamental reason being that across the Caribbean either because of family adversity or as a means of providing the child with a superior educational opportunity, children are frequently sent to live with extended family members (Bagley, 1972; Burke, 1980; Gordon, 1964; Sewell-Coker et al., 1985; Soto, 1987; Waters 1999 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Hence, it is only rational to hypothesize that since this cultural practice occurs within the home country it is only normal or commonsensical that this practice would be acceptable, and not viewed as deviant behavior, but as a part of the migration process (Burke, 1980; Sewell-Coker et al., 1985; Soto, 1987; Waters, 1999 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Others have gone to the extreme of asserting that child shifting is not necessarily negative, but can prove to be an elevating experience and can aid to bestow upon all involved a richer supportive social network (Soto, 1987 as cited in Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002).

On a humanitarian level, the Caribbean mother operates on the premise that a mother will do anything for the betterment of her children. Hence, it is on this notion that these women base their decision to migrate. Thomas-Hope (2002) upholds that it is precisely because of this thinking why a woman who emigrates and leaves her children behind (mandatorily or voluntarily) might be celebrated or praised by her community (as cited in Pottinger & Williams

Brown, 2006). For others, their decision to emigrate without their children is purely driven out of necessity or survival (Parreñas, 2001). For other women, the risk associated with emigrating with their children was too immense, particularly in the case of Latina women who were victims of abuse and/or who feared for their personal well-being; they also lacked the appropriate documentation to travel legally with their children. In cases where the host country was close (e.g. from Mexico to the United States) and the women were entering the country illegally, they felt that the journey was too fast paced and dangerous (Bernhard et al., 2005). It has also been estimated that between 15 and 30 % of West Indian children grow up with kin or family friends instead of with their parents (Davis & Davies, 1997). Research findings by Ho (1993) revealed that fourteen percent of Caribbean women left their children behind in the care of family, for several years, upon emigrating. Similar statistic trends have also emerged with Filipina (Parreñas, 2001) and Latino women (Cohen, 2000; Bernhard et al., 2005).

Research on Children

The results from Pottinger's (2005) study allude to the fact that children from low-income, urban, violent neighbourhoods experiencing migratory separation, in which children in the home country, might be at greater risk of psychological effects and poor academic achievement. Mena et al.'s (2008) research findings are also consistent with the current literature on migratory separations that theorized that children who have experienced lengthy separations from their primary caretaker have frequently established emotional and behavioral problems that continue into adolescence. Mena et al. (2008) reveal that there is a significant connection between separations from mothers and internalizing ailments, largely depression in adolescents, and this seemed to be exceptionally substantial for female adolescents. The research on

migratory separation and its specific psychological and emotional impact on male and females are scant. Therefore, future research needs to be conducted to investigate more deeply how the process of internalizing disorders occurs, especially for female adolescents (Mena et al., 2008).

As discussed, Pottinger (2005) also found a direct correlation between depressive symptoms and suicidal thoughts. In terms of environmental factors, Pottinger's (2005) study divulged that depressive thoughts were reported in 63% of children who had changed surrogate caregivers, in comparison to 24% of children in the control group. Regardless of the explanation that children received pertaining to why their parent(s)' migrated 45% of them still felt that the decision to emigrate was a bad one. Pottinger's (2005) study revealed that 'protective' factors can aid in reducing the effects of parental migration. For example, in Pottinger's study children who were supported and had someone to communicate with about the migration performed better academically on literacy tests than children who did not. As well, children who lived in residences where family members had positive communication and did activities together described more positive opinions about the migration. Pottinger's (2004) finding also supports those of other researchers who maintain that a supportive family atmosphere is one of the determinants that facilitate children's adaptation to migratory separation (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2002). However, due to small research samples it is difficult to conclusively assert that there is a direct correlation between psychological issues of children and migratory separation (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2001) as there are multiple variables as to causation. For example, the emotional problems that the child is exhibiting can be a result of a death of a relative or friend in the country of origin, or the adolescent child having to end an intimate relationship due to

migration, or a number of simultaneous issues occurring all at once. Therefore, this area is in need of more detailed research, involving examination of these complex factors.

Further, according to Fresnoza-Flot (2009) family members experience migration and separation differently based on their gender, age, position in the family and/or their financial contribution. However, there is no research that this author has come across that does a comparative analysis on the combinations of these factors.

Another research gap has to do with the issue of academic achievements of Caribbean children and youth, both during separation and upon reunification. Research findings by Pottinger (2005), on Caribbean children residing in Jamaica whose parents have migrated, revealed that there were no statistically noteworthy differences between the experiment and control group. As a whole, children whose parents emigrated did not receive inferior grades on tests, were not ranked by their teachers as exhibiting more adverse behaviors, nor did they report poorer psychological well-being. Pottinger (2005) cautions, however, that children may not feel inspired to do their school work they are being showered with material gifts. The results here are inconclusive.

The educational pathways among Caribbean children and youth in the receiving society also deserve attention. As discussed, there are multiple factors that may interfere with their school performance, aside from the trauma of separation and reunification. The most important aspect here is the degree to which systemic racism plays a role in preventing Caribbean children and youth from success in their education. The combination of migration issues and racism requires further investigation.

Pottinger (2005) asserts that for many children in the Caribbean and developing countries migration usually entails migratory separation “from the parent, reunification with the parent, and acculturation in the host society” and that there is a gap in the literature in terms of scientific research published on all three aspects, and specifically on how they cope with migratory separation (pg. 488). Pottinger (2005) also maintains that migratory separation needs to be researched to the same degree as other childhood family disruptions as death or parental divorce.

Research is also needed on the ramifications of children who are separated from their siblings as a direct result of migration. The only study that this author came across in the literature review that mentioned, in passing, children who were separated from their siblings was Suárez-Orozco et al. (2001) who noted that 28 percent of the children in their study have been separated from their siblings as a direct result of migration. However, they do not go on to speak to this issue nor are they specific as to whether children were separated from their siblings as a result of the parent(s) sending for each child one by one or if the separation from their siblings a direct result of the parent(s) starting a new family in the host society.

Another research gap has to do with the importance of communication pathways among transnational families. Although Crawford-Brown & Rattray (2001) mention the negative impact that technology has had on letter writing; there is no mention in the literature on the positive or negative impact of the internet on migratory separation, in terms of unifying the family.

As well, further research needs to be conducted on the effects of international immigration on families, in terms of immigrant children’s adjustment in the migration process

both in the home and receiving country (Pottinger, 2005). As well, more in-depth scientific research is required incorporating longitudinal studies that illustrate the impact of migratory separation along with development models that distinguish short-term and long terms effects according to age or children's developmental stage (Pottinger, 2005).

Research on Caribbean Women

Overall, the lives of Caribbean female domestic migrants have been extensively documented in research, as are the structural (economic and political) conditions that result in their migration. However, transnational family life appears more complicated and difficult to manage for undocumented migrant mothers since they cannot easily visit their family back home, which they try to compensate for by resorting to more intense transnational communication and gift-giving practices. Hence migration status plays an important role in shaping transnational motherhood (Fresnoza-Flot, 2009). Nonetheless, there are few, if any, comparative research on the mother-child relationship of documented and undocumented mothers and the ramifications resulting from this. For instance, it would be interesting to see whether or not a mothers' ability to visit her children due to their documented status significantly increases the chances of more successful reunification.

Research on Caribbean Men

As is the case in a lot of research on migrant families, there is insufficient research on the adjustment of Caribbean men to the stresses of migration, including separation and reunification. It has been documented that lack of knowledge and isolation is particularly noticeable among unskilled Caribbean men, who frequently do not have the networking skills apparent in West Indian women. Therefore, Caribbean men generally possess an insufficient range of marketable

qualifications and thus have fewer pathways to success, in comparison to their female counterparts (Adams, 1989; Reischauer, 1989 as cited in Adams, 2000). This is an area wide open to new research.

Research on Surrogate Caregivers

Findings by Smith et al. 2004 reveal that children have emotional attachments to their caregivers; however, there is a gap in the research on both the quality of the surrogate-child relationship and the psychological impact of separation on this relationship. Research is needed, to provide insight, for example, into whether or not there is a positive correlation between positive reunification and adjustment and a positive or continued relationship with the caregiver post migration. Furthermore, research is needed to determine the relationship with the biological mother and the surrogate caregiver after the reunification of the child and the mother, and the role that older Caribbean women play (e.g., surrogate grandmothers) in the transmission of culture.

Policy recommendations

According to the Harvard Graduate School of Education (2001) it has been forecasted that by 2040 one in three children in the United States will be a child of an immigrant (as cited in Pottinger, 2005). Given Canadian patterns of migration, a similar situation is more than likely. Migration and all its consequences raise questions about public policymaking in both the sending and receiving countries. Women make up nearly half of the labor force and this number will likely continue to rise steadily. Furthermore, the vast majority of women with pre-school children work outside the home (Arat-Koc, 1990). Regardless of this fact the labour market and the Canadian government continue to lag behind with its failure to adequately address this issue.

For instance, according to the 1986 Task Force on Childcare Report, over 80 percent of children receiving care are in unlicensed programs. Licensed daycare spaces only serve nine percent of children whose parents work or study 20 or more hours each week. Therefore, “the survival of domestic service in Canada today is politically determined by the lack of adequate and good quality childcare services as well as the continuing availability, through immigration legislation and practices and discriminatory labour laws, of a cheap and vulnerable source of foreign domestic servants” (Arat-Koc, 1990: 83-84). Furthermore, according to Manuel Castells, immigrant workers do not exist because there are labour intensive and poorly paid jobs to be performed, but instead, labour intensive and poorly paid jobs prevail because immigrant labourers are available or can be brought into the country to perform them (as cited in Arat-Koc, 1990).

Furthermore, there is a desperate need to forge partnerships between different levels of government and ethno-specific/immigrant-serving agencies, school boards, internationally trained professionals, churches, and post secondary institutions producing social workers, educators, family physicians, psychologists and psychiatrists (Bernhard et al., 2005) in a way that provides a holistic approach to the multiple needs of immigrant families, along the lines of a hub model. This form of one-stop-shop service will better ensure that immigrants and their families receive the much needed services they require. In addition, these diverse partners need to be a part of discussion around developing or establishing best practices for their respected clientele or population (Bernhard et al., 2005). For instance, the need for clergy to be involved is pivotal as this is the first place outside the family unit that many members of the Caribbean community go for guidance and advice, outside of their kin, due to their strong spiritual beliefs.

Moreover, there is a tremendous need for all levels of government to provide funding for service providers to work specifically with mothers who have been separated from their children (Bernhard et al., 2005) for immigration-related purposes.

On a more basic level, the government needs to once again make changes to the Live-in Caregiver program. At minimum they should start with eliminating the mandatory live-in requirement (Arat-Koc, 1999). This should drastically reduce the long hours and the various types of abuses the domestic workers have to ensure. In addition, along with other temporary workers under Canada's immigration policy domestics should be able to migrate with their children and/or spouses. Furthermore, the government should make accessible subsidized childcare and after-school programs to migrant children who are new to the country, despite of their status (Bernhard et al., 2005). This will not only assist these children in their adjustment but with the acculturation process. For instance, they would learn the social mores of the receiving country sooner which would be beneficial upon entry into the education system. Mothers of children who have been reunited will also get the much needed break from their children and can enroll in social, educational and/or training programs for the betterment of themselves and their families. Policy is also needed to support women and their children to spend more time together in order to re-establish the parent-child bond.

In terms of the education system, educators (in the classroom) need to be trained concerning the possible ramifications of parental migration on student's achievement and consequently formulate strategies for sustaining children's concentration on their studies. Thus, micro level policies would include curriculum development for educators, and resources to assist teachers around identifying grief-related behaviors of children (Pottinger, 2005). There is also a

need for culturally sensitive and anti-racist education among teachers, so that we can begin to break the barriers that prevent children and their families from achieving full citizenship rights in Canadian society.

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ⁱ Memo from the Director of Immigration to the Deputy Minister, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, May 19, 1960, PAC, R.G. 26, Vol. 124, File 3-33-6, Part 2).

ⁱⁱ *Memo*, Dec. 10, 1964.

ⁱⁱⁱ Draft Memorandum to Cabinet from Department of Citizenship and Immigration Department of Labour, Re: Admission of Domestic from B.W.I. Ottawa, May 1955. NAC, RG 27, vol.292, File 1-26-69-2, Part I. Quoted in Carty, 'African Canadian Women and the State', p. 219-220.

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