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The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers Have Migrated

by

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Abstract

The purpose of the current study is to explore the experiences of adolescent males on the Caribbean island of Tobago whose fathers have migrated, and to engage these adolescents in devising appropriate strategies to address possible problems, using participatory action research (PAR). The results of the study emphasized the gender responses in relation to the migration phenomenon on the Caribbean island of Tobago. In particular, participants' stories described perceptions of the components of the father-son relationship and individuals' understanding of some specific roles of a father within the family unit. Additionally, the young men pinpointed coping strategies that capitalized on resources within the individual as well as the social environment. Even more, participants used the emerging themes to identify solutions that targeted systems at the governmental, community and school levels. In the end, the young men collaborated with policymakers and the process assisted in consolidating possible short and long-term actions which could be implemented. Overall, the key findings suggest that the role of women in lives of adolescent left-behind males needs to be revisited especially in light of the family structure and relationships within Caribbean matrifocal societies where women are expected to fill gaps left by an absent father. Also, the support of the extended family, the community, and institutions is noteworthy. However such support is most effective when it includes avenues for filling the gap in the father-son relationship and recognizing the resiliency of the young men. Even more, the findings indicate that adolescent males accept substitute fathers with ambivalence and these young men of migrant fathers in Tobago are concerned about endangering the connection between father and son. Furthermore, concerning methodology, the present investigation demonstrates that engaging youth in a meaningful manner facilitates

dialogue that encourages rich, in-depth description of life experiences. Also, the current study indicates that youth-friendly and male-friendly strategies such as modern technology and photography are useful for engaging youth and promoting the process of critically analyzing the impact of migration. Finally, the study supports photovoice as an effective way of creating a space for adolescent young men of migrant fathers in Tobago to discuss their issues and consider possible solutions.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Caribbean has reported high rates of both intra-regional and international migration (United Nations Secretariat, 2002). In some Caribbean countries this movement has affected between 10 to 20% of children who did not migrate with their parents (Blank, 2007). Despite the need for a deeper understanding of these children's experiences, Caribbean research on this topic has been limited. Ultimately, inadequate information regarding the impact of migration on children who remain in their home country would impede the development of relevant policies and strategies that could maximize the positive consequences, and minimize the fallouts for children and their families (United Nations International Emergency Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2010).

In this study I seek to understand the experiences of one sub-population of left-behind children in the Caribbean, that is, adolescent males residing on the Caribbean island of Tobago. In this introduction chapter I present the background for the study. I then identify the research questions and outline the research goals and objectives. Following this, I describe the context in which the study occurred and explain some key terms used throughout the study. Then, I describe the relevance of the study and identify some implications for social work policy, practice, research and theory. This section ends with a guide regarding the organization of the dissertation.

Background

Historically, the Caribbean has had high rates of migration as a consequence of individuals moving across countries in search of a better standard of living (Ferguson, 2003;

Hope, 1999). The movement has continued and has involved numerous Caribbean people either migrating to international destinations or resettling in Caribbean countries other than their birthplace (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [ECLAC], 2005; Foner, 2008). A major concern about this movement has been the effects on children left-behind as parents migrated for economic reasons (Blank, 2007; Cortes, 2007, 2008). Despite this concern, there has been limited research about the well-being of left-behind Caribbean children. Notwithstanding the gap in knowledge regarding the Caribbean scenario in particular, research in other settings has demonstrated the potential impacts of parental migration on left-behind children.

Generally speaking, studies suggested that remittances from migration would ensure financial benefits for individuals, families and communities in sending countries and this would result in positive spillover effects to various areas of children's lives (Adams & Page, 2005; Adams, 2006). Accordingly, the literature has highlighted favourable outcomes regarding children's education such as an increased likelihood for children to remain in school (Bennett, Clifford, & Falkingham, 2013; Chen, Huang, Rozelle, Shi, & Zhang, 2009; Edwards & Ureta, 2003; Kuhn, 2006; Murphy, 2014) and promising results concerning children's physical health like satisfactory birth weights and sound physical growth (Carletto, Covarrubias, & Maluccio, 2011; Frank & Hummer, 2002; Hildebrandt & McKenzie, 2005). However, several investigations indicated that some children did not accrue the expected benefits (Graham & Jordan, 2013; Hu, 2012; Lu, 2012; Smeekens, Stroebe, & Abakoumkin, 2012). For example, in certain cases, children of migrant parents seemed at risk for lacking needed immunizations, being overweight, and having overall poor health outcomes (de Brauw & Mu, 2011; Kiros &

White, 2004; Smeekens et al., 2012). In other instances, researchers observed that remittances did not necessarily ensure school commitment for adolescents and young children from some migrant households (Jampaklay, 2006; Kandel & Kao; 2001; McKenzie & Rapoport, (2006). Negative educational outcomes were also evident for left-behind children in the Caribbean, where findings from the limited available research suggested an increased likelihood for children to drop out of school (Amuedo-Dorantes, George, & Pozo 2008, Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo, 2010; Bakker et al., 2009).

In addition to education and physical health, the literature has also highlighted psychological outcomes, (such as emotional well-being and conduct disorder), and demonstrated inconsistent results for children, within and outside of the Caribbean (Asis, 2006; Gao et al., 2010; Liu, Li, & Ge, 2009; Polanco-Hernández, 2009). For example, one Filipino study indicated that children of migrant parents enjoyed better emotional outcomes than their counterparts in non-migrant households (Asis, 2006), whereas other investigations suggested that children's well-being varied according to the sending country, or the gender of the migrating parent (Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Graham & Jordan, 2011). On the other hand, the few studies conducted within the Caribbean region demonstrated an increased likelihood of depression, loneliness and conduct disorder for children who did not migrate with their parents (Crawford-Brown, 1997; Elliot-Hart, Avery, & Rehner, 2006; Jones, Sogren, & Sharpe, 2004; Pottinger, 2005).

Despite the focus on the various outcomes for left-behind children, studies failed to analyze certain gender specific responses. In particular, the nuances associated with adolescent left-behind males and their migrant fathers have been largely ignored. Thus, the varying effects

identified in the literature were not accompanied by in-depth explanations for the observed outcomes for male youth and did not account for potential gender effect among children whether in terms of outcomes for education (Bennett, et al., 2013; Kandel & Kao, 2001; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006; Murphy, 2014), health (Damon & Kristiansen, 2014; de Brauw & Mu, 2011; Gao et al., 2010), or psychological well-being (Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Jia & Tian, 2010; Polanco-Hernández, 2009).

Besides the issue of children's outcomes, the literature has emphasized researchers' reliance on economic and psychological theoretical frameworks when explaining the migration phenomenon. Despite the importance of these various approaches, academics have pinpointed some shortcomings of these theories. In particular, reliance on economic theories has underscored the benefits of remittances to those in sending countries (de Haas, 2010; Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). However, the analyses associated with economic theories have been based on surveys, which have been unable to sufficiently capture contextual issues including the nuances associated with households' utilization of remittances (de Haas, 2010; Taylor, 1999). In essence, economic analyses have neglected the fact that countries and communities would be affected differently by the availability of remittances and benefits might be elusive to many poor countries and communities (Bracking & Sachikonye, 2010; de Haas, 2010). Regarding psychological theories, the focus has primarily been on the parent-child attachment and the fallouts from the disruption of these relationships (Ainsworth, 1989; Bretherton, 1985; Howes & Spieker, 2008). Though attachment theory has been salient for understanding parenting roles and has provided guidance for clinical interventions (Giordano, 2003; Sroufe, 1986; Thompson & Raikes, 2003), the theory has emphasized a pathological stance and has not encouraged the

examination of resiliency (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006; Jennings, Parra-Medina, Hilfinger-Messias, & McLoughlin, 2006; Payne, 1997). Overall, the economic and psychological approaches have not sufficiently addressed the issues of those left in sending countries and thus factors such as spousal relations, parental roles, and children's development have not received in-depth examination (Battistella & Conaco, 1998; de la Garza, 2010; Malinauskas, 2006)

Alongside the use of distinct theoretical approaches, researchers largely employed methodologies that depended on adults' interpretation of children's issues. For example, investigators primarily utilized large scale surveys (Antman, 2010, 2011; Antón, 2010; Bennett et al., 2013; Giannelli & Mangiavacchi, 2010; Schmeer, 2009), and indirect methods such as estimates of households' remittances and evaluations of historical migration networks (Alcaraz, Chiquiar, & Salcedo, 2012; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006) to understand children's outcomes. In other instances, qualitative studies sought to be sensitive to children's stories (Asis, 2006; Murphy, 2014). However, these qualitative approaches did not include methodological strategies such as participatory or action components which have been found to be more meaningful than simply using focus groups when seeking to ensure children's full inclusion in research (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Coyne, 1998; Dick, 1999). In essence, research should be attentive to methodologies, methods, instruments as well as participants in seeking to understand children's issues (Christensen, 2004; Hill, 2006; Lund, 2007). Furthermore, the literature has suggested an ultimate goal as being that of viewing young people as active agents who possessed the ability to consider their actions and accompanying consequences and who had the capacity to participate fully in research (Kellett, 2010; Sinclair, 2004; Skelton, 2007).

Equally important to theoretical approaches and methodologies, has been the acknowledgement of the different migration types that influenced children's outcomes in sending countries. Concerning the migration typologies, the literature has focused mainly on international migration and where investigations have highlighted internal migration, the few available studies pinpointed China. However, it has not been unusual for many geographical regions, including the Caribbean, to be affected by different forms of migration. In fact, in addition to extensive international migration, the Caribbean has had high rates of internal migration and both of these processes would require closer examination (ECLAC, 2005; Ferguson, 2003; Hope, 1999).

Alongside the various factors addressed in the migration literature, there have been some additional issues that related specifically to the Caribbean scenario. Firstly, academics have often highlighted the role of women in the migratory process because of the large numbers of female-headed households in the Caribbean and the impact of the shift in family structure when women left (Best-Cummings & Gilder, 2004; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). Not surprisingly, researchers highlighted mother outmigration in the few Caribbean studies that investigated the impact of parental migration on left-behind children (Bakker, et al., 2009; Crawford-Brown, 1997; Jones, et al., 2004; Pottinger, 2005). Secondly, traditional literature reviews have comprised a major part of the available Caribbean data that have addressed issues of parental migration. Though these reviews have provided an overall understanding of the outcomes for left-behind Caribbean children (Bakker et al., 2009; Cortes, 2008), it has been difficult to retrieve and analyze the individual studies that have contributed to these reviews and this has stymied understanding gender responses, methodologies, and theoretical frameworks.

Thirdly, the Caribbean studies have tended to be concentrated on certain islands such as Jamaica (Crawford-Brown, 1997; Elliot-Hart et al., 2006; Pottinger, 2005), with single studies on other islands including Trinidad (Jones, et al., 2004), Haiti (Amuedo-Dorantes, et al., 2008), and Dominica (Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo, 2010), and reference to Belize in traditional literature reviews (Bakker, et al., 2009). Additionally, despite the inclusion of Trinidad and Tobago in reports concerning Caribbean countries affected by migration, the lone study conducted in the country (Jones, et al., 2004), focused on participants from one of the islands in this twin island state, that is, Trinidad. To date I have not been able to identify any investigation that sought to examine the phenomenon of migration as it related to children and youth in Tobago. Fourthly, a missing piece in the Caribbean literature has been the effect on Caribbean families when fathers migrated. Indeed, the discussions surrounding the impact of the absence of males on children and families have often been limiting within the context of the perceived peripheral role of fathers in Caribbean culture (Brown, Newland, Anderson, & Chevannes, 1997; Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002; Lange & Rodman, 1992).

Generally speaking, existing investigations on the impact of parental migration on left-behind children have served to highlight the need for culture-relevant research that considered nuances of Caribbean family life. Even so, there has been insufficient research on the experience of children who remained in their home countries in the Caribbean when parents migrated (Blank, 2007; Cortes, 2007; D'Emilio et al., 2007; Palmer, 1990). Overall, current Caribbean investigations on the migration phenomena should: (1) account for gender specific associations, including information specific to fathers or, boys of migrant fathers, (2) incorporate theoretical approaches that move beyond focusing on observed negative outcomes, (3) provide the space for

highlighting the voices of children in this group, including addressing issues of resiliency, and (4) include studies that integrate research with action (Dillon & Walsh, 2012). In seeking to fill the some of the gaps in Caribbean research, the purpose of the current study is to explore the experiences of adolescent males on the Caribbean island of Tobago whose fathers have migrated, and to engage these adolescents in devising appropriate strategies to address possible problems, using participatory action research (PAR). Accordingly, I developed relevant research questions to facilitate examining the particular issues regarding this sub-population of Tobagonian youth.

Research Questions

- How do adolescent males aged 12 to 18 years old in Tobago describe their experience as children of migrant fathers?
- What solutions can youth in Tobago identify to address the problems of adolescent males of migrant fathers?
- How can youth in Tobago disseminate their ideas concerning solutions to problems experienced by adolescent males of migrant fathers?

Research Goal and Objectives

The overall goal of the study is to get an in-depth understanding of how father outmigration impacts adolescent males in the Tobago context and identify appropriate responses to meet the needs of this population. The study has three broad objectives. Firstly, it seeks to provide the opportunity for adolescent males in Tobago to examine their situations critically, which becomes important in making appropriate choices in daily living. The second objective is to facilitate youth participation and inclusion in research that targets youth issues. Thirdly, the

study seeks to create an environment for youth to share knowledge with policymakers in Tobago that can result in more effective planning and programming regarding youth services.

Context of the Study

The study was conducted on the island of Tobago which is part of the twin-island state of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. Geographically, Trinidad and Tobago is the most southerly of the islands in the Caribbean archipelago (see Figure 1.1), which extends from Florida to South America (Knight & Palmer, 1989; Meditz & Henratty, 1987). Tobago (116 m^2; 300 km^2 in size), is the smaller of the two islands and lies at the north eastern tip of Trinidad (Brereton, 2015).

Figure 1.1 Map of the Archipelago of Caribbean Islands (Wikimedia Commons, 2006).

Approximately 62, 219 people reside on the island of Tobago which consists mainly of African Caribbeans (85.2%), East Indians (2.54%), and persons of mixed descent (8.5 %), but there is indication that the island's East Indian population is increasing (Ministry of Planning and Sustainable Development, Central Statistical Office, 2012). The island's population is distributed among the residential communities, called villages, of which those located at the furthest points on the island are Charlotteville in the East, Parlatuvier in the North and Crown Point in the West (see Figure 1.2). The culture of these villages reflects Tobago's colonial heritage (Brereton, 2008; Craig-James, 2008). Unlike the industrialized, bustling lifestyle of Trinidad, Tobago's society is more relaxed and the island's landscape makes it a prime tourist destination (Trinidad and Tobago Development Company, 2015).

The Tobago House of Assembly Act provides the framework of laws for governance of Tobago and is subservient to the Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago (Laws of Trinidad and Tobago, 1996). Under the Act, the Tobago House of Assembly, consisting of twelve (12) elected members, is responsible for the formulation and implementation of policy, and administration of the island.

Tobago's history indicates that the island's economy has always been intricately linked to that of Trinidad which is recognized as the more developed of the two islands (Brereton, 2008; Craig-James, 2008).

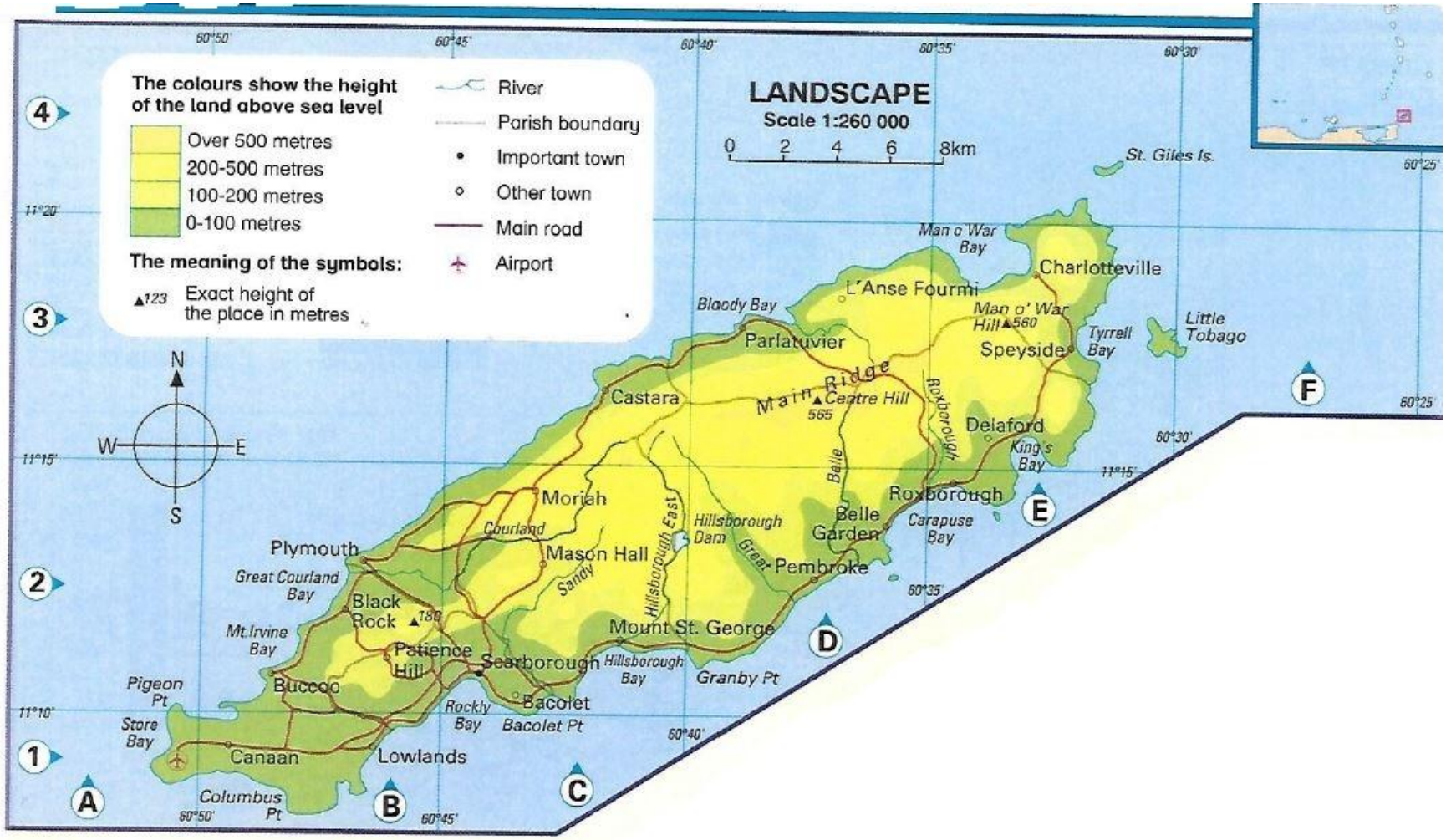

Figure 1.2 Map of Tobago (Morrisey, 1994, p. 36).

Definition of Key Terms

CARICOM. The term 'CARICOM' refers to the Caribbean Community and Common Market, a group of countries in the Caribbean united to facilitate free trade (CARICOM Secretariat, 2010).

Caribbean region. Academics define the Caribbean differently which results in meanings based on language and identity, history and culture, geography, geopolitics, geoeconomics, or organization (Girvan, 2001). For the purpose of this study, the term 'Caribbean region' is defined in terms of geography and refers to the arc of islands that extends from Florida in the north to Venezuela in the south, including Belize, Guyana, Suriname and French Guiana (Knight & Palmer, 1989; Meditz & Henratty, 1987).

Child shifting. The term 'child shifting' indicates special child-care arrangements used in Caribbean societies whereby adults, other than a child's biological parents, take responsibility for raising children. This results in children residing in homes of the designated care givers, away from the biological parents, for some period during childhood (Gibbison & Paul, 2006; Fog-Olwig, 2012).

Children. The term 'children' is used in accordance with the convention of rights of a child as outlined by UNICEF (2015) and thus refers to an individual 0 to 18 years old.

Youth. The term 'youth' aligns with the definition used by United Nations (2015), which identifies 'youth' as comprising individuals ranging from 15 to 24 years old.

Adolescence. The term 'adolescence' refers to the period of life which is estimated to begin around age 10 and last to about age 22 (Rogers, 2013).

Within this study, the sample (individuals ages 12 to 17), falls within the parameters of the definitions of children, adolescence, and youth. Though I formulated the research questions based on the literature's definition of adolescence and child, participants ultimately preferred to be addressed as youth or young men. Thus, in referring to the study sample I use the terms youth and young men in honouring the voices of participants. However, the literature review on the various aspects of the migration phenomenon (both within and outside the Caribbean), follows the definitions offered by UNICEF (2015), Rogers (2013) and United Nations (2015).

Migration. The term 'migration' refers to the geographical movement of individuals or groups of people across a specified boundary for the purpose of resettling (National Geographic Xpeditions, 2005). This movement may be either across international boundaries (international migration), or within a country (internal migration) (International Organization of Migration [IOM], 2011). For the purpose of this study, in terms of the Caribbean scenario, international migration refers to movement to countries outside of the Caribbean region and internal migration refers to the movement of people from one place to another within any particular Caribbean country (Simons, Pienkos, & Schmid, 2006).

Remittance. The term 'remittance' indicates the transfer of money by a foreign worker to his or her home country (Ratha, 2005).

Transnational parenting. The term 'transnational parenting' refers to the phenomena which entails adults exercising parenting duties while residing in a country that is different from the country in which their children live (Carling, Menjívar, & Schmalzbauer, 2012).

Tobago House of Assembly. The Tobago House of Assembly is a political institution, consisting of twelve elected members, established for formulating and implementing policies that concern the island of Tobago (Laws of Trinidad and Tobago, 1996).

Chief Secretary. The 'Chief Secretary' is the person in the Tobago House of Assembly who commands the majority of support and is chosen from among the 12 elected members. In this capacity the Chief Secretary assumes leadership of the Tobago House of Assembly (Laws of Trinidad and Tobago, 1996).

Developing. The term 'developing' refers to countries with low and middle income (World Bank Group, 2015) and includes countries within the Caribbean. From July 2014, the World Bank classifies income levels using gross national income (GNI) per capita. A GNI per capita of less than $1,045 is characteristic of low income countries, between $1,045 and $12,746 is characteristic of middle income countries, whereas $12,746 or greater is characteristic of high income countries.

South South migration. The term 'south south migration' refers to the mobility among the countries that do not have a very high Human Development Index (IOM, 2013). The Human Development Index is a tool used by statisticians to measure overall performance of a country in three dimensions; a comfortable standard of living, health and longevity, and knowledge accessibility (Human Development Report, 2014). The World Bank establishes fixed cut off points (COPs) which are statistical values that delimit the four categories of Human Development Index; very high human development (cut-off point - 0.8), high human development (cut-off point - 0.7), and medium human development (cut-off point - 0.55). The

Caribbean region is considered to be a geographical region within which South South migration occurs (IOM, 2013).

Commonwealth of Independent States. The term 'Commonwealth of Independent States' is an association of sovereign states formed in 1991 by Russia and 11 other states that were previously part of the Soviet Union (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015).

Significance of the Study

The study will contribute to the body of knowledge concerning the role of father absence in the lives of children. In particular, the investigation will enhance understanding of adolescent males' experience of father-son separation in the case of migration. Even more, the findings will provide novel information regarding the experience of father-son separation for Tobagonian male youth and thus add to the limited data base on the impact of father-son separation on left-behind children in the Caribbean region.

Also, the study provides a fresh perspective concerning men's role within Caribbean family life. This is salient because of the call for more research on the impact of migration on Caribbean children (Bakker, et al., 2009; Blank, 2007; Cortes, 2007), the relationships within Caribbean families, and a deeper understanding of the relationship between Caribbean men and their sons within modern day society (Barker & Verani, 2008; Brown et al, 1997; Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013).

In addition to enhanced knowledge of a distinct aspect of father-son separation, the study will increase understanding concerning the application of youth participatory action research (YPAR) and photovoice in a cultural context outside of North America, that is, the Caribbean. This is significant because there is little information regarding the applicability of action research

with Caribbean youth, though the literature demonstrates the many benefits of the methodology. In addition, the study demonstrates the use of photovoice with a non-health issue, a noteworthy matter, considering that the photovoice literature focuses mainly on health concerns and does not emphasize its application to the migration phenomenon (Catalani & Minkler, 2010; Lal, Jarus, & Suto, 2012).

Further, the study will demonstrate how adolescent males of migrant fathers in Tobago can gain important skills to critically examine their issues and identify appropriate youth-relevant strategies for prevention and intervention. As part of the critical analysis and action-targeting exercise, the youths in this study will present their findings and recommendations to policymakers. In this way, the study will raise awareness of migration's impact on Tobagonian youth by highlighting a previously hidden phenomenon and will stimulate relevant discussions among policymakers. In the end, the study's method will facilitate the development of problem-solving, negotiating and presentational skills for youth in relation to addressing their own issues. Finally, the emphasis on youth participation situates the investigation within the genre of youth studies, which creates the opportunity for engendering characteristics of "personal confidence, social connectedness, civic competency and leadership development" among youth (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006, p. 2). Besides the study's overall significance, the findings are of specific relevance to social work.

Relevance to Social Work

Social workers seek knowledge about various issues in the quest to maximize human potential (Hepworth, Rooney, Rooney, Strom-Gottfried, & Larsen, 2010; Zastrow, 2014). In this regard, the study will assist social workers in understanding how father outmigration affects

sons. Also, the social work profession aims to promote policies and practices that enable people to use their strengths to bring about change, a process that should be guided by relevant research (Engel & Schutt, 2009; Hepworth et al., 2010). Accordingly, the study demonstrates a youth-appropriate and culture-relevant research that can help guide effective social work interventions with male youth of migrant fathers in Tobago. Further, this study's approach to engaging youth is invaluable in light of the need for more social workers to undertake research involving youth participation, allowing professionals to be more proactive rather than reactive in providing youth services (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006).

Additionally, social work's focus on the ecological theory and person-in-environment perspective highlights the importance of considering the dynamic relationship between individuals and their environments (Hepworth et al., 2010; Zastrow, 2014). In line with these perspectives, the theoretical approach used in the study seeks to highlight how micro as well as macro factors interplay in understanding the impact of father outmigration on adolescent males in Tobago. In this way, the study will provide another perspective on cross cultural application of social work theory to youth issues, particularly left-behind Caribbean youth. Furthermore, the study's exploration of macro level structures and micro level factors can guide social workers' efforts towards addressing the issues of Tobagonian male youth of migrant fathers, especially regarding meaningful policy advocacy and relevant practice interventions.

Besides contributions to research, theory, policy and practice, the methodology demonstrates the applicability of social work's core values of social justice and empowerment in seeking to highlight the voices of marginalized youth and facilitating their problem-solving and critical thinking capabilities (Allan, Pease, & Briskman, 2003; Fook, 2002; Payne, 1997).

Finally, the study provides information that can be useful for social work curriculum at the tertiary level. Specifically, the investigation can add to the knowledge base of social work students regarding the migration phenomenon as a social issue and its impact on particular groups of people.

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation contains five chapters. Chapter one provides the background for the study, outlines the possible significance for theory, policy and practice, and introduces the basic parts of the dissertation. Chapter two contains the literature review in which I examine the existing discussions regarding the impact of parental migration on left-behind children. In this review, I appraise the impact of migration types (international and internal), for left-behind children in countries outside of the Caribbean, along with evaluating the effects of parental migration on Caribbean children. I also consider how the literature addresses the concepts of resilience and transnational parenting in relation to children of migrant parents. Besides the issue of impact on children's well-being, the literature review includes a critique of the theoretical frameworks used to explain the migration phenomenon and contains a description of an alternative approach (Freire's empowerment education), which I use as the guiding theory in the current study. Additionally, in the literature review, I examine specific issues, such as masculinity, race, and gender that are pertinent to understanding Caribbean life and useful for comprehending the impact of migration on Caribbean children.

Chapter three is the methodology. In this section I describe the implementation of YPAR and outline the application of photovoice as a method that aligns with the principles of YPAR. This description includes a critique of YPAR and photovoice. In the methodology I also

describe the process of engaging Tobagonian youth as co-researchers which entails involving youth at multiple stages of the study (recruitment, data collection, data analysis, and data sharing). Further, I explain the challenges accompanying the implementation of the methodology. Chapter four represents the penultimate section of the dissertation and highlights the themes resulting from the combined evaluative process of participatory analysis and NVivo as this relates to answering the three research questions. The discussion is the final chapter (chapter five), and represents a synthesis of the dissertation. In the discussion section, against the background of the three research questions, I present the key findings in relation to the existing literature, identified methodology, and chosen theoretical framework. The section culminates with key conclusions and outlines the implications of the study for social work practice, policy, theory, education, and future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on the effects of labour migration on children remaining in sending areas has focused on international migration as well as population outflow from the rural to urban areas (internal migration). In the case of international migration, sending countries have usually been from the economically developing world (which includes the Caribbean), and most of the literature originated in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and countries that once belonged to the Commonwealth of Independent States (de Haas, 2005; Whitehead & Hashim, 2005). Despite the importance, in terms of magnitude and the effects on the sending and receiving countries, there has been less information concerning internal migration and the outcomes for children and families who remained in rural communities (Castles, 2010; Esipova, Pugliese, & Ray, 2013; Skeldon, 2013; Whitehead & Hashim, 2005). Interestingly, the sparse research on internal migration has focused on fairly recent migration patterns of the Chinese population as a result of China's spectacular rate of economic development since the mid to late 1990s (de Brauw, Huang, Rozelle, Zhang, & Zhang, 2002; Deshingkar, 2006).

For Caribbean populations, internal migration has occurred alongside intraregional migration and these have been defined under the rubric of South South migration which has been noted to be as prevalent as international migration (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [ECLAC], 2005; Ferguson, 2003; Hope, 1999). Specifically, international migration has involved movement of the Caribbean peoples to North America and Western Europe (especially to the UK, after World War 2) (Foner, 2008; Thomas-Hope, 1992). Alternatively, mobility within the Caribbean region (intra-regional migration), has happened as people moved to islands with better economic and social conditions (ECLAC, 2005; Ferguson,

2003). A unique feature of this inter-island movement has occurred between islands, such as Trinidad and Tobago, St. Kitts and Nevis, and St.Vincent and the Grenadines, that unite to form a single symbolic Caribbean country or unitary state. In these scenarios it was not unusual for one of the islands to be less developed compared to its counterpart as has been true in the case of Trinidad and Tobago's oil rich economy (Carter, 2004; Jordan, 2007). Under these circumstances, similar to internal migration, people have moved within a unitary state, from the periphery to the core to capitalize on economic opportunities (Jordan, 2007). Despite the existence of the three types of migration (internal, intraregional and international), the limited information concerning children left behind when parents left for economic purposes, has focused on international destinations with less attention being paid to the consequences arising from intraregional and internal migration. For example, among the few available Caribbean studies on parental migration, only two have alluded to rural-urban migration and another investigation considered South-South migration in the demographics of study samples (Elliot-Hart et al., 2006; Pottinger, 2005). However the investigations presented no specific analysis regarding the association between specific migration patterns and the outcomes for the left-behind children. The following sections of the literature review consider the impact of parental migration by examining studies categorized in relation to international and internal migration, with additional subsections specifically appraising the impact of migration for Caribbean children.

Impact of International and Internal Migration

In the case of both international and internal migration, academics have suggested that remittances represented a significant strategy to improve livelihoods of households by providing

increased funds to access amenities and services (Acosta, 2008; Castles, 2010; Skeldon, 2006). Ultimately, youth in migrant households could be better off than their counterparts concerning academic performance, physical health, emotional well-being, and increased access to certain consumer goods (Asis, 2006; Parreñas, 2008; Macours & Vakis, 2010). However, studies have also indicated that the anticipated economic impact might not always be possible or sufficient to compensate for parental absence and thus might generate negative effects on mental health, psychological well-being, and behaviour patterns (Bakker, Elings-Pels, & Reis, 2009; Coronel & Unterreiner, 2007; Giannelli & Mangiavacchi, 2010). Alongside this, a few studies on international migration demonstrated how additional factors of resilience and parenting from a distance determined the expected outcomes from remittances (Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Graham, Jordan, Yeoh, Lam & Asis, 2012; Jordan & Graham, 2012). These various factors concerning children's welfare are considered in the following sections which highlight studies on the impact of parental migration on children's education, physical health, and psychological well-being as well as address specific issues of transnational parenting and resilience.

Education

The literature concerning the direct impact of remittances on families has been largely guided by theories of economic migration and these theories anticipate the improvement of children's education as a key outcome (Blank, 2007; Cortes, 2007, 2015). This benefit was expected regardless of which parent migrated with the hope that the rewards would outweigh the negative impact of parent outmigration. However, studies on international and internal migration as well investigations in the Caribbean suggested that the effects on children's education could

be both positive and negative (Bennett et al., 2013; Kandel & Kao, 2001; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006).

International migration perspective. The outcomes regarding children's education varied depending on country, age, and gender and were based on results from quantitative studies (see Table 2.1). In terms of comparison across countries, the literature reported effects for children in Tajikistan (Bennett, et al., 2013), El Salvador (Edwards & Ureta, 2003), and Mexico (Alcaraz, Chiquiar, & Salcedo, 2012; Kandel & Kao, 2001; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006). For example, one investigation retrieved data for households (n= 4860), using the 2007 Tajikistan Living Standards Survey and evaluated the relationship between parental migration and children's education (Bennett et al., 2013). The researchers found that the longer the period of parental migration the greater the tendency for children to stay in school. However, the study did not evaluate the impact of gender, either parental or child.

Similarly, an investigation in El Salvador found that children's education was positively affected in households that received remittances. Thus, the findings of a cross sectional study of individuals (n= 14,286) from the 1997 Annual Household Survey, demonstrated that regardless of which parent left, youth remained committed to school but this effect depended on how the household utilized the remittances (Edwards & Ureta, 2003). Nevertheless, data was not collected directly from youth but was based on estimates derived from a hazard model that examined the effects of remittances and income on the probability of youth becoming school drop-outs.

On the other hand, poor school attendance and increased drop-out rates were found for children in Mexico when either parent migrated (Alcaraz et al., 2012; Kandel & Kao, 2001;

McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006). For instance, Kandel and Kao (2001) analyzed data from questionnaires administered to a random stratified sample of children (n=7620), and demonstrated that parental migration to the United States was associated with children's lack of motivation to remain in school beyond the secondary level, as Mexican education at that level was not recognized in the United States. Girls who were performing well academically and who came from families in the high socioeconomic group were more motivated to receive schooling in the US. Though the study provided gender specific differences in educational outcomes, distinct explanations for the observed outcomes for male youth were not presented.

Similarly, McKenzie and Rapoport (2006) indicated a negative association between school attendance and migration for Mexican children (n= 20,388) using the 1997 National Survey of Demographic Dynamics. Also, data regarding children (n=658) from the Mexican National Occupation and Employment Survey suggested that remittances from migration did not necessarily result in positive educational outcomes (Alcaraz et al., 2012). However, these Mexican studies sought to understand the impact of migration on youth through indirect methods using evaluations based on historical migration networks or estimations regarding how remittances impacted decisions made by households.

Other studies suggested that children's educational outcomes were associated with the specific gender of the migrating parent. In particular, father outmigration was found to promote varying educational outcomes and negative school performance was observed in the case of mothers' departure. For example, in Albania, an area with high levels of father outmigration, school attendance was measured in children (n=5,834) utilizing the Albanian World Bank Living Standard Measurement Survey (Giannelli & Mangiavacchi, 2010). Poor school attendance and

high dropout rates were observed for older children and adolescents (ages 14-18) and the effect was more significant for girls than boys. Nevertheless, findings from this study should be interpreted within the limitations of the survey instrument to adequately target children and identify the various factors that influenced their commitment to education.

On the other hand, in Bangladesh, a father's migration seemed to improve the rate of a child's progression through school as suggested from the evaluation of children (n=5417) in the Metlab Health and Economic Survey (Kuhn, 2006). These results were similar for males and females. Yet, this study examined schooling in the early years, but longitudinal research was necessary to determine if outcomes would persist in adolescence.

Poor educational outcomes were also observed for Thai children (n= 2576) of migrant mothers and fathers in a longitudinal study using the Kanchanaburi Demographic Surveillance System (Jampaklay, 2006). However, this data-set did not clearly distinguish whether parental absence was due to migration or other forms of family disruption.

Additionally, Antman (2010, 2011) analyzed data from the Mexican Family Life Survey to study mothers' decision-making regarding household expenditure in the context of father outmigration. The researcher found that mothers deliberately allocated more resources to girls in terms of education and clothing when fathers migrated, which negatively impacted boys' schooling. However, when fathers were in control of household resources on their return home more resources were allocated to boys. Still, the research only identified the existence of fallouts for males without providing distinct details concerning the observed effects, that is, how the reduced resources impeded boys' education.

The literature also examined academic outcomes based on the age and gender of the child. For example, in Mexico, youth 11 to 18 years of age were less motivated to expend time on schooling and experienced poor educational outcomes in the face of migrating parents (Kandel & Kao, 2001). Similarly, Mackenzie and Rapoport (2006) found an increased likelihood for Mexican boys 12 to 18 years of age and girls 16 to 18 years of age in migrant households to drop out of school. The specific outcomes for adolescent boys of migrant fathers were not examined, however. Conversely, parental migration had a positive impact on the education of 7 to 14 year old youth in Bangladesh regardless of the child's gender (Kuhn, 2006). However, at least one study suggested that the adverse psychological and relational consequences for children could outweigh the net economic benefits that accrued to households (Giannelli & Mangiavacchi, 2010). Furthermore, in a review of studies on left-behind children, Coronel and Unterreiner (2007) noted that challenges in investigating educational outcomes arose as a consequence of the interaction of complex variables such as individual psychological and physiological stressors, and social and economic factors.

Table 2.1

Education - International Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Alcaraz, Chiquiar, & Salcedo (2012). Mexico	Secondary data analysis. (n=658).	Economic theory of migration.	12-16 years	General consideration of parental migration.	Negative association between school attendance and migration.	Understandings of youth were based on estimations of the impact of remittances on households' decisions.
Antman, (2010, 2011). Mexico	Secondary data analysis. Observations-household expenditure patterns (education= 8,253; clothing n=5,971; education and clothing n= 4,429).	Economic theory of labour migration.	0-17 years	Father outmigration. Boys received fewer resources than girls for education.	Mexican mothers deliberately allocated more resources to girls when fathers migrated.	The research only identified the existences of fallouts for males without providing details about observed outcomes.
Bennett, Clifford, & Falkingham (2013). Tajikistan	Secondary data analysis. (n=4860).	Economic theory of migration.	12-18 years	General consideration of parental migration.	Lengthy parental migration increases the tendency for children to stay in school.	Study has not accounted for any potential gender effect among the children.
Edwards & Ureta (2003). El Salvador	Secondary data analysis. (n=14,286).	Economic theory of migration.	6-24 years	General consideration of parental migration.	Youth stayed in school when either parent migrated.	Data was not collected directly from youth.

t*able continues*

Education - International Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Giannelli & Mangiavacchi (2010). Albania	Secondary data analysis. (n=5,834).	Psychological theories on family disruption and parent-child separation.	6-18 years Older children (ages 14-18) tended to drop out of school.	Father outmigration. School drop-out rates were higher for girls than boys.	Positive educational outcomes not guaranteed for children.	The survey instrument did not adequately target the various factors that influenced the children's education.
Jampaklay (2006). Thailand	Secondary data analysis. (n=2576).	Economic theory of labour migration	13-18 years	Mother outmigration and father outmigration.	Children experienced poor educational outcomes.	Design unable to clearly distinguish whether parental absence was due to migration or other forms of family disruption.
Kandel & Kao (2001). Mexico	Cross sectional survey. (n=7,620).	Cultural transmission theory.	11-18 years	General consideration of parental migration.	Youth not motivated to stay in school beyond secondary level.	No explanations regarding outcomes for male youth.
Kuhn (2006). Bangladesh	Secondary data analysis. (n=5417).	Economic theory of labour migration.	7-14 years	Father outmigration. Similar results for boys and girls.	Improvement in child's rate of progression through school.	Findings were only of the early school years.
McKenzie & Rapoport, (2006). Mexico	Secondary data analysis. (n= 20,388).	Economic theory of labour migration.	12-18 years	General consideration of parental migration. Boys 12-18 and girls 16-18 more likely to drop out of school.	Increased likelihood for youth to drop out of school.	Understandings of youth were based on evaluations from historical migration networks.

Internal migration perspective. Generally, most of the studies regarding the impact of internal migration on children's education seemed to be concentrated in China and similar to the literature on international migration, the results were mixed (see Table 2.2). These studies were guided by psychological and economic theories, and the mode of data collection was either through surveys or in-depth interviews. For example, cross sectional surveys of students ages 10 to 16 (n=1,649), their families and home room teachers, did not suggest any significant unfavourable outcomes for rural children of migrant parents in China (Chen et al., 2009). In fact, in this study, comparison of children's performance before and after parents migrated, indicated that some children's educational performance improved after the father left. However, the study provided only a general explanation of children's performance with no specific analysis in relation to boys and their fathers.

In comparison, in depth interviews with children ages 9 to 14 (n= 54), their guardians, and teachers (n=12), highlighted the importance of education in the lives of rural Chinese children despite parental migration to urban areas (Murphy, 2014). The author concluded that youngsters understood the reasons for parents' departure and these children were therefore committed to honour the economic hardship and emotional difficulties associated with separating from parents. Although this study highlighted children's voices through the use of qualitative methods, young people were neither actively engaged during the research process, nor in the interpretation and dissemination of the findings of the study.

Alternatively, other investigators' noted that the education of both young children and high school students could be negatively affected in parental migration, especially for girls and children from poor families (Hu, 2012; Lu, 2012). For instance, examination of outcomes for youth 17 to 19 years old (n=866), using the Chinese General Social Survey, demonstrated that

girls from poor households in rural China were more likely than boys to perform poorly at school when parents migrated (Hu, 2012). The outcomes were explained as being associated with females' tendency to be at a disadvantageous position in the community and the decisions of poor families regarding utilization of remittances. Similarly, analysis of data for children 7 to 19 years old (n=885) drawn from the China Health and Nutrition Survey, suggested that parental migration resulted in poor educational outcomes for young children from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Lu, 2012). This investigations did not provide an in depth evaluation of outcomes specifically related to the father-son separation.

Table 2.2

Education - Internal Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Chen, Huang, Rozelle, Chi, & Zhang (2009). China	Original data - Cross sectional survey. (n=1,649).	Economic theory of labour migration.	10-16 years	General consideration of parental migration. Improvement in education when father leaves.	No significant unfavourable outcomes for rural children of migrant parents.	Only a general explanation of children's performance with no in depth analysis for boys and their fathers.
Hu (2012). China	Secondary data analysis. (n=866)	Economic theory of labour migration.	17-19 years	General consideration of parental migration. Boys more likely to suffer when parents migrated.	Educational outcomes depended on the child's gender. Some adolescents had poor educational outcomes.	Recognized adolescent issues but did not provide in depth analysis of concerns related to father-son separation.
Lu (2012). China	Secondary data analysis. (n=885).	Psychological theories on family disruption and parent-child separation.	7-19 years. Younger children have increased likelihood of experiencing poor educational outcomes.	Mother and father outmigration.	Young children from low socioeconomic backgrounds tended to experience poor educational outcomes.	Recognized adolescent issues but did not provide in depth analysis of concerns related to father-son separation
Murphy (2014). China	In depth interviews with children (n=54), guardians and Teachers. (n=12).	Psychological theories on family disruption and parent-child separation.	9-14 years	General consideration of parental migration.	Children committed to education.	Qualitative approach but no participative component

The Caribbean perspective. The limited data regarding children were reflected in surveys and a UNICEF review and suggested an increased likelihood for children of migrant parents to experience challenges in education (see Table 2.3). To illustrate, research conducted in Haiti and Dominica demonstrated that the intended economic benefits from remittances did not always materialize for children aged 6 to18 and in some migrant households children abandoned their schooling to seek employment (Amuedo-Dorantes et al., 2008; Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo, 2010). In both countries (Haiti and Dominica), the researchers evaluated the impact of remittances on children's schooling utilizing data from the Latin American Migration Project (Haiti, n=328; Dominica, n=1123).

Additionally, one UNICEF review noted the negative educational outcomes for some children in Caribbean countries within the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). The review proposed that parental migration resulted in a greater likelihood for children in Guyana and Belize to replace education with child labour as a strategy for supplementing income (Bakker et al., 2009). The report also suggested that some left-behind Caribbean youth (within the 14 to 18 age range), contended with managing the burden of caring for younger siblings, and addressing the challenges of developmental tasks as left-behind youngsters 11 to 13 years old transitioned to the next stage of their psychosocial development. The report concluded that youngsters' difficulties contributed to their status as early school dropouts. However, it was not possible to locate the individual studies that described these distinct circumstances for Guyana, Belize and the particular Caribbean countries identified in the review. In addition, the available review provided limited details regarding methodologies, theoretical approaches or gender specific responses for the specific investigations.

Overall the studies on the educational impact of children of migrant parents relied largely on targeted quantitative surveys or secondary data analysis of more general household surveys. In both cases there was a limited evaluation of gender specific response. A small number of studies highlighted the effects of father outmigration. The analyses however, did not provide detailed information regarding the outcomes for adolescent boys, specifically. In cases of internal migration, investigations were concentrated in China and the Caribbean studies were all conducted outside of Trinidad and Tobago. The sole study which used qualitative methods did not have any participatory or action objectives.

Table 2.3

Education – The Caribbean Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Amuedo-Dorantes, George, & Pozo (2008). Haiti.	Secondary data analysis. (n=328).	Economic theory of labour migration.	6-18years	General consideration of parental migration.	Children abandoned school to seek employment.	Economic focus. No gender specific responses.
Amuedo-Dorantes, George, & Pozo (2010). Dominica.	Secondary data analysis. (n=1123).	Economic theory of labour migration.	6-18 years	General consideration of parental migration.	Children abandoned school to seek employment.	Economic focus. No gender specific responses.
Bakker, Elings-Pels, & Reis (2009). Belize, Guyana and some other Caribbean island.s	Not indicated for this desk review of studies.	Not indicated for this desk review of studies.	11 – 18 years	General consideration of parental migration.	Burden of caring for younger siblings, youth unable to perform developmental tasks, children favoured employment over school.	Individual studies not available. Details were missing about methodologies, theoretical approaches or gender specific responses.

Physical Health

Research regarding physical health of left-behind children considered age groups ranging from birth to adolescence. For the most part, the studies were guided by economic theories of labour migration and psychological theories of parent-child separation (see Table 2.4 and Table 2.5). Unlike the other issues surrounding the impact of migration, the literature on physical health focused only on international and internal migration and did not include information with respect to Caribbean children.

International migration perspective. Analyses of data from surveys demonstrated inconclusive results regarding infants and children up to five years old in rural communities in Mexico (see Table 2.4). For instance, Schmeer (2009) analyzed the nature of children's illness in 509 rural Mexican communities over the period 1998 to 2000 (1998, n= 14,810; 1999, n= 12,447; 2000, n= 8,848). The findings suggested that a child of a migrant father was 39% more likely to report any illness and 51% more predisposed to have diarrhoea compared with infants in households with a father. On the other hand, using a common national data set, researchers found that infants from some Mexican homes with migrant fathers experienced good physical health (Frank & Hummer, 2002; Hildebrandt & McKenzie, 2005). For example, Frank and Hummer (2002) considered the relationship between migration, mortality and fertility using data of newborns (n= 23,607) from a 1997 national survey (Encuesta Nacional de la Dinamica Demografica). The results indicated that newborns in migrant households were more likely than their counterparts in non-migrant households to have lower mortality rates and higher birth weights. Similarly, using the same data set, Hildebrandt and McKenzie (2005) found that babies of migrant fathers were less likely to be underweight than their peers from non-migrant families.

The results also pointed to poor health practices regarding breast feeding and immunization which could affect a child's development later in life.

Other studies highlighted physical growth, nutritional status, and vaccination patterns for young children (see Table 2.4). For instance, a household survey of Guatemalan children less than six years of age in 1222 households indicated an overall positive effect on physical growth for children when parents migrated, although the researchers were unable to identify causal pathways (Carletto et al., 2011). Additionally, Antón (2010) found that, in the short and middle-term, remittances contributed to the improved nutritional status of Ecuadorian children under age five who were identified from the National Survey on Living Conditions for 2005 to 2006. These studies in Mexico, Guatemala, and Ecuador examined father outmigration as it affected children from intact, divorced, or separated families.

In the case of elementary school children, researchers used a comparative study and mixed methods approaches to evaluate health outcomes. To illustrate, Graham and Jordan, (2013) focused on school children aged 9-11 years in Philippines (n= 480), and Vietnam (n= 482), and examined the risk of stunting by comparing the height-for-age of children in migrant households with children living with both parents, using a national data set (Child Health and Migrant Parents in South-East Asia). The results pointed to outcomes based on the timing of the parents' absence and the socioeconomic status of the household. Thus, for Vietnamese children, separation from a father during the first 36 months of life for boys and girls increased the likelihood of stunting in middle childhood. In the case of Filipino children, regardless of which parent migrated, poverty and low educational levels of caregivers determined the quality of care and the type of nutrition received by the child. In some cases, father outmigration seemed to be advantageous for children which could have been related to the continued quality of care that a

mother provided when the father left. Though the authors underscored the outcomes for males, the study focused on early adolescence. However, determining the persistence of the impacts throughout adolescent would have also been an important consideration.

In comparison, Asis (2006) used a mixed methods approach which included a survey administered to children (ages 10-12; n=1448), and focus group discussions with several persons (adolescent left-behind children, n=11; caregivers, n=8; community organizers, n=4). The authors found that in terms of physical health (height, weight and common illness), children of migrant parents fared better than their peers in non-migrant households and this was more significant for children with migrant fathers who earned higher than average incomes. The author pointed to the role of care giving, especially that received from mothers, as being important to the success of children because mothers were mainly responsible for providing a range of nurturing tasks. A strength of the study was the inclusion of a qualitative component, wherein children were asked about their experience. However, the use of a qualitative approach was not the primary focus of the study, specific experiences of boys were not examined, and the children were not actively engaged in interpreting and addressing their concerns.

Regarding adolescents, in a comparative study involving Filipino high school children (ages 13 -18), researchers considered the well-being of children (n=205) of migrants and children (n= 97) living with both parents. The findings pointed to an increased likelihood for youth with migrant mothers to have poorer physical health (somatic symptoms), than their counterparts who resided with both parents (Smeekens et al., 2012). The authors expressed caution regarding the interpretation of the data as they noted the difficulties of ensuring that the data collection methods were culturally relevant. Similar findings on poor health status were found for boys and girls 12 to 18 years old (n= 6,314) in Mexico based on secondary data analysis of the Mexican

Family Life Survey. In this case, investigators found that urban girls were less likely than urban boys to become obese as girls were required to engage in adult work with greater physical activity demands, as a result of parental migration (Damon & Kristiansen, 2014). Nevertheless, the findings did not indicate how the outcomes for boys were related to their father's migration.

Table 2.4

Physical Health - International Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age/ and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind child	Critique
Antón (2010). Ecuador.	Secondary data analysis. (n=less than 6000 observations).	Economic theory of labour migration.	0-5 years	General consideration of parental migration.	Improvement in children's nutritional status.	Focused on fathers from traditional family structures.
Asis (2006). Philippines	Cross sectional Survey of the children (n=1448); Focus groups; adolescents (n=11), caregivers (n=8), and community workers (n=4).	Psychological theories on family disruption and parent-child separation.	10-12 years	Mother and father outmigration. Children of migrant fathers who earned high incomes fared better than their peers.	Migrant children enjoyed better health than their peers.	Despite qualitative component, youth were not engaged as problem-solvers and the voices of males are not highlighted.
Carletto, Covarrubias, & Maluccio (2011). Guatemala.	Cross sectional survey. (n=1248 households). .	Economic theory of labour migration.	0-6years	General consideration of parental migration.	Overall positive effect on physical growth.	Focused on fathers from traditional family structures.
Damon & Kristiansen (2014). Mexico	Secondary data analysis. (n= 6,314)	Economic theory of labour migration.	12 to 18 years	General consideration of parental migration. Urban boys tend to become obese.	Children experienced poor health outcomes which varied with gender.	Findings did not indicate how the outcomes for boys were related to their father's migration.
Frank & Hummer (2002). Mexico.	Secondary data analysis. (n= 23,607).	Economic and Sociological migration theories.	Newborn	Father outmigration.	Infant from migrant households more likely than counterpart to be healthy.	Focused on fathers from traditional family structures.

table continues

Physical Health - International Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind child	Critique
Graham & Jordan (2013). Philippines and Vietnam.	Secondary data analysis. Philippines (n= 480) and Vietnam (n= 482).	Economic theory of labour migration.	9-11 years	Mother and father outmigration. Father-child separation increased the likelihood of stunting in middle childhood.	Outcomes depended on when parents leave and household's socioeconomic status.	Early adolescents; Unable to determine if the effects would persist as boys got older.
Hildebrandt & McKenzie (2005). Mexico.	Secondary data analysis. (n=16,593). .	Economic theory of labour migration.	Newborn	Father outmigration.	Infants from migrant households more likely than peers to have healthy weights.	Focused on fathers from traditional family structures.
Schmeer (2009). Mexico.	Secondary data analysis. Period (1998, n= 14,810; 1999, n=12,447; 2000, n= 8,848).	Psychological theories regarding father absence.	0-5 years	Father outmigration.	Infant from migrant households more likely than counterparts to be ill.	Focused only on men from nuclear households.
Smeekens, Stroebe, & Abakoumkin (2012). Philippines.	Comparative study. Youth with migrant parents (n=205) and control group (n=97)	Cognitive stress theory.	13 – 18 years	Mother outmigration.	Children experienced poorer health than their counterparts.	Data collection methods might not have been culturally relevant.

Internal migration perspective. The studies concerning health outcomes, in the case of internal migration, were largely conducted in China and the guiding theories were derived from sociology, economics and psychology (see Table 2.5). Similar to the studies on international migration, these investigations mainly utilized data collection methods that aligned with quantitative designs. Accordingly, in a cross-sectional study of 13 to 16 year olds (n=2986), researchers evaluated the association between health behaviours and parental migration, and found that adolescent males of migrant parents tended to skip breakfast, avoid physical activity, and be overweight (Gao et al., 2010). The study did not investigate how the relationship between adolescent males and their migrant father influenced the observed outcomes.

In another investigation of children ages 2 to 12 (n=982) drawn from the China Health and Nutrition Survey, the older cohort (ages 7-12), demonstrated an increased likelihood to be underweight whereas the younger children (ages 2-6), seemed more likely to be overweight (de Brauw & Mu, 2011). The authors noted that these findings were related to various meal preparation habits of grandparent caregivers. The investigators also noted that the data collection methods were not designed expressly to adequately capture the issues related to migration.

Outside of China, Kiros and White (2004) considered the effects on infants when mothers engaged in rural to rural migration. In this investigation which relied on analysis of data from the 1997 Community and Family Survey, children aged 12 to 59 months (n=1614) of Ethiopian migrant mothers were less likely to be immunized than their counterparts of non-migrant mothers. No specific analysis for males was provided.

Generally speaking, the investigations on physical health were largely comprised of large scale secondary data analysis. These studies were conducted outside the Caribbean and guided by economic, psychological and sociological theories. These studies suggested that improved

health was not always an outcome from the increased funds available from remittances but the investigations were unable to provide specific information regarding factors influencing the outcomes for adolescent boys with migrant fathers. In studies collecting primary data, the methods were qualitative but did not involve participatory or action components. In some cases, researchers focused on very young children and therefore could not ascertain the long-term effects or impact for older age groups. Additionally, the studies only considered fathers from traditional family structures such as intact, divorced, or separated families

Table 2.5

Physical Health – Internal Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender Specific Response	Outcomes for Left-behind children	Critique
de Brauw & Mu (2011). China	Secondary data analysis. (n=982).	Economic theory of labour migration.	2 to 12 years The older cohort (ages 7-12) showed an increased tendency to be underweight; The younger children (ages 2-6) seemed more likely to be overweight.	General consideration of parental migration.	Health outcomes varied according to children's age.	The data collection methods were not designed to adequately capture the issues related to migration.
Gao et al. (2010). China	Cross-sectional study. (n=2986).	General reference to psychological theories of parent-child separation.	13 to 16 years	General consideration of parental migration. Adolescent males of migrant parents tended to skip breakfast, avoid physical activity, and be overweight.	The health status of adolescents varied according to gender.	Did not highlight associations between adolescent males and father outmigration; Did not compare younger and older adolescent boys.
Kiros and White (2004). Ethiopia	Secondary data analysis. (n=1614).	Cultural transmission theory.	12 to 59 months	Mother outmigration.	Children in migrant households were less likely to be immunized.	No specific analysis regarding males.

Psychological Well-being

The literature has described psychological well-being as issues related to cognitive development, negative emotional development as well as symptoms of psychiatric disorders such as internalizing and externalizing behaviours and substance use. The researchers highlighted psychological theories associated with attachment and family disruption and the results of the investigations were inconclusive (see Table 2.6 to Table 2.8).

International migration perspective. A single Mexican study, used representations of 'the family' in stories of drawings of children aged 6-13 (n=29), and found that parental migration could negatively affect the emotional well-being of this age group as demonstrated by expressions of anger, sadness, and abandonment (Polanco-Hernández, 2009). However, the feelings were more pronounced in cases of mother outmigration when compared to father outmigration. Additionally, most of the children's drawings suggested that in spite of the father's absence and associated emotional outcomes, individuals were close to their father and saw him as an important family member. Specific representations of male children were not identified.

Likewise, caregiver reports for children under 12 in Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam found emotional difficulties and conduct disorder for Indonesian and Thai children of migrant fathers, respectively (Graham & Jordan, 2011). In these countries, young children and girls seemed at increased risk for displaying conduct problems and girls were more likely than boys to experience emotional challenges. For both countries, the mothers were the primary caregivers and children of migrant parents were compared to children residing with both parents. On the other hand, Filipino children did not seem to be at increased risk for any of the disorders

displayed by their counterparts in Indonesia and Thailand. However it was not possible to ascertain the applicability of this finding to adolescent youth.

Additionally, two mixed method studies in the Philippines that considered overall well-being demonstrated that children of migrant mothers could experience higher levels of anxiety, loneliness and anger (Asis, 2006; Battistella & Conaco, 1998). For example, Battistella and Conaco (1998) compared the responses on interviews with children ages 9 to 15 (n=905) in migrant households with that of their peers whose parent never migrated. Alongside this, the researchers evaluated the themes from focus group discussions with left-behind parents, caregivers and teachers. The findings pointed to a greater likelihood of negative outcomes in the case of mother outmigration but favourable outcomes in the case of a father's migration. In relation to this, the authors explained the differences as being associated with a mother's continued support in the household when the father migrated as well as the support received from extended family. This study focused exclusively on how females functioned as substitute parents in the extended family but the nature of this support was not described in detail.

Also, in a mixed method approach, Asis (2006) conducted a survey with adolescents aged 10 to12 (n=1448) and focus group discussions with caregivers, adolescents, and key community persons. The author observed that some children of migrant parents seemed more likely to be angry, confused, and unhappy than their peers in non-migrant families. The qualitative component of this study did not engage the adolescents in participatory or action components

Table 2.6

Psychological Well-Being - International Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender Specific Response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Asis (2006). Philippines	Mixed methods study. Survey of children (n=1448); focus groups with children (n=11), caregivers (n=8), community works (n=4).	Psychological theory regarding parent-child separation.	10-12 years	Mother and father outmigration.	Children of migrant parents seemed to enjoy better psychological well-being than their peers.	Despite the use of qualitative features the approach did not engage the adolescents in a participatory or action component.
Battistella & Conaco (1998). Philippines	Mixed methods study. Survey with children with migrant parents (n=508) and control group (n=201); focus groups with parents, caregivers and teachers.	Psychological theories regarding parent-child separation.	9 – 15 years	Mother and father outmigration. Negative outcomes in the case of mother outmigration; favourable outcomes in the case of a father's migration.	Outcomes were influenced by gender of migrating parent.	Study focused only on the females in the extended family functioning as substitute parents and the investigation failed to clearly describe such support.
Graham & Jordan (2011). Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand	Cross sectional study. (Indonesia n=961; Philippines n=958; Thailand n=995; Vietnam n=962)	Psychological theory regarding parent-child separation.	3-11 years	Mother and father outmigration. Emotional disorder and conduct disorder for Indonesian and Thai children of migrant fathers, respectively.	Psychological well-being varied according to country.	Difficult to ascertain how these results compare for adolescent males in relation to their father's departure.
Polanco-Hernández (2009). Mexico	Analysis of children's drawings. (n=29).	Psychological theories of parent-child separation.	6-13 years	Mother and father outmigration.	Parental migration negatively affected children's emotional well-being.	The voices of males were not emphasized in this study

Internal migration perspective. A few studies conducted in China examined children's psychological health in terms of substance abuse, emotional well-being and behavioural difficulties using quantitative methods (see Table 2.7). To demonstrate, Gao et al. (2010) found that Chinese youth in migrant households were more inclined than their peers to smoke tobacco and the girls had a higher likelihood of engaging in binge drinking. However the study failed to identify how the outcomes were related to gender of the outmigrating parent.

Additionally, children left behind in rural China reported more feelings of loneliness and were at risk for developing symptoms of depression and anxiety which were particularly pronounced for young children separated from their mothers (He et al., 2012; Jia & Tian, 2010; Liu et al., 2009; Tao, Guan, Zhao, & Fan, 2013). For example, in a study that compared the depression inventory scores of left-behind school children (ages, 8-14; n=875) with that of a control group of students residing with both parents; the left-behind group seemed more likely than their counterparts to be depressed (He et al., 2012). Individual, familial, and environmental factors which could have influenced the results, were not examined.

Similarly, Jia and Tian (2010) found higher rates of loneliness in a cross sectional community sample of children ages 8-14 (n=324) of migrant households compared to peers residing with both parents, and the findings were more significant for left-behind children who had poor relationships with their parents. No specific analysis was conducted with respect to the influence of parental or child gender.

Likewise, children ages 10-17 (n=592) from three areas in rural China were administered questionnaires regarding anxiety, depression, and the age of separation from parents (Liu et al., 2009). The results suggested that children separated from fathers of high socioeconomic backgrounds were less likely to be depressed that children separated from both parents. Also,

Fan, Su, Gill and Birmaher (2010) found that 12 year olds (n=1274), who were left behind at ages nine or younger were more likely than their peers who were not left behind by parents to experience emotional and behavioural problems which were higher for boys than girls. These outcomes were especially evident when children received minimal support from teachers and resided with caregivers who were non-relatives, young, poor and uneducated.

On the other hand, one study (Tao et al., 2013) compared left-behind preschool children (n=750) of migrant parents with controls (n=100) in rural China, and found that left- behind children were not at any higher risk for mental health problems than their counterparts who resided with parents. However, the researchers noted that specific subpopulations such as young left-behind males from poor families with little social support and poor caregiving practices, experienced poorer mental health than other children. Nevertheless, the study focused on areas in rural China that were economically underdeveloped and targeted families of low socioeconomic status. Adolescent children specifically were not subjected to investigation.

Only one study examined the impact of migration on the cognitive development of children. In relation to this, Macours and Vakis (2010) examined the effects for Nicaraguan preschool children who were denied the direct parental care of mothers engaged in seasonal migration. Under these circumstances, the increased income from mothers positively impacted the cognitive development of preschool children through the provision of additional economic resources for children's needs. Though, the authors did not report gender-specific outcomes.

Table 2.7

Psychological Well-Being - Internal Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Fan, Su, Gill & Birmaher (2010). China	Cross sectional survey. Left-behind children (n=1274); caregivers also completed questionnaires.	Psychological theories on parent-child separation.	12 years. Children at ages nine or younger were more likely to experience negative emotional outcomes.	General consideration of parental migration. Boys experienced more emotional and behavioural problems than girls.	Outcomes varied according to children's age and gender.	No specific association of males experience to father migration.
Gao et al. (2010). China	Cross-sectional study (n=2986).	Psychological theories of parent-child separation.	13 to 16 years	General consideration of parental migration. Girls had a higher likelihood of engaging in binge drinking.	Youth in migrant households more likely than their peers to experience substance abuse.	Omitted associations between adolescent males and father outmigration.
He et al. (2012). China	Comparative Study. Left- behind children (n=590), children living with both parents and were never left behind (n=285).	Psychological theories regarding causes of depression.	8-14 years	Mother and father outmigration.	Migrant group more likely than their counterparts to be depressed.	Inability to examine individual, familial and environmental factors.
Jia & Tian (2010) China	Comparative study. Left-behind children, n=324, children living with parents n=282.	Psychological theory on parent-child separation.	8-14 years	Mother and father outmigration.	Migrant group more likely than their counterparts to be depressed.	No descriptions regarding how these results specifically related to males and father outmigration.

table continues

Psychological Well-Being - Internal Migration Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Liu, Li, & Ge (2009). China	Cross sectional survey n=592.	Psychological theories regarding parent- child separation.	10 – 17 years	Mother and father outmigration. Children of fathers from high socioeconomic backgrounds were less likely to be depressed.	Outcomes depended on socioeconomic status of migrant fathers.	The study was unable to evaluate the quality of caregiving which would possibly have influenced the outcomes.
Macours &Vakis (2010). Nicaragua	Secondary data analysis. (n=2086).	Economic theories of migration.	0-7 years	Mother migration.	Increased income from mothers favoured children's cognitive development.	Authors did not compare the outcomes for different genders.
Tao, Guan, Zhao, & Fan (2013). China	Comparative Study. Left-behind children, n=650, children, children living with parents, n=100.	Psychological theories on parent-child separation.	3-5 years	General consideration of parental migration. Poorer mental health outcomes for young left-behind males.	Young children of migrant parents were not more likely than older children to experience negative outcomes.	Young children, unable to evaluate effects at adolescence.

The Caribbean perspective. Comparative analysis and surveys in Jamaica, and a mixed-methods approach in Trinidad demonstrated similar results regarding psychological challenges for adolescent children of migrating parents (see Table 2.8). Thus, for both younger and older adolescents, there was a significant relationship between children's reaction to their parents' migration and psychological difficulties (Elliot-Hart et al., 2006; Jones, Sogren, & Sharpe, 2004; Pottinger, 2005). For instance, one study noted two types of parental migration (rural-urban and international), that existed in Jamaica and considered the relationship between youths' depression, drug use, and parental separation (Elliot-Hart et al., 2006). In this case, investigators conducted a survey with rural high school students (mean age-15.7 years; n=422), and found that female youth of migrant parents were more likely than their male counterparts to be depressed but there was no relation between parental migration and drug use. However, the researchers' identification of the different types of migration did not extend to evaluating how these categories of migration were associated with individuals' experiences. Additionally, there was no specific analysis regarding the gender of the migrating parent.

Similarly, using a mixed method approach a study conducted in Trinidad compared the depression scores of a clinical sample of children (ages 13-14; n=74; 39 boys and 35 girls) of migrant parents, with that of a matched control group (Jones et al., 2004). The researchers also conducted in depth interviews with children from the clinical sample who were depressed (n=24) and their caregivers. The findings pointed to higher levels of depression for the children of migrant parents and these youngsters were more likely than the control group to experience feelings of anger, rejection, abandonment, and loneliness. Additionally, children whose mothers had migrated and who were also not in contact with their father, directed feelings of rejection towards the mother and fantasized about and mourned their father. Also, the girls were more

prone to problems with mood whereas the boys tended to have difficulties with interpersonal relationships. Nevertheless, these results should be interpreted with caution because the outcomes were not based on a community sample.

Besides this, Pottinger (2005) compared outcomes for inner city children (ages 9-10; n=27) whose parents had migrated (either internationally or to another Caribbean island), with a control group who had never been subjected to lengthy separation from their parents. In this case, children in the migrant group seemed more prone to suicidal ideation, anger, and loneliness. No results regarding gender specific outcomes associated with different types of migration were provided.

Regarding behavioural problems, Crawford-Brown (1997) analyzed factors related to adolescent conduct disorder among juvenile delinquent boys (n=69) in Jamaica compared with a control group (n=55) of community-residing youth. Youth with absent mothers, little or no contact with mothers, or who had changes in their parenting arrangements, showed a higher probability of behavioural problems. In this study, migration was the largest contributing factor for a mother's absence. However, the author noted that issues associated with parental migration should be considered alongside factors of care giving arrangements, and relationship between the two parents.

Besides this, group work, case studies, explorative investigations and quantitative research retrieved information from immigrant Caribbean youth regarding their experience prior to immigration (see Table 2.8). The results of these studies pointed to emotional and psychological challenges (Smith, Lalonde, & Johnson, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, Torodova, & Louie 2002), some cases of physical and sexual abuse (Hine-St-Hilaire, 2008), and issues related to attachment (Adams, 2000). For instance, analysis of data from a convenience sample of

Canadian immigrant youth (n=12; 10 females and 2 males), suggested that these young people had increased tendencies for emotional problems as a result of the parental separation (Smith et al., 2004). Similarly, a case study conducted with a nine year old who reunited with his parents in the USA indicated emotional difficulties derived from poor parent-child attachment (Adams, 2000). Additionally, immigrant youth in an explorative study conducted in the USA described stories of child abuse as well as feelings of being rejected and abandoned (Hine-St-Hilaire, 2008). These investigations with immigrant populations were based on retrospective data from children and adults who could suffer from recall biases (Hassan, 2005).

For the most part, the literature on psychological well-being highlighted attachment theory and psychological theories concerning parent-child separation to explain outcomes for children of migrant parents. Most of the studies relied on quantitative measures to understand children's issues. The few studies which employed qualitative approaches did not engage youth as problem-solvers in participatory research. Additionally, the investigations failed to explore factors related to father-son dynamics specifically of the migration phenomenon. Besides this, the Caribbean research provided limited information for older adolescent boys and data for this age group was largely derived from stories of immigrant youth. In the sole study of Trinidad and Tobago, the study used a clinical sample and youth from Tobago were not included.

Table 2.8

Psychological Well-Being – The Caribbean Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Adams (2000). Immigrant child in USA.	Case study	Attachment theory	8 years	Mother and father outmigration. Male with problems of loss and attachment.	Child experienced poor emotional outcomes.	Retrospective study
Crawford-Brown (1997).	Comparative Study: juvenile delinquent boys (n=69) in Jamaica with a control group (n=55).	Attachment theory.	Mean age	Mother outmigration. Adolescent boys of migrant mothers tended to be at risk for problem behaviours.	Male youth of migrant mothers tended to be at risk for problem behaviours.	Highlighted only issues related to at-risk youth.
Elliot-Hart, Avery, & Rehner (2006). Jamaica	Comparative Study (n=422)	Attachment theory	Mean age – 15.7 years	General consideration of parental migration. Female youth of migrant parents tended to be depressed.	Outcomes depended on the gender the youth's gender.	No evaluation regarding the types of migration or the gender of the migrating parent.
Hine-St.Hilaire (2008). Immigrant youth in USA	Explorative study: (n=12; 10 females and 2 males).	Attachment theory.	12- 21 years	Mother outmigration. Gender issues highlighted in terms of related to reunification	Youth of migrant parents were at risk for emotional problems and child abuse.	Retrospective study

table continues

Psychological Well-Being – Caribbean Perspective

Author(s) and place of study	Methodology	Theoretical approach	Children's age and age specific response	Gender specific response	Outcomes for left-behind children	Critique
Jones, Sogren, & Sharpe (2004). Trinidad	Mixed Methods Study (n=74) using a clinical sample and a control group; in depth interviews with children (n=24) and caregivers	Attachment theory.	13-14 years	General consideration of parental migration. Girls were prone to problems with mood. Boys tended to have difficulties with interpersonal relationships.	Generally children in migrant household had increased likelihood of poor emotional and behavioural outcomes.	Outcomes only considered youth within a clinical setting.
Pottinger (2005). Jamaica	Comparative Study: Children whose parents who had migrated (n= 27) with a control group (n=27).	Attachment theory	9-10years	General consideration of parental migration.	Generally children in migrant household had increased likelihood of poor emotional outcomes.	Preadolescents from an impoverished area and did not identify specific gender outcomes.
Smith, Lalonde, & Johnson (2004). Immigrant Youth in Canada	Convenience sample: (n=48; 20 men and 28 women) .	Attachment theory	18 – 34 years	General consideration of parental migration. Gender issues highlighted in terms of reunification	Youth of migrant parents were at risk for emotional problems.	Retrospective study
Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, and Louie (2002). Immigrant youth in USA.	Mixed Methods Study. Student interviews (n=385); in depth cases studies with youth and their parents (n=80); semi-structures youth interviews (n=12).	Attachment theory; Ambiguous loss theory.	9-14 years	Mother and father outmigration. Girls had an increased tendency to be depressed.	Youth of immigrant parents were at risk for emotional problems. Children grieved for their parents.	Retrospective study

Other Issues: Transnational Parenting

Further to children's educational, psychological and physical well-being, another facet of migration concerned the migrant parent's nurturing, and the communication patterns between the migrant parent and the left-behind child. Authors described these features as special responsibilities associated with transnational parenting which has been a unique role played by migrant parents (Parreñas, 2008; Yeoh, Huang, & Lam, 2005). Regarding this, the limited body of available research suggested that migrant fathers were largely contacted for assisting in disciplining children (Graham, et al., 2012; Parreñas, 2008; Yeoh et al., 2005). In terms of communication patterns, the literature was centered on Asia (Graham, et al., 2012; Parreñas, 2008). For instance, one study noted that Filipino migrant fathers from middle income families seemed less likely than migrant mothers to engage in activities associated with transnational communication and children's expectations of contact from migrant parents depended on the degree to which the left-behind family relied on income from oversees (Parreñas, 2008). However, communication with migrant parents varied with the age of the child and was influenced by the child's capacity to initiate contact rather than relying on caregivers' actions (UNICEF, 2008). In another investigation, Graham et al. (2012) focused on mother outmigration in Indonesia and Philippines using structured surveys with households (n=1010), semi-structured interviews with left-behind children (n=32), and caregivers (n=100), and suggested three major findings. Firstly, left-behind children in these territories perceived irregular contact with the migrant parent as abandonment because individuals expected that the availability of modern technology would ensure frequent communication with the migrant parent. Secondly, these expectations concerning parent-child communication seemed to be directed towards the migrant

mother because of the belief that the mother should maintain her nurturing role despite having the additional burden of being the primary source of household income. Thirdly, accessibility to modern technology determined communication patterns. However these studies were based on information collected from young adults, focused on young children, or failed to consider the father-son relationship, specifically.

Other Issues: Resilience

A few studies highlighted the resilient nature of children affected by migration but gender specific factors for the left-behind child were not emphasized (Asis, 2006; Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Jordan & Graham, 2012). Accordingly, these investigations noted children's coping strategies as including adjusting to a new family structure, capitalizing on environmental resources and maximizing personal capabilities. For example Jordan and Graham (2012) examined the well-being of 9 to 11 year olds (n = 1,523) in South East Asia when either parent migrated. In this study, children residing in households of mother outmigration demonstrated resilience by adapting positively to the changes in family structure that occurred when a mother migrated and this improved alongside the lengthy absences of mothers. Longitudinal studies were needed to determine if the positive adjustment observed in this study would persist into adolescence.

In another study, Asis (2006) found that children's socialization regarding values of good relationships and empathy as well as religious connection, positive interaction with peers, support from teachers, and personal problem-solving skills, helped in shaping the coping ability of children of migrant parents. However the study did not specify how these processes operated. Similarly, Battistella and Conaco (1998) found that children's well-being were not necessarily

negatively impacted when parents migrated, especially if it was the father who left. Indeed, the authors suggested that the child's ability to cope was unaffected in the case of migrant fathers because mothers were able to provide the necessary support. In the situation of migrant mothers or when both parents migrated, the extended family functioned in a supportive role. Further, some researchers suggested that the support of extended families and the communities, as well as regular communication from absent parents could be central in helping youth cope effectively with the potential psychological fall outs (Asis, 2006; Parreñas, 2008). However, more details were required regarding the how various types of support could be implemented.

To summarize, the literature regarding parental migration identified experiences of left-behind children as influenced by multiple factors including children's age and gender, gender of migrating parent, extent of communication with migrant parent, relationship with migrant parent, availability of social supports and care-giving arrangements. These studies were primarily comprised of large-scale surveys and guided by theories related to economics, sociology and psychology. Of concern, the majority of available research on this phenomenon failed to adequately explore experiences for adolescent males of migrant fathers.

Alongside this, these factors should be viewed within the context of Caribbean family life when considering the impact for Caribbean left-behind children. Specifically, understanding the phenomenon of Caribbean migration should include examination of issues related to Caribbean masculinity and its influence on Caribbean family life, characteristics of the feminization of Caribbean migration, and the influence of race and class in migration.

Caribbean Family Life

Generally the research on the Caribbean family has not been extensive and has pointed to the need for more current investigations regarding the various factors that define family life in the region. Despite these concerns, a historical view of the limited investigations could facilitate an appreciation of the debate regarding Caribbean families. For the most part, the initial investigations (during the 1950's, 1960s and 1970s), were based on anthropological studies guided by structural functionalist perspectives and focused on the lower class African Caribbean families (Clarke, 1999; Goode, 1960). In relation to this, early researchers highlighted Caribbean family structure and family life as deviating from the expected standard of Western middle class notions of the nuclear household. In particular, studies noted the prevalence of family types that consisted of non-legalized unions (common-law and visiting relationships), which were outside the norms of what constituted a functional family structure (Clarke, 1999; Goode, 1960). These researchers concluded that such family structures resulted in the formation of matrifocal households because of the absence and non-participation of fathers and were characterized by strong bonds between mother and children, deviant children, and poor socialization of boys (Barrow, 1998; Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013). These studies were eventually criticized for being based on value systems and ideals from the West.

Though some researchers agreed with the existence of a 'norm' of family structure to which families aspired, investigators argued that the common-law relationships were an accepted deviation among the lower class because life circumstances prevented individuals from submitting to the norms of the wider society (Rodman, 1966, Schlesinger, 1968). Yet in his review of the early studies, Smith (1963) suggested that investigations should focus on

Caribbean culture and seek to identify specific family structures and the relationships among family members, compare issues for the different ethnic groups, and use qualitative methodologies to elucidate the complexities of Caribbean families.

Regarding addressing issues related to Caribbean culture, researchers recognized the differences that existed within sub-cultures in the Caribbean in studies that considered the Indo-Caribbean population. For example, a few investigations demonstrated that Indo-Caribbean families engaged in higher rates of marriage and lower rates of common-law and visiting relationships than African Caribbean families, and remained committed to the patrilineal extended family (Bell, 1970; Roberts & Braithwaite, 1962; Samuel & Wilson, 2009). In comparison, Roopnarine and Hossain (2013) in their review of fathering practices noted that African Caribbean families, especially those in the lower class, frequently began fatherhood through the visiting relationship where the man and woman would share resources but not a common residence. Furthermore the authors indicated that this relationship could progress to a common law union and possibly marriage if the man's financial status improved. However, the authors noted that for many persons of various age groups within African Caribbean culture, relationships could also begin with marriage but this was influenced by educational training, commitment to religion, and material assets. Nevertheless, most of the Caribbean studies were concentrated either on specific islands or focused on two major ethnic groups, ignoring subcultures such as the indigenous groups and other ethnic groupings in the Caribbean.

The debate on the nature of family life among the different ethnic groups in Caribbean society has continued. In particular, the dialogue has concerned the central role of female-headed households, the relationship between fathers and their children, the factors surrounding

gender relations, and the birth of children outside of marriage (Ariza & De Oliveira, 2001; Dreher & Hudgins, 2010; Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013). These concerns have aligned with discussions regarding the role of female-headed households in facilitating problems of delinquency, school dropout, poverty and teenage pregnancy (Barrow, 2001; McMunn, Nazroo, Marmot, Boreham, & Goodman, 2001).

Further, the father-son separation has appealed to researchers because of the perceptions of how father absence could impact the lives of children, especially male children. In particular, the literature has associated father absence with outcomes of low self-esteem and lowered age of sexual activity (Mendle et al., 2009), increased likelihood of behavioural problems (Juby & Farrington, 2001; Rodney & Mupier, 1999; Well & Rankin, 1991), increased vulnerability towards substance use (Mandara & Murray, 2006), modified educational choices, and reduced commitment to school (Laftman, 2008). However, some Caribbean academics have argued that these studies on father-son separation focused on divorce and the nuclear family, neglecting the role of Caribbean fatherhood in a society that has capitalized on extended families and the wider community (Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002; Gayle, 2002). Indeed, there has been a call for more current investigations that considered the multiple factors that influenced modern Caribbean family life (Barrow, 1998).

Furthermore, research on Caribbean family life has largely highlighted the role of women within the family with less information being available about the male (Brown et al., 1997). Even so, the limited research has described the African Caribbean male as being marginal to the family and society and failing to fulfill essential tasks (Barrow, 1998). However, a closer view

of Caribbean masculinity has indicated that the phenomenon required examination of the misunderstood aspects of men's lives (Anderson, 2009; Brown et al., 1997).

Family and Caribbean Masculinity. A central aspect of the discussions concerning Caribbean masculinity and family life has been the possible negative outcomes for children and families because of common-law and visiting relationships associated with the non-residential father (Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002; Roopnarine, 2013; Samuel & Wilson, 2009). Yet, common-law relationships in the Caribbean and other societies have seemed to share similarities and be functional (Ariza & De Oliveira, 2001). Furthermore, common-law relationships have been likened to that of living-apart-together (LAT) which has received attention in different parts of the world as a viable alternative family structure (Duncan & Phillips, 2010; Duncan, Phillips, Carter, Roseneil, & Stoilova, 2014; Reimondos, Evans & Gray, 2011). However, in the case of visiting relationships which are endemic to the Caribbean, additional concerns have surrounded fathers' activities such as engaging in multiple conjugality, having children with multiple women, and adhering to practices that resulted in the neglect of children (Anderson, 2009; Barker & Verani, 2008; Roopnarine, 2013). Nevertheless, living in the same household has been deemed as an unnecessary pre-requisite for positive parenting as demonstrated in studies concerning non-residential fathers (DeLeire & Kalil, 2002; Marsiglio & Cohan, 2000). In fact, Caribbean men have viewed the commitment to their children as separate to the commitment to their conjugal partners (Barrow, 1998; Chevannes, 1993). Accordingly, it has been possible to demonstrate positive fathering, in the absence of being a good husband (Anderson, 2009; Barker & Verani, 2008; Barrow, 1998). Furthermore, Dreher and Hudgins (2010) found that the non-residential status of a father and multiple conjugality did not automatically equate to poor

developmental outcomes for preschool children. In this study of women (ages 16-42; n=59) from southeast Jamaica, investigators based their findings on field observations conducted over a 5 year period. The authors noted that women deliberately used multiple conjugality as a strategy for ensuring the best outcomes for their children. Though, the findings should be understood as arising from a rural context with mothers from a low socioeconomic background and it was not possible to determine whether these outcomes would extend into later childhood and adolescence.

Ultimately, the perceptions of Caribbean masculinity would be important to ascertain how Caribbean men perceived themselves regarding cultural beliefs about childrearing, understood family processes and the resultant outcomes on child development, comprehended the phenomenon of fathering in the Caribbean, and understood how men functioned as husbands and partners (Barker & Verani, 2008; Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002; Roopnarine, 2013).

Regarding childrearing, Caribbean studies focused on the guiding principles for conceiving and rearing children, disciplinary practices and the associated outcomes, and the degree of parental involvement (Anderson, 2009; Brown & Johnson 2008; Fearon, Copeland, & Saxon, 2013). For example, parental self-reports among Jamaicans suggested that affection between a man and a woman was the stimulus for deciding to have children, and love between a father and his child acted as the guiding factor in raising children (Anderson, 2009).

Alongside this self-report data, researchers used mostly quantitative measures or focus groups with young children to understand the association between parenting styles and the outcomes for Caribbean children. To illustrate, two studies from Jamaica suggested that parents primarily used an authoritarian style and employed harsh discipline and corporal punishment in

child rearing practices (Anderson, 2009; Brown & Johnson 2008). In relation to this, Anderson (2009) conducted surveys across four Jamaican communities with men (n=1142) from different socioeconomic back grounds and found that fathers used harsher punishments with boys than girls because boys were perceived as requiring severe punishment to effectively prepare them for the difficulties of life. Nevertheless, the study did not provide information regarding how this approach to parenting was associated with children of different developmental stages. Also, one study used focus groups with children (ages 7- 12; n=60), and parents (ages 24-45; n=44) from varying family types and found that parents who used harsh discipline failed to show much affection and praise when interacting with their children, and were not significantly involved in meaningful parent-child activities (Brown & Johnson, 2008). Of equal importance, the study did not address how the child's gender might have influenced outcomes and how these findings related to older children.

Other Caribbean research linked the use of harsh punishments to adverse childhood. For instance, one study demonstrated an association between the use of harsh discipline with poor developmental adjustment for Jamaican adolescents (Smith, Springer, & Barrett, 2011). In this case, questionnaires were administered to Kingston high school students (ages 13 -19; n= 563) and the results suggested an increased likelihood for males to use alcohol and for females to be depressed and have suicidal ideation. Similarly, findings from a cross sectional survey of adolescents (ages 12-19) from Bahamas (n=217), St Kitts and Nevis (n=737), St Vincent (n=716) and Jamaica (n=278) indicated that subjection to authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles seemed to increase the likelihood of children experiencing depressive symptoms (Lipps et al., 2012). Additionally, standardized questionnaires measuring parenting styles and creativity were

administered to Jamaican primary school children (mean age 9.4 years; n=66) and parents (n=54). The findings suggested that the creativity of some young children could be stifled when parents chose childrearing based on an authoritarian style (Fearon et al., 2013). The investigators were however concerned that the questionnaires regarding creativity failed to address important cultural factors.

On the other hand, parental self-reports from Guyanese low income Indo Caribbean women (n=139), low to upper middle income mothers (n=180), and fathers (n=180) in Trinidad suggested that fathers and mothers showed a high degree of warmth and moderate levels of behaviour control when parenting their young children (Roopnarine, Wang, Krishnakumar, & Davidson, 2013). Still, this investigation could not ascertain whether this particular parenting approach persisted as the child matured. In contrast, Barbadian mothers seemed more inclined than fathers to show emotions and praise their offspring (Payne & Furnham, 1992). Yet, it was also important to understand how these outcomes could vary with the child's age and gender.

Nonetheless, fathers might be more emotionally involved with their children than previously thought (Anderson, 2009; Barrow, 1998, Yildirim, 2013). To demonstrate, one study of Jamaican men indicated that being available for their children and expressing love towards their offspring were major guiding principles for positive fathering (Anderson, 2009). Moreover, some Caribbean men perceived that the younger generation were more involved and committed to their children than men in past generations (Anderson, 2009; Barrow, 1998; Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013).

Additionally, the literature has suggested that parental involvement in children's lives could be associated with parents' gender and employment status. For instance, Payne and

Furnham (1992) used occupational level as a proxy measure of social class and asked African Caribbean Barbadian parents (n=628) to complete reports on child rearing practices. The investigators found that parents in manual occupations (lower social class), showed less involvement and interest in their children compared to parents in non-manual occupations (higher social class). In particular, parents in non-manual occupations were more likely to participate in physical activities with their children and engage in activities that stimulated intellectual development. However, it was also salient to consider how these findings varied across Caribbean islands and other ethnic groups. Also, some Caribbean mothers and fathers showed similarities in expectations regarding certain childhood behaviours. Thus, in examining socialization behaviours, fathers and mothers seemed to agree on behavioural standards concerning being obedient, mannerly and honest (Brown & Johnson, 2008; Wilson, Wilson, & Caines, 2003). Still, more relevant investigations and methodologies were needed that sought to understand parents' and children's issues including gender, and age specific concerns.

Additionally, future studies should aim to understand the peculiar issues as it affects the different islands and subcultures (Roopnarine 2013; Wilson et al., 2003). Regarding distinctiveness in the islands for example, one study that examined parenting practices across four Caribbean countries (St. Kitts and Nevis, Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Vincent), found that parenting styles differed across the islands and parents used a mix of styles rather than being strictly authoritarian (Lipps et al., 2012). The debate has continued regarding the development of an appropriate conceptualization of 'Caribbean masculinity' and the need for appropriate measurements of the concepts (Anderson, 2012; Lewis & Lamb, 2007).

Notwithstanding the critique of available research, there has been evidence that fathers' contributions have been fairly extensive. The evaluation of this contribution has been deeply embedded within a sociological, economic, and cultural context (Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013). Indeed, Caribbean masculinity has been viewed as an integration of two perceptions; how the male sees himself and how society perceives the male (Barker & Verani, 2008; Lewis & Lamb, 2007). This perception has pointed to the need for a closer examination into the roles of Caribbean men as sons, brothers, and uncles within the extended family (Barrow, 1998). Furthermore, research has indicated African Caribbean men's commitment to family life (Anderson, 2009; Roopnarine, 2013). Yet, this understanding has been somehow muted by employing Western notions of masculinity and fathering. To address this shortcoming, academics have advocated for research methodologies that consider peoples stories, attend to cultural contexts and examine historical frameworks in seeking to understand issues concerning Caribbean family life and Caribbean masculinity (Barrow, 1998). Equally important, future research should be directed at understanding how Caribbean father's participation in parenting is influenced by the age and stage of development of the child, the age of the father, and the gender of the child (Barker & Verani, 2008). Overall, fathering has been described as a complex, multidimensional phenomenon, influenced by many factors including history, social and political changes, culture, and subculture (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998; Lamb, 2000). Furthermore, a comprehensive examination of the phenomena should also consider the various definitions of fathering and father absence (East, Jackson, & O'Brien, 2006). Additional considerations include how Caribbean fathering has been viewed within the context of migration.

Caribbean Family Life, Migration, Race Relations, and Gender. The effects on the family during father outmigration have provided an additional understanding of the role of gender within the Caribbean. In this case, as for other matrifocal societies, the traditional nurturing tasks of the mother and help from the extended family have been expected to provide the required care and support for children (Cortes, 2007; Fog-Olwig, 2012; Parreñas, 2005). In fact, some studies suggested that because of normative gender role expectations, children were more negatively affected by mother outmigration compared to when the father left, and the most important effect of father absence was the impact on children's discipline (Asis, 2006; Bryant, 2005; Cortes, 2015). In the case of the Caribbean, the limited studies focused on mother outmigration and mirrored these findings (Crawford-Brown, 1997; Jones et al., 2004; Pottinger, 2005).

Furthermore, the literature has noted that Caribbean societies, especially among the lower class African Caribbean, have usually engaged in a special system for rearing children called "child shifting" or 'care chain' (Gibbison & Paul, 2006; Fog-Olwig, 2012; Quinlan, 2006). Within this practice, it was not unusual for an individual to spend some part of their childhood living with a member of the extended family or a close friend of the biological parents (Barrow 1996; Evans & Davies 1997; Quinlan, 2005). Child shifting has occurred for various reasons including the inability of the biological parents to financially provide for the child and the process of parental migration, especially the migration of mothers (Fog-Olwig, 2012; Gibbison & Paul, 2006).

Alongside gender, race and class have been important factors within the discussions of Caribbean parental migration (Soto, 1987; Thomas-Hope, 1992). Specifically, in the face of the

economic factors driving Caribbean migration, the lower class, especially the African Caribbean sub-population, comprised most of the migrants during the 1950's to 1970's (Foner, 2008; United Nations Secretariat, 2005). Though the middle class eventually participated in the migration process, a distinguishing feature was the strategy used by the different classes particularly in international migration (Soto, 1987; Thomas-Hope, 1992). In particular, the lower classes commonly engaged in serial migration which meant that the parents migrated first and sent for children and family at a later time (Pottinger, 2005). Alternatively, the middle class usually migrated as a family (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Smith, 1981). Sometimes however, the family and children remained in the home country and depended on remittances from the migrant as a source of income (Pottinger, Gordon-Stair, & Williams-Brown, 2008; Smith et al., 2004). These migration patterns have continued, but today the African Caribbeans have been equaled by the Indo Caribbeans regarding international migration (Foner, 2008; Goulbourne & Solomos, 2004). In the case of internal migration, poor data collection methods have prevented extensive examination of this phenomenon though the literature has noted that the magnitude of internal migration has matched or even surpassed that of international migration (ECLAC, 2005; Skeldon, 2013).

Certainly, the Caribbean migration phenomenon is complex and is defined by various factors including history, colonialism, race relations and sex relations over time. However, these discussions are beyond the scope of the current study. To more fully understand the Caribbean migration phenomenon in relation to the impact on children a consideration of relevant methodologies is necessary.

Methodological Issues

The migration phenomenon has been described as being multidimensional in nature and one aspect has included the need to go beyond adult centric approaches to facilitate understanding children's experiences (Dobson, 2009). In particular, research should pay attention to methodologies, methods, instruments as well as participants when seeking to retrieve data concerning children's issues (Christensen, 2004; Hill, 2006). Ultimately, the thrust has been for placing more emphasis on considering children as active agents who possessed the ability to consider their actions and accompanying consequences (Kellett, 2010; Sinclair, 2004). In relation to this, research has sought to adopt the principles of the UN Convention on Child Rights (UNICEF, 2015) which has emphasized that children should be consulted and their voices heard, in the spirit of ensuring their protection from exploitation and their right to freedom of expression. Thus, researchers should acknowledge the importance of recognizing children's competence and agency, and putting children's views at the centre of research on children's issues. Promoting children's agency however, should be undertaken within a consideration of the interplay of multiple factors such as culture, age, and family type (Huijsmans, 2011).

Generally speaking, the majority of studies on children of migrant parents have been large scale quantitative surveys (McKenzie, 2012). However, there have been concerns about how the validity of these studies could be affected by factors such as definition of concepts, endogeneity and selectivity, and the various indirect ways that socioeconomic factors could affect outcomes (de Brauw & Carletto, 2012; Gibson, McKenzie, & Stillman, 2011; McKenzie

& Sasin, 2007). Nevertheless, the literature has noted the usefulness of quantitative approaches and large scale childhood observations (Barker & Weller, 2003). For example, child friendly questionnaires could be creatively designed using likert scales and open ended questions, and researchers should not underestimate the capabilities of children to respond appropriately to questionnaires (Fargas-Malet, McSherry, Larkin, & Robinson, 2010). Furthermore, despite the inability of questionnaires to highlight children's voices to the same extent as qualitative methods, they have been demonstrated as being very useful alongside large scale surveys in advocating for policy concerning children's issues (Barker & Weller, 2003).

Equally important, child-centered research has focused on the use of qualitative rather than quantitative approaches as it has sought to reduce the use of methodologies and methods that located children as objects of investigation (Barker & Weller, 2003). In particular, the significance of qualitative approaches lay in their capacity to create the space for exploring children's understanding of concepts (Huijsmans, 2011). Accordingly, researchers have utilized appropriate youth-friendly methods which included visual aids such as photography, video-taping, and drawings (Darbyshire, MacDougall, & Schiller, 2005; Leonard, 2006; Morrow, 2001). For example, Polanco-Hernández (2009) used Mexican children's explanations of personal family drawings to identify the psychological impact of parental migration.

For the most part, visual methods have appealed to children and youth because these techniques have been non-intimidating, fun, well-known to children, and aligned well with children's preferred way of communicating (Mitchell, 2006). Additionally, visual methods have seemed to reduce the power imbalances associated with interviews where children

responded to adults' questioning (Punch, 2002; White, Bushin, Carpena-Méndez, & Laoire, 2010). Furthermore, photography and drawings have facilitated expressing ideas, creating stories, and describing experiences without the imposition of adults' views if the participant was given the freedom to describe the context and formulate the story (Barker & Weller, 2003; Kullman, 2012). Nevertheless, the literature has noted the importance of evaluating the effectiveness of these methods in relation to the context, the location of the research, the physical space, and the degree to which these factors facilitated the level of privacy which the child required (Barker & Weller, 2003; Horstman, Aldiss, Richardson, & Gibson, 2008; Punch, 2002). Also, researchers have been cautioned about making broad based assumptions guided by the child-centeredness of drawings and participatory methods because of the power imbalances that could still exist with such methods when adults made decisions based on personal choices (Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008; Mitchell, 2006; Spyrou, 2011).

Other child-centered methods have included the use of diaries, sentence completion activities, children-led interviews, and web-based methods and technology (Cook-Cottone & Beck, 2007; Morrow, 2001; Thackeray & Hunter, 2010). In line with honouring children's agency, some migration studies have sought to incorporate qualitative methods in seeking to highlight children's voices. For instance, Jordan and Graham (2012) included children's reports in seeking to understand resilience among children left behind in Asia. This study demonstrated how children and adults interpreted the effects of migration differently and thus the significance of seeking to understand the phenomenon from the child's perspective was underscored. Similarly, Battistella and Conaco (1998) and Asis (2006) supplemented their survey with focus group discussions, and Jones et al. (2004) conducted in-depth interviews with a selected group of

children in their study. Additional qualitative approaches were evident in the retrospective studies conducted with immigrant adolescents in an effort to ascertain childhood experiences of having a migrant parent (Hine-St-Hilaire, 2008; Smith et al., 2004; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Alongside the use of appropriate methodologies, it is important to attend to theoretical frameworks because these will influence research methodologies and methods.

Theoretical Framework

Castles, 2010 noted that the migration phenomenon, due to its complexity, required the input of many theories. However explanation of migration has largely been undertaken by the sociologists and economists with emphasis placed on the role of remittances (Castles, 2010; de Haas, 2010). The following section provides a synopsis of theories of migration. This will be followed by a critical overview of the theory that explains the psychosocial impact of migration and remittances on children left behind in sending countries. The section concludes with suggesting an approach to fill the gap left by the theories' inability to sufficiently address the issues concerning left-behind children.

Migration Theories

Migration theories have largely focused on the economic issues that fuelled the movement of people, whether this was at the level of government, household, or individual, with some limited discussions of the psychological outcomes of migrants in host countries (de la Garza, 2010). The earliest neo-classical model highlighted issues of internal migration and emphasized that individuals migrated because of the benefits associated with the salaries in the urban areas compared to wages in the rural communities (Harris & Todaro, 1970; Todaro, 1969). Later models extended the discussion to include international migration with explanations

encompassing the migration process in relation to communities and countries (de Haas, 2010; Skeldon, 2006). In relation to this, the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) suggested that migration was motivated by decisions made by households to maximize individual and overall family income, increase resources for investment, and protect against risks associated with income and production (Castles, 2010; de la Garza, 2010). However, the NELM model was criticized for being a-historical, Euro-centric and devoid of explanations that incorporated the political, cultural, social, and institutional factors associated with migration (Arango, 2000).

In opposition to the neo-classical approaches the historical structuralists presented arguments based on the principles of Marxist political economy and world systems theory. Accordingly, these theorists argued that the migration phenomenon resulted from global capitalism that created inequalities and dependencies within and between countries (Arango, 2000; Castles, 2010). However, the historical structuralists have been challenged for their inflexible reasoning, perspective of individuals as helpless beings who were manipulated by macro forces, and denial of the economic progress of some countries that have deliberately participated in and capitalized on global capitalism (de Haas, 2010; Skeldon, 2006). Other criticisms of the Marxist approach included failure to explain the reasons, other than poverty, that motivated persons to migrate, and development that occurred because of return migration and the exchange of knowledge (de Haas, 2010).

Other models of migration focused on push-pull factors, seeking to address the gaps in theory that failed to describe why many people did not migrate, and attempting to explain non-random migration patterns (ECLAC, 2005; Pienkos, 2006). These newer push-pull models have dominated education at the secondary and tertiary levels and generally have suggested that

people migrated because of social, economic, political, geographical, and environmental factors (Hollifield, 2004; King 2012). In essence the push /pull model proposed that there were distinct push factors (negative processes), in specific places of origin that encouraged people to leave, whereas pull factors were the opposite of push factors and attracted people to particular destinations (Portes & Böröcz, 1989). Additionally, the model proposed that push/pull factors were influenced by intervening obstacles such as human capital, individuals' assessment of economic costs and benefits related to migrating, and individuals' capacity to manage the intervening variables (Hollifield, 2004; Portes & Böröcz, 1989). The push/pull model has been described as being similar to the neo-classical theory in purporting that processes at the individual level determined who would migrate (Arango, 2000; de Haas, 2010). A major strength of the push/pull model has been its ability to include aspects from the other migration theories and its capacity to address central issues that motivated people to migrate (Portes & Böröcz, 1989).

Not surprisingly, academics have advocated that the push/pull model possibly provided the best explanation for labour migration (de Haas, 2010), including the migration phenomenon in the Caribbean (Foner, 1998; Thomas-Hope, 1992). Indeed, academics have suggested that migration within and outside the Caribbean has always been influenced by socio-economic development, whether at the regional or global levels (Nurse, 2004). In particular, the literature noted that push/pull factors influenced two early major waves of migration in small island societies within the Caribbean such as Trinidad and Tobago (Thomas-Hope, 1992). These migration waves were associated with circumstances arising after World War 11, and the modified immigration laws of North America and Britain in the 1960s (Foner, 1998). Further,

employment methods and demands for labour in developed countries fuelled the movement of Caribbean people (Nurse, 2004). More specifically, the push factors were the limited resources in sending societies and failing island economies whereas the pull factors concerned improved pay, better career opportunities and chances to financially assist families through remittances (Foner, 1998; Nurse, 2004). For some individuals, the prospect of improved economic well-being and better educational opportunities were the main reasons for migrating (Arnold, 1997; Thomas-Hope, 1992). However, some academics have suggested that push/pull factors have not sufficiently accounted for the complexity of present Caribbean migration experience which might be better understood by integrating explanations for the various theories (Brettell & Hollifield, 2014; Heron, 2001; Thomas-Hope, 1992). Even more, de Haas (2010) has identified limitations of the push/pull model. Firstly, he noted that the model did not clearly separate the analyses concerning the influence of factors which operated at the individual and global levels that influenced migration. Secondly, the author has suggested that the push/pull model failed to account for return migration, and the degree to which migration changed sending and receiving communities. Thirdly, de Haas (2010) emphasized that the push-pull model was more of a descriptive framework rather than a theory.

Generally, newer theoretical approaches have proposed that both internal and international migration entailed factors beyond the level of individuals (Castles, 2004; Khoo, Hugo, & McDonald, 2008). Accordingly, migration has been described as involving several activities to preserve and improve the livelihoods of individuals, households, villages, communities, and ethnic groups (Azam & Gubert, 2006; Gubhaju & De Jong, 2009; Munck, Ulrik Schierup, & Delgado Wise, 2011). In addition, some theories of migration focused on the

psychological impact on individuals in the host countries, highlighting outcomes of social isolation, cultural shock, goal-striving stress, and cultural change (Kuo, 1976).

On the whole, the migration debate has surrounded the extent to which benefits accrued to individuals and countries, and highlighted the economic advantages reaped by poor households in developing countries (Adams & Page, 2005; Adams, 2006). For example, one positive outcome has been the added protection against risks associated with income, production, and harsh economic shocks (de Haas, 2007; de la Garza, 2010; Stark & Bloom, 1985; Yang, 2008). Under these circumstances, remittances supported growth in human capital as more money became available to spend on children's schooling and health care (Acharya & Leon-Gonzalez, 2013; Gupta, Pattillo, & Wagh, 2009; Yang, 2008). Other benefits were associated with increased resources for investment. For example, households seemed to engage in more entrepreneurial activities (Adams & Page 2005; Giuliano & Ruiz-Arranz, 2009; Yang, 2008) and to contribute, to a greater extent, to the collection of deposits and credits managed by the banking sector (Aggarwal, Demirgüç-Kunt, & Pería, 2011). Ultimately, these activities collectively promoted economic growth for many developing countries (Adams & Page, 2005).

Despite the possible benefits, migration has often resulted in sending countries being depleted of labour and capital and some communities and countries have become specialized sources for supplying migrant workforces (de Haas, 2010; Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). For the most part, migration and the impact of remittances have affected countries and communities differently and the economic benefits of remittances have seemed elusive to the poorest communities and countries (de Haas, 2005; Taylor, 1999). In fact, some academics have suggested that it is a myth that remittances have been able to improve the economic well-being

of large numbers of poor people better than any aid programme (de Haas, 2005). Equally important, the development deemed to be associated with remittances has depended on how people used the resources and the strength of economic policies in sending countries (Azam & Gubert, 2006; de Haas, 2010; Bracking & Sachikonye, 2010). For example, Coon (2014) described how the presence or absence of banks in communities in the Mexico determined whether remittances were used for obtaining investments, acquiring assets, or facilitating general consumption needs.

Though the arguments have been centered on migration and development, there have been difficulties in defining the relationship between the two factors (Castles, 2010; de Haas, 2010). Overall, the migration models have been plagued with several shortcomings five of which have concerned ambiguity surrounding the definition of development, faulty evaluations of the positive economic benefits of remittances, failure to consider the context of families and communities, disregard for the selectivity of migration and remittances, and unsuitable surveys that did not fully capture households' trends in the usage of remittances (de Haas, 2010; Taylor, 1999). In addition to this, the psychological consequences have not been adequately addressed for those left behind in the sending countries, (Battistella & Conaco, 1998). Thus, issues of spousal relations, parental roles, and the effect on children's development have been neglected (Battistella & Conaco, 1998; de la Garza, 2010; Malinauskas, 2006). Equally important, migration as a phenomenon has not been perceived as the sole domain of any one discipline and as such understanding the phenomenon would ideally require addressing the complexity of migration at the macro and micro levels (Castles, 2010; Skeldon, 2006).

Explaining the Psychological Outcomes: Attachment Theory

The literature has identified no theories that have focused specifically on parental absence and migration (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). However, in explaining the observed negative impacts for children, researchers referred to the pathologies associated with poor parent-child bonding as posited by attachment theory (Pottinger, 2005; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Concerning this, attachment theory has emphasized the importance of having a sensitive, responsive, consistent caregiver, usually the biological mother, but who could also be other adults within the child's environment (Ainsworth, 1989; Bretherton, 1985; Howes & Spieker, 2008). Under these circumstances, poor caregiving practices could trigger distress in children whose reactions have been associated with the age and stage of development. For instance, in young children, physical separation from the caregiver has been described as resulting in anxiety, fear, anger, and sadness (Bowlby, 1982; Bretherton, 1992; Kobak & Madsen, 2008). In older children, lengthy absence of the caregiver, poor communication, and signals of abandonment or rejection, could compromise the bond between caregiver and child (Bowlby, 1982; Parks & Stevenson-Hinde, 1982). Overall, attachment theory has postulated that the caregiver-child bond would play a significant role in providing emotional support throughout an individual's development, would be especially evident during life transitions (Bowlby, 1982, Bretherton, 1985), and would form the foundation for other affectional bonds (Ainsworth, 1989; Howes & Spieker, 2008).

Adolescence and Attachment. In terms of attachment, the theory has identified peers and parents as playing significant roles during adolescence, the period of life from age 10 to 22 (Rogers, 2013). Additionally, adolescence has been described as involving extensive growth and

development, depending on the interaction of common biological factors, varying in terms of duration, and differing based on culture and socioeconomic circumstances (Ashford, LeCroy, & Lortie, 2006).

Generally, adolescence has been depicted as a period during which peers could exert strong influences particularly regarding involvement in risky behaviours (Gifford-Smith, Dodge, Dishion, & McCord, 2005). Accordingly, negative peer influence has been associated with adolescence substance abuse (Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Schwinn & Schinke, 2014), poor sexual health choices (Beal, Ausiello, & Perrin 2001; La Greca, Prinstein, & Fetter, 2001), school failure, and age and onset of delinquent behaviour (Dishion & Tipsord, 2011). Additionally, males have seemed to be more influenced by peers of the same gender whereas male friends have seemed to exert strong influence on females (Gifford-Smith et al., 2005). However, the influence of peer groups might not be as strong as some have suggested and might depend on the contribution of other factors such as age, gender, and previous involvement in delinquent activity (Bauman & Ennett, 1996; Sumter, Bokhorst, Steinberg, & Westenberg, 2009). Furthermore, peers could be sources of support in helping adolescents make positive behaviour choices (Maxwell, 2002). In spite of the challenges of adolescence, the experience has been deemed as positive for most persons and the support of family, friends, and institutions could assist in helping persons manage the various tasks associated with this period in life (Moretti & Peled, 2004). Despite the thrust towards independence and the increased association with peers, parents have been identified as a continued secure base for youth (Ainsworth 1989; Allen & Land, 2008; Buist, Deković, Meeus, & van Aken, 2004). However, academies have described the attachment during adolescence as differing somewhat from that of earlier

childhood and have suggested the adoption of a more goal-directed nature where the young person would seek to balance meeting personal needs and desires with maintaining a positive relationship with parents (Allen & Land, 2008; Moretti & Peled, 2004). Further, academics have identified the capacity to negotiate such a partnership with parents as being related to the increased cognitive development associated with the particular life stage of adolescence (Ashford et al., 2006; Dubois-Cumtois, Cyr, Pascuzzo, Lessard, & Poulin, 2013). Positive parental attachment in adolescence has been noted to be ultimately important for developing social skills, promoting emotional adjustment (Engels, Finkenauer, Meeus, & Deković, 2001), avoiding involvement in antisocial behaviour (Arbona & Power, 2003) and developing positive self-concept (Deković & Meeus, 1997; Moretti & Peled, 2004)

Critique of Attachment Theory. The literature has outlined the major strengths of attachment theory as its contribution to understanding parenting roles and the provision of a clinical framework for comprehending and addressing various problems of youth (Giordano, 2003; Sroufe, 1986; Thompson & Raikes, 2003). For example, studies demonstrated the role of attachment in explaining issues related to adolescent problems such as suicide (Bostik & Everall, 2006; Wright, Briggs, & Behringer, 2005), depression (Ivarsson, Granqvist, Gillberg, & Broberg, 2010; Roelofs, Rood, & Ruijten, 2011), and personality disorders (Levy, 2005). Also, researchers used the principles of attachment theory to identify policy initiatives and suggest programme designs to effectively target deviant youth (Dishion & Tipsord, 2011; Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011).

Despite its central role in helping to understand relationships between children and parents, researchers have identified limitations in attachment theory. In particular, some have

asserted that the theory has been based on Western culture, has focused on mothers as caregivers, and has tended to promote female-blaming pertaining to poor parent-child relationships (Caplan & Hall-McCorquodale, 1985; Phares & Compas, 1992). However, some have argued that these conclusions neglected attachment theory's recognition of the importance of the father-child bond to the child's development (van IJzendoorn & de Wolff, 1997; Lamb, 2000). Nevertheless, others have suggested that more work was required concerning the father-child relationship, especially in the context of culture, different family structures (Bretherton, 2010; Freeman, Newland, & Coyl, 2010), and the varied processes associated with father-child attachment (Hazen, McFarland, Jacobvitz, & Boyd-Soisson, 2010; Howard, 2010; Paquette & Dumont, 2013).

Furthermore, the literature has identified attachment theory's limitations in explaining youth's behaviour (Giordano, 2003; Thompson & Raikes, 2003). Specifically, attachment theory has adopted an individualistic approach in explaining behaviours, has assumed that there is a 'carry over' attitude across multiple relationships, and has inferred that prosocial behaviour depended on early attachments (Giordano, 2003; Rutter, & Sroufe, 2000; Thompson & Raikes, 2003). In fact, as the literature has noted, going beyond the parent-child bond and considering other factors when evaluating youth's attitudes and actions, was important (Komro, Flay, & Biglan, 2011). Thus, varying factors such as race, class, gender (Komro et al., 2011), family (Barth, Crea, John, Thoburn, & Quinton, 2005; Dubois-Comtois, Moss, Cyr, & Pascuzzo, 2013) school, neighbourhood, and social relationships at different stages of development have been identified as influencing youth's conduct (Komro et al., 2011; Vargas, 2011). Also, there has been no empirical evidence to support the beliefs that intimate relationships lead to good

behaviour and individuals with poor social skills would dislike intimacy or would have difficulty in maintaining such relationships (Giordano, 2003).

Gaps: Attachment Theory and Effects of Migration

In utilizing attachment theory to explain the psychological outcomes of left-behind children, the Caribbean studies emphasized the pivotal role of establishing and sustaining positive relationships within the family and community in helping children to cope effectively (Pottinger, 2005; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). However, the approach suggested a uni-directional mode where adults provided support, and failed to consider other factors in this dynamic process such as the role of youth, mutually influencing relationships, and the function of wider systems (Lerner et al., 2005). Additionally, this framework portrayed youth as passive recipients, instead of active participants, emphasizing needs and deficiencies, rather than strengths and assets (Checkoway et al., 2003).

While the theory of attachment has been useful, researchers would continue to encounter some challenges when seeking to use this theory to examine the effects of migration on youths remaining in sending countries. These challenges would surround attachment theory's failure to provide concrete tools for addressing issues, except within a clinical environment that focused on diagnosis and treatment (Howe, 1987; Payne, 1997). Though recognizing the challenges of adolescence and the role of clinical intervention, the literature has also noted the need to embrace the opportunities in this developmental stage that would position youth as assets, critical thinkers and problem-solvers (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006; Jennings, Parra-Medina, Hilfinger-Messias, & McLoughlin, 2006). Indeed, during adolescence, individuals would require tools that would help them "to learn and develop the capacities to reflect, reason, and to act as social

beings in a social world" (Young, 1999, p.1). Furthermore, difficulties have existed in engaging Caribbean youth in therapy (Gopaul-McNicol, 1998; Pottinger, 2005; Pottinger et al., 2008).

In general, Caribbean academics have advocated for a closer examination and more purposeful interventions regarding the effects of parental migration (Barrow, 2001; Blank, 2007). Moreover, due to the acceptance of migration within Caribbean societies children and youth have appeared insignificant and disenfranchised, as communities have remained unaware of their experiences. For males with problem behaviours, who formed part of this group, further marginalization has occurred with them being perceived as 'troublesome'. This perception could add to the depiction of young Caribbean males as underachievers, deviant, perpetrators of crime, drug users, and models of irresponsible sexual behaviour (Braithwaite, 2011; Halcon et al., 2003; La Rose, 2010; Martens & Anstey, 2007; O'Hene, Ireland, & Blum, 2005). In relation to this, labelling theory has suggested that stereotyping people in this manner could contribute to the development of negative self-perceptions that could be influential in building a deviant character and lifestyle (Becker, 1963; Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989). Further, the literature has noted that youth's acceptance of these socially held views, would cloud young peoples' ability to see themselves as agents of change, instead of problems of society (Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2003; Checkoway et al., 2003). Moreover, adults' support of this view, would result in their failure to engage youth as competent citizens, and thus would facilitate young peoples' exclusion from "decisions and institutions that affect their lives" (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006, p. 1).

An Alternative to Attachment Theory: Empowerment Education

Empowerment education as proposed by Paulo Freire (1970) could address the gap in attachment theory providing the framework for male youth of migrant fathers to develop the tools necessary for critical analysis. To explain, Freire's theory has suggested facilitating a dialogue of problem posing in an effort to promote critical awareness or consciousness raising. The process suggested by Freire could occur because of individuals' capacity to understand the socio-cultural realities regarding their situation and their capability to devise appropriate action to influence their realities positively (Freire, 1970). Specifically, the activity of dialoguing would provide the opportunity for youth to talk about their experiences and give meaning to it (Wilson, Minkler, Dasho, Wallerstein, & Martin, 2008). Further, dialoguing would promote the identification of values, goals, and beliefs, which would help in making conscious decisions concerning behaviour (Banks-Wallace, 1998). Under these circumstances, individuals would understand the interconnectedness between occurrences in the world, and what happened to and with them (Allman, 2010; Mayo, 2004).

Furthermore, dialoguing would allow youth to create the environment that would facilitate sharing experiences, identifying common meanings, and designing collaborative actions (Park, 2001). This activity of problem naming and reflection on experiences would favour the context for action that Freire (1970) also referred to as praxis. In this transaction, the researcher would function as an educator who embraced the value of all knowledge, including the tacit knowledge of learners, and appreciated the power of knowledge unearthed through the dialectical process (Allman, 2010). The process would involve teaching youth how to learn in a way that would allow them to examine their situations critically, which would be important in

making appropriate choices regarding all areas of life (Jennings et al., 2006). The aim of such education would be to generate "critical, creative, and hopeful thinking" (Allman, 2010, p.167). In the end, individuals would begin to problematize their situation and embark on interpreting the world by recognizing the possibilities derived from asking questions of 'why', 'how', why not' and 'what about' (Allman, 2010, p.167). Additionally, the process of critically analyzing issues would facilitate formulating actions which capitalized on possibilities that might exist in what Allman (2010) described as "suppressed or muted form" (p.167).

In a broader sense, Reason (1998) described this way of thinking and viewing the world as addressing the political nature of knowledge and participation. Accordingly, this perspective has recognized youths as competent citizens having not only rights to express themselves but also the capacity to participate in decisions about issues affecting them (Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2003; Larson, Walker, & Pearce, 2005; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). Further, adopting this approach would allow youths to claim their role as important contributors to knowledge building (Checkoway et al., 2003). The literature has described this process as necessary to facilitate youths' understanding themselves, their membership in the community, and the process by which they could bring about social change in matters that concerned them, whether at the level of institution or community (Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2003; Larson et al., 2005).

Furthermore, the literature has described empowerment education as aligning with critical social work theory which has embraced the examination of the personal, social, economic, and political aspects of clients' issues (Allan et al., 2003). Equally important, empowerment education has been seen as resonating with the social work philosophy of

commitment to social justice that aimed to identify appropriate ways to address the needs of marginalized groups (Howe, 1987; Payne, 1997).

From a cultural perspective, the principles of empowerment education could be seen as being in tandem with the youth policy of Trinidad and Tobago and the declaration of the Commonwealth Secretariat. In particular, these policy documents emphasized youth empowerment, participation and inclusion, in understanding and resolving issues concerning youth (National Youth Policy, 2000; Pan Commonwealth Youth Caucus, 2010). However, the adoption of policy documents would not necessarily ensure participation, rather, youths should have the space, opportunity and training to engage in promoting the process (O'Donoghue, Kirshner, & McLaughin, 2002). Despite the potential for individuals to become more critically aware of their world as they mature, the literature has suggested the need for liberating education to stimulate its growth (Freire, 1970; Heron, 1992).

Critique of the Empowerment Approach. Indeed Freire's empowerment education has been useful for highlighting youth's voices and exploring solutions to possible problems. However, academics have debated whether the theory has overrated its learning process (Allman, 2010; Smith, 2002), and neglected cultural factors (Jackson, 1997; Gadotti, 1994; Mayo, 2004). In addition to this, as a member of the family of critical social theories, empowerment theory could also be analyzed within the frame work of these theories.

Critique of Freire. Several authors have suggested that the 'teachable' moments highlighted as significant aspects of Freire's informal education could sabotage learning (Smith, 2002; Street, 1984; Taylor, 1993; Torres, 1993). Also, Smith (2002) proposed that Freire's work on a whole was very similar to the autonomous model and banking system of education which

Freire opposed. On the other hand, Allman (2010) argued for the reinforcing nature of informal education and demonstrated how it could be effectively incorporated with a formal curriculum. Others have pointed to Freire's neglect of factors of gender and race (Jackson, 1997; Gadotti, 1994). Yet, Mayo (2004) challenged these criticisms for selectively neglecting Freire's later works which addressed much of the concerns of his early writings. Further, Mayo's review complemented contemporary authors for recognizing the different contexts and forms in which Freire's popular education has remained useful and for acknowledging Freire's discussions of varying factors including issues of race, gender and class. Certainly, Freire was not perfect, but his work has offered "conceptual tools" that will require further elaboration to deal with the different experiences and problems faced in varying contexts (Mayo, 2004, p. 27).

Another criticism of Freire concerned the concept of 'transformative learning' which underlay his propositions. For Freire, transformative learning occurred as individuals devised actions based on a deep understanding of themselves and a critical evaluation of how societal structures influenced personal oppression and inequality (Dirkx, 1998; Torres, 2004). However, transformative learning could be elusive because of the considerable effort and attention required by both the learner and the teacher, and the transformative process rarely occurred (Dirkx, 1998; Newman, 2012). In addition to this, Newman (2012) identified some specific concerns. Firstly, he proposed that 'transformative learning' was based on false hypotheses regarding how persons managed problems, the manner in which learning occurred in everyday life, and how transformative learning differed from other types of learning. Secondly, Newman noted that personal change has not necessarily occurred because someone said that they have changed and articulating a different perspective on things did not qualify as evidence of actually functioning

in a more powerful role. Newman concluded that the term "good learning" should probably replace the phase "transformative learning" (p. 2).

Critical Social Theories. In addition to the specific hypotheses, the underlying tenets of Freire's theory of empowerment education have resonated with the philosophy of critical social theory (Allan et al., 2003; Payne, 1997). Generally, critical social theories have been commended for addressing issues of social injustice and social inequality at the macro and micro levels (Allan, 2003; Fook, 2002). However, these theories have failed to appreciate evolving changes and conflicts within societies and across countries and have needed to consider the complexities of modern problems (Kellner, 2002; Kennedy, 2006). Equally important, the influence of globalization and the peculiar histories of countries have determined the applicability of critical theories to different contexts (Delanty, 2010). Furthermore, critical approaches have been largely associated with English-speaking North American countries whereas developing countries have favoured a developmental approach, and in Europe, theorists have preferred to focus on social exclusion (Fook, 2002).

In addition to these concerns, Rossiter (2001) suggested that closer attention was necessary at the micro level regarding interactions and contexts. For example, the bureaucratic and authoritarian contexts in which social workers practiced, as well as the types of interactions at the micro levels, might stymie efforts to embrace and apply critical social theories (Healy, 2001a).

Furthermore, the sweeping application of critical theory and its focus on universals have also posed a problem for effectively understanding and managing issues associated with intra and inter group differences of oppressed groups (Allan, 2003; Fook, 2002). In particular, people

and groups have understood and applied constructs differently based on their world experiences (Agger, 1991). Also, constructs such as social justice might have different meanings in different countries and in different practice contexts (Kellner, 2002; Healy, 2001b).

Despite these challenges, some methodologies could generate solutions to these dilemmas by allowing understandings and definitions to be shaped by the context of research (Bradbury & Reason, 2003; Kellner, 2002). For example, approaches such as participatory action research could facilitate this process through questioning conventional methodologies and focusing on critical reflection and collaboration (Bradbury & Reason, 2003). However, research should include creative methods of collecting data, and encourage close collaboration between academics and practitioners, to address the challenges of applying concepts to various complex realities (Rossiter, 2001). Even with these tools researchers should be careful of being influenced by the dictates of policymakers and driven by the need to find urgent solutions for problems, to the detriment of knowledge production and commitment to the values of research (Hammersley, 2003). In sum, critical theories in whatever format, would not automatically apply across contexts and countries. Accordingly, researchers must consider, among others, factors such as history, politics, class, race, gender, and how these influence the theory's applicability (Allan, 2003; Hammersley, 2003; Rossiter, 2001).

Freire's Theory and Youth. Although Freire's theory was initially applied to adult learning, there has been evidence of its pertinence with youth, particularly in terms of youth empowerment (Chinman, 1998; Ribisl et al., 2004; Wilson et al., 2008). For example, youth empowerment was used with elementary and middle school youth helping individuals build problem-solving skills, ultimately reducing the likelihood of youth engaging in risky behaviours

(Wilson et al., 2008). Also, Ribisl et al. (2004) described a participatory action project with high school students that resulted in the school adopting of a 100% tobacco-free policy. Nevertheless, problems have surrounded a clear definition of empowerment and reliable ways of measuring it, and by extension, determining its impact (Narayan, 2005; Pearrow, 2008). Additionally, empowerment would be experienced differently by individuals, groups and communities and would be influenced by factors such as race, class, gender (Jennings et al., 2006). Further, the literature has suggested the need for more research that demonstrated how these different processes would operate in practice, including how to support adults in their role of facilitating youth empowerment (Camino, 2000; Libby, Rosen, & Sedonaen, 2005). Also, adults should be willing to facilitate the slow, demanding activity of critical reflection, and incorporate creative ways to increase youth's engagement (Berge, Mendenhall, & Doherty, 2009; Flicker et al., 2008).

Summary

In the Caribbean, international, intraregional and internal migration has defined the movement of people across borders and around the world (ECLAC, 2005; Hope, 1999). Despite the significance of these processes, only international migration has been explored in a limited body of research regarding the effects on children left behind when parents migrate. Overall, similar to studies conducted outside of the Caribbean region, the Caribbean investigations demonstrated that the psychological, behavioural and educational outcomes were mixed for youth in sending areas. Notwithstanding this, there was need for further enquires to fill the gaps in knowledge regarding the outcomes for children experiencing the various forms of Caribbean migration.

Generally, the studies from outside the Caribbean suggested that when parents migrated, the effects on children in the home country differed according to country and gender of the migrating parent, with outcomes being better in some countries than others (Whitehead & Hashim, 2005). Additionally, a few Asian studies sought to examine factors related to children's resilience and parenting from a distance but more information was required concerning how children incorporated coping strategies. Nonetheless, analysis from the available data should be considered with caution because only a few studies investigated direct impact on children's livelihood and instead investigators relied on inferences from household data (Whitehead & Hashim, 2005).

Though the Caribbean investigations included original research, commonly used methodologies were cross-sectional surveys and comparative studies. Furthermore, studies in this realm sought to investigate gender issues but investigations tended to highlight mother outmigration. Thus the examination of the specific experiences of adolescent males of migrant fathers was lacking. Additionally, none of the available research, either within or outside of the Caribbean region incorporated an action component or highlighted the lived experiences of youth. Further, the migration phenomenon in the Caribbean would be best understood when considered in conjunction with factors of Caribbean masculinity, feminization of migration, race, and class.

Besides this, the theoretical approaches used to explain migration have also been subjected to criticism. As such, the theoretical basis underpinning this body of research focused largely on economic impact and psychological outcomes for migrants within the host country. When the gaze was turned to children of migrant parents, the focus was primarily on

psychological outcomes for left-behind children using attachment theory. Despite the explanatory power of attachment theory in elucidating children's psychopathology, the theory contained challenges that would prevent sufficient examination of a more contextualized and nuanced understanding which could, in turn, be used to address the issues related to adolescent males of migrant fathers. In relation to this, Freire's empowerment education could be a viable option as it encouraged adolescents to think critically about their issues and devise suitable solutions (Allman, 2010). However, Freire's theory should be implemented alongside considering factors of culture, race, age, and gender, and incorporating appropriate research strategies to ensure youth's engagement (Berge et al., 2009; Fook, 2002; Healy, 2001b).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

I conducted the study using participatory action research (PAR). Reason and Bradbury (2001) described PAR as being grounded in the philosophy of social justice. The authors also noted PAR's capacity to link inquiry with learning, critical thinking, and community action. Equally important, PAR has been commended for recognizing the empowering nature of the resilience, integrity, and culture of local people (Greenwood & Levin, 1998). The literature has described these operations as being rooted in PAR's philosophy of adhering to the principles of good qualitative studies in being systematic and rigorous, with rigour in action research being analogous to trustworthiness (Stringer, 2007). The current study sought to uphold these principles.

Action Research and Rigour

Dick (1999) identified the participative, qualitative, and action-oriented nature of action research as sources of rigour. Firstly, he highlighted a basic strength of participation as being its potential to use multiple sources of information to deepen understanding. For this reason, the approach has been likened to triangulation in the sense of increasing the diversity of information through increasing the diversity of informants. Dick (1999) also indicated that the engagement of participants as co-researchers meant that they would become involved as informants, interpreters and research designers. In this capacity, Dick (1999) noted, that researchers and participants would ultimately engage in a dialectic process as discussions occurred among participants, and between participants and researchers. Under these circumstances, the process encouraged the questioning of data and the probing of interpretations that would be conflicting or not strong (Dick, 1999). In adhering to the participative aspect of rigour, this study focused on

youth participation and engaged youth at multiple stages of the research in gathering and analyzing information, ensuring their involvement as co-researchers. Thus, I collaborated with youth in a process that involved mutual learning and sharing where youth's interpretations and analysis of pictures and stories ultimately determined what constituted data, results, and action.

Secondly, Dick (1999) highlighted the benefits associated with using conversational language for identifying and interpreting data, as evidenced in the qualitative nature of action research. Such language, as the author noted, created the capacity for participants to gain access to the data and feel comfortable engaging in its interpretation, alongside questioning the researcher's analysis. In relation to this, my approach of using individuals' narratives as data, involving participants in the analysis of these narratives, and presenting illustrative quotes and captions drawn from the narratives complied with the qualitative nature of action research.

The literature has identified a third characteristic as being the role of critical reflection, a measure of rigour specifically associated with action research (Greenwood & Levin, 1998; Reason & Bradbury, 2001). In this instance, the continuous testing of actions and assumptions would result in increased understanding (Dick, 1999; Fong Chiu, 2006). Finally, with increased understanding, actions and methodology would become more reliable (Dick, 1999). Furthermore, critical reflection could be conceptualized as an integral feature of first, second and third person enquiry (Fong Chiu, 2006; Reason & Bradbury, 2002). In relation to this, Reason and Bradbury (2002) explained first person inquiry as the researcher's reflection of personal attitudes, actions, and motivations, and how these affected the researcher and the social environment, and in turn drove and maintained the inquiry process. Additionally, the authors described second person inquiry as creating the space for highlighting the voices of

groups or individuals who were usually silenced, using language and strategies with which they were comfortable, and for which researchers could act as supporters and teachers within the process.

These forms of enquiry, (first and second person), could also be deemed as descriptions of the multidimensional nature of critical reflection as demonstrated through the processes of experiential, presentational, and practical reflection (Fong Chiu, 2006). Furthermore, the literature explained that experiential enquiry and reflection happened when people considered their lived experience, that is, personal responses to interactions with people and things or even places (Fong Chiu, 2006; Reason & Bradbury, 2002). To Illustrate, first person experiential learning occurred as I examined how I dealt with challenges associated with the research process as well as the personal motivations for becoming involved in this study. In the second person, experiential reflection occurred, at the beginning of the study when the research team invited participants to reflect on their experience as young men with migrant fathers, interacting with different aspects of their environment. Additional second person reflection was possible later in the study as I invited co-facilitators and participants to share their experiences of the research process.

Fong Chiu (2006) pinpointed another dimension of critical reflection, namely, presentational reflection. In particular, the author noted that presentational reflection respected the creativity of other people and used symbolic and aesthetic ways to facilitate the expression of knowledge. In relation to this, second person presentational reflection occurred through the photographs that participants used to describe their experiences. This awareness-raising activity continued through guided dialogue as participants critically examined pictures and stories and

identified connections between personal and group experiences as well as how policies and practices of the society influenced their experiences as youth of migrant fathers.

Finally, practical reflection could be demonstrated through critical thinking that aimed to generate practical knowledge as people examined processes and actions and learned from one another (Fong Chiu, 2006; Reason & Bradbury, 2002). Thus, in the second person, practical reflection occurred as the group met for debriefing sessions to evaluate and reflect on specific actions regarding presenting the results and the accompanying feedback from audience members, and considering appropriate follow-up actions. Alongside the specific reflective actions that associated with rigour, the literature has also emphasized trustworthiness as being central to action research (Dick, 1999; Stringer, 2007).

Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) identified credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability as features of rigour and trustworthiness. Creswell (2007) addressed these concepts under the rubric of validation strategies and noted that it was sufficient for at least two strategies to be present in qualitative research. Further, Stringer (2007) suggested that depending on the action research study, researchers would determine which strategies were most relevant. For the purpose of this study, I employed the following validation strategies: rich, thick, descriptions; member checking; prolonged engagement; and clarification of researcher bias, each of which are described below.

Rich, Thick, Descriptions

Creswell (2007) indicated that rich, thick, descriptions enabled readers to decide on issues of transferability However, Stringer (2007) suggested that, in action research,

transferability was not mandated because of the specificity of population and context, but it did not mean that some aspect of it might not be relevant elsewhere. Furthermore, Reason and Bradbury (2001) noted that detailed explanation of processes would determine the level of trust that persons would ascribe to research outcomes regarding applicability to their circumstances. In this study therefore, I provided sufficient details of the fieldwork's context to allow the reader to decide whether there was enough similarity between the study and another situation and whether the study's findings could be applied to that external situation. Besides rich, thick, descriptions, the literature also highlighted another aspect of trustworthiness, that is, member checking (Creswell, 2007; Stringer, 2007).

Member Checking

Lincoln and Guba (1985) described member checking as an assessment of whether the research findings accurately reflected the interpretations drawn from the participants' original data. The authors further noted the salience of member checking for establishing credibility. To promote member-checking, in addition to assisting with data analysis, participants reviewed the summary of the data analysis, evaluated the results of the study, and made appropriate changes where the data did not truly reflect their experiences. Alongside member checking, the study also adhered to the process of prolonged engagement.

Prolonged Engagement

Lincoln and Guba (1985) explained that prolonged engagement entailed building participants' trust, and monitoring the process for biases introduced by researcher and participants because mistrust and biases could lead to misinformation. Creswell (2007) further noted that the process also involved learning the culture. The literature has provided a broad

definition of culture that has incorporated several characteristics beyond the exclusive domain of race and ethnicity, and thus included personal identity factors such as religion, gender, sexual orientation, ability, age, and socioeconomic status (Collins & Arthur, 2010; Driedger, 1975). As a Tobagonian conducting research in my culture, learning the general culture of the island was unnecessary and this facilitated the participants accepting me into their space.

Nevertheless, I differed from my participants in being a woman, an outsider to 'youth culture' and an alien to the youth-perspective of parent outmigration. These various factors positioned me as an 'insider-outsider' researcher and thus required building relationships with participants through sharing knowledge, and listening to participants to understand their stories. However, Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009) noted that the process of participatory research facilitated the conducting of good investigations without needing to struggle with fitting into any specific sphere of the dichotomy of 'insider-outsider' researcher. In addition to prolonged engagement, the literature considered trustworthiness as also including the researcher's clarification of biases (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stringer, 2007).

Clarifying Researcher Bias

Creswell (2007) noted that it was important to clarify researcher bias at the inception of the study and this involved disclosing past experiences, biases, and prejudices that might influence the researcher's interpretations and approach to the study. The author explained that this helped the reader to understand the researcher's position and appreciate how these affected the investigation. In relation to this, my motivations about how I prepared for this PAR study as well as my assumptions reflect my submission to this process of transparency and examination of my own biases.

Preparing for PAR. Stringer (2007) emphasized the need for PAR researchers to develop good relationships with the community because PAR involved forming partnerships and establishing trusting environments. My preparation for PAR began with my first job working in the community as a regional coordinator, and later as an employee with the government in the Divisions of Health, Social Services, and Education. In each of these positions, I networked with the other government departments in order to effectively manage the various social problems. I also functioned as a resource person for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and faith based organizations (FBOs), and I have open invitations from youth clubs to work along with them. The relationships I built with these organizations were maintained and supported the aims of the current project.

In addition to relationship building, as a qualitative researcher, my role aligned to the literature's description of 'researcher as research instrument' (Patton, 2002, p.109). Therefore, my personality would influence how I functioned and how I approached all aspects of life. In particular, I recall being oriented to action from early in my social work career when I challenged the status quo by establishing two support groups to meet the needs of persons diagnosed with cancer and HIV/AIDS. The groups have continued to exist and have been able to create links with national and international organizations. In addition to these accomplishments, I have always struggled with how to be engaged in work that influenced the communities in Tobago, whose close-knit characteristic could act as leverage in addressing social issues. Since exposure to the literature in my doctoral programme, I believe that the principles of genuine participation and true action (McTaggart, 1997), can accomplish this. In addition, some specific experiences, described below, contributed to my interest in research.

As a social work practitioner on the island of Tobago for the last 20 years, I became concerned about the growing problems with youth, especially young men. In 2004, while employed as a school social worker, I was frustrated with the implementation of programmes that did not appear to be helpful. Moreover, I was concerned that most of my referrals for behavioural, emotional or school problems were males, whether from the primary or secondary schools. The common denominator for these youths seemed to be the lack of meaningful roles played by the father in their lives. Among the referrals, were a substantial proportion of adolescent males with behavioural problems, all of whom were struggling to cope with the absence of a father who had migrated. Furthermore, I was disturbed when the young men indicated how thinking about their absent father influenced their behaviours. At the time of leaving Tobago for my doctoral studies in Canada, I was thinking of setting up a support group for these youth. Indeed, I felt that these youths had something to say that would help them to help each other, and help the professionals better understand their situation. Equally important, I believed that their 'voices' would contrast the disparaging comments that I often heard in the community concerning youths. In addition to these concerns, I was discouraged by the overwhelming social view of hopelessness for males on my island. As a social worker, the mother of two boys, (and a girl), and a parent who experienced migration for education I felt committed to make a meaningful contribution to address the social costs of father outmigration on male youths on my island.

Another aspect of my preparation for PAR concerned my beliefs regarding the strategies researchers ought to use when seeking knowledge about Tobagonians. These beliefs were influenced by my experience of residing in a twin island state (Trinidad and Tobago). To

explain, I was raised on the island (Tobago) that is less developed than its counterpart (Trinidad). Throughout my life, I have been constantly bombarded with information that projects Trinidad as being better than Tobago. Such analyses have extended to the academic literature (Premdass, 1998.1999) which has proposed that Tobago has never been treated as equally as Trinidad in terms of opportunities for citizens and the access to goods and services. Coming out of this experience, I have felt like a minority within an island state and this attitude has influenced my approach to research. Specifically, while I appreciate the paradigms from the West, I believe that peoples' voices and culture should be represented in research. Even more, I believe that investigators should consider relevant theoretical approaches and be cognizant of the Tobagonian culture when seeking information about issues related to the island of Tobago. This life experience has undoubtedly affected my view of the marginalized and the process of bringing about change. Initially, I was not sure how to make sense of these beliefs, until exploring appropriate methodologies for my doctoral study, I was exposed to information about PAR. Indeed, the principles of participatory action research align with my aspiration to conduct research that is more meaningful that simply collecting and analyzing data.

Beyond preparing for PAR, I subscribed to the principle of qualitative research that required investigators become cognizant of their status regarding race, gender, class and other factors and how such factors could impact the research process (Herr & Anderson, 2005). In my case, I entered the PAR process from several positions of privilege. Firstly, my qualifications as a doctoral student who was enrolled in a North American University could not be delinked from the revered status that Caribbean societies has tended to attach to 'things' associated with North America. Secondly, I appreciated the valued position of pursuing doctoral studies in a small

society where only a few persons have attained such a status, and certainly no social workers. Thirdly, I understood that my age and stage of development would define the relationship between youth and myself. Fourthly, I could not deny that my position of social worker within a close knit Tobagonian culture resulted in the establishment of privileged relationships within the society. Furthermore, at the outset, the youth reinforced my sense of mothering possibly because I am a mother of young males. Ultimately, I entered the project trying to balance these privileges with that of adopting the role of learner.

Unmistakably, my positions of privilege helped to define my assumptions at the beginning of the project. However, assumptions and self-definitions formed part of the PAR journey in which researchers would usually encounter various signposts that would help in the process of questioning, making necessary linkages, and understanding themselves better (Willms, 1997). In the end, the PAR journey highlighted experiences, principles and knowledge-generation within categories that I frame as 'lessons as an insider', 'transformations', and 'commitment'. I reflect on these categories against the background of my assumptions at the beginning of the research. I also address issues of positionality (Herr & Anderson, 2005).

Lessons as an insider. I approached the research as an insider/outsider. As an insider, especially in terms of my knowledge regarding negotiating the various bureaucratic systems, I assumed that I should be the one to contact the policymakers whom the participants identified. In retrospect, it is possible that the young men may have been equally poised to reach policymakers because of the impending government elections and the utterances of politicians regarding their interest in youth issues. My approach was reflective of the dilemma of balancing power when adults partner with youth in conducting research (Camino, 2000, 2005). In light of

the absence of some policymakers at the public forum, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which my position as educator and expert worked in favour of the approach that I adopted. In addition to my lesson as an insider, I also experienced the transforming nature of PAR.

Transformations. Smith, Willms, and Johnson (1997) highlighted PAR as generating various types of transformations for researchers. Specifically, the authors noted that in PAR, the relationship between researcher and participants was dynamic, with such intimate involvement stimulating personal transformations which was evident, not only in the eventual actions taken by participants, but also in the attitude adjustments of the researchers (Smith, Willms, & Johnson, 1997). In the case of the current research, a transformation in my personal attitude occurred against the background of my assumptions as an outsider to youth culture. To illustrate, despite being an outsider to youth culture, I believed that my skills as a seasoned social worker, a mother, as well as the assistance of two male facilitators, would help to manage the group process. This assumption was subsequently challenged as I confronted group behaviours that I deemed to reflect participants of a much younger age group and for which I was not totally prepared. Even more, I was surprised and a bit disappointed when the co-facilitators were unable to help in regulating the group's behaviour as I expected. I needed to fight my annoyance and resist the temptation to punish the participants and instead find strategies to address the behaviours without stifling group dialogue. Indeed, researchers often need to be careful not to mislabel youth behaviours when working with focus groups and instead seek to understand the individuals behind the behaviour (Doel, 2005). Though none of the participants seemed resentful concerning my approach to keep them focused, there were certainly personal internal struggles to address the issues.

Another event that impacted my attitude concerned the young men's views on discussing certain topics. For instance, I assumed that my efforts to reduce the barriers between my-self and participants would facilitate free conversation. Specifically, my prior experience working with youth taught me that it was important to be open when discussing topics such as sexuality. So I was astonished when the young men were reluctant to talk about issues related to sexuality in my presence, and voiced concern about my gender being a possible deterrent to discussions of this nature. In the end, I needed to adjust my attitude as I appreciated certain behaviours and views of youth. Thus my understanding deepened regarding male youth as I observed how the 'rowdy' behaviour bonded the group, and my knowledge increased regarding some distinct issues (such as male to male interactions) that were important for participants. Ultimately, the dynamic relationship between me and the participants resulted in a process of learning aspects of youth culture and negotiating access to that culture, a process which occurred in varying degrees throughout the research. Also, the group dialogue reinforced the fact that, in PAR, interactions could result in exposing vulnerabilities and acquiring insight into the practical operations of this type of qualitative inquiry (Smith et al., 1997). In the end, I believe my approach fostered rich conversations and discussions. Indeed, I was deeply touched by the quantity and quality of personal information that young men revealed, some of which went beyond the topic of migration and the focus of this dissertation. Overall, the various interactions and processes in the course of the investigation reinforced my commitment to the project.

Commitment. As Smith et al. (1997) have demonstrated, PAR commonly required a deep commitment that involved the body, soul, mind, and spirit. Such an obligation has included tenacity in the midst of frustrated efforts and snail pace results. Certainly, this attitude of

commitment was necessary to for me to remain focused during the research and influenced my plans after the completion of the project. Specifically, I needed to manage the frustrations associated with conducting research within a laid back culture that was not familiar with PAR. As such, I persevered in spite of my irritations when the bureaucratic structures impeded a timely response and the principals were tardy in advertising the project, resulting in the need to alter project timelines. Also, as a time-conscious individual, I fought the frustrations associated with late arrivals at sessions and missed timelines for project goals such as picture taking. Further, at the end of the project, I remained committed to work with the young men as they consulted with me in the midst of their own frustrations of retaining the services of photographers and identifying sources of funding to move the project forward.

My experiences, along with the actions of the participants aligned with the literature (Healy, 2001b; Sense, 2006) which noted that, in reality, conducting PAR required a certain level of commitment by both researchers and participants. Additionally, researchers should be willing to manage factors associated with the context of investigations (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005; Berge et al., 2009). Further, academics have suggested that PAR's allegiance to social justice and adherence to rigour might not necessarily be easy or guaranteed in practice (Badham & Sense, 2006; Healy, 2001b). The literature has outlined these concerns within the critique of PAR.

Critique of PAR

Healy (2001b) described the major strengths of PAR as being inherent in its goals of empowerment, participation, and cyclical learning. However, the author noted that achieving these goals could be challenging. In particular, control and participation lay on a continuum and

the researcher should be perceptive to participants' biases, clarity regarding participants' roles and expectations, and changes in the research process, which could require adjusting the amount of control and participation while still maintaining the integrity of the study (Healy, 2001b; Sense, 2006). Further to this, Badham and Sense (2006) suggested that negotiating research outcomes could also present some difficulties and PAR researchers should implement strategies to deal with adjusting and improvising. Additionally, the literature noted, that in PAR, the iterative process of reflecting and seeking solutions might seem as a slow frustrating exercise, and maintaining momentum and keeping participants involved might be challenging (Berge et al., 2007). Other demands have surrounded managing people, safeguarding participants' welfare (Stringer, 2007), ensuring sustainability and rigour (Healy, 2001b), getting people with a common purpose to work together, and keeping the project manageable (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005). Yet, the demands of the process have not undermined the overall gains of confidence, self-esteem and direction that participants have experienced through their collective efforts (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001; Smith et al., 1997).

In addition to the general principles of PAR indicated above, the literature has identified noteworthy concepts related to using PAR with special populations. In particular, the literature has indicated how PAR with youth (YPAR) could be used in varying contexts (Amsden and VanWynsberghe, 2005; Cahill, 2007; Cervone and Cushman, 2002). In the case of the current study, I employed YPAR as it provided the space for young people to analyze problems and identify solutions that promoted well-being (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). Thus, I also considered factors affiliated with YPAR as a methodology.

Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR)

The literature has described YPAR as confronting social exclusion and inviting youth to join as co-researchers, recognizing their contribution as critical thinkers and problem solvers (Cahill, 2007; Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006). In line with these factors, I engaged youth in a research process that would ultimately result in the articulation of youth's concerns and the implementation of programmes and activities that reflected the needs of local youth. Involving youth in this manner could occur in different degrees (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). This study sought to engage youth at multiple stages of the research process, specifically in refining the research questions, data collection, data analysis, and dissemination of study findings.

Critique of YPAR

Youth participation has been actively encouraged for research with children and young people (Coyne, 1998). As the literature noted, engaging youth in this way could maximize social inclusion, without which, the result could be youth programmes which either ignored the reality of this population or regarded youth as problems to be resolved (Tisdall, Davis, Prout, & Hill, 2006). Above all, participation has been recognized as a basic principle concerned with respecting children's rights to express themselves and engage in decisions about issues affecting them (Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2003; Larson et al., 2005; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). Several studies demonstrated these benefits of youth participation. For example, Amsden and VanWynsberghe (2005) engaged youth as co-researchers in community mapping that resulted in the creation of a survey to evaluate the youth services provided by a health clinic in Vancouva, Canada. Youth IMPACT (2002) demonstrated how community wide surveys conducted by

youth of 40 youth programmes in San Francisco, USA resulted in the creation of criteria for use by funders. Also, Cervone and Cushman (2002) found that high school students were able to help teachers identify relevant strategies to improve learning. Participation also created the opportunity for engendering characteristics of "personal confidence, social connectedness, civic competency and leadership development" among youth (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006, p. 2). Thus, Lerner et al. (2005) showed how youth participation in 4-H clubs facilitated the development of competence, character and caring.

However, as Noam (2002) noted, youth participation comprised challenges of regulating boundaries of expression and decision-making without allowing youth to become disappointed and apathetic. Further, participation as a research strategy for addressing exclusion and providing space for highlighting voices, should also pay attention to ethics (Olitsky & Weathers, 2005; Walsh, Hewson, Shier, & Morales, 2008). Within the domain of ethics lay concerns of confidentiality and anonymity, informed consent, power sharing, ensuring participants' welfare, and rewards. The literature also identified other salient issues related to grappling with youth culture and facilitating action. These issues are discussed in the relevant sections of the remainder of this chapter which focuses on the method used in the study.

Method

The literature has described PAR as being versatile and allowing flexibility in the types of methods that could be used for knowledge production (Fals Borda, 1988). Further, knowledge production has been identified as comprising data collection and analysis (Fals Borda, 1988; Genat, 2009; Reason & Bradbury, 2001). Studies have demonstrated PAR's flexibility in utilizing focus groups, participant observation, and interviews as data collection methods

(MacDonald, 2012). For example, Chiu (2003) demonstrated the potential of focus groups for generating ideas that influenced health promotion practices. Also, Silverman, Taylor, and Crawford (2008) used participant observation as a method in their action research that sought to establish the importance of citizen participation in planning local projects. Considering PAR's versatility, I chose photovoice because it has been demonstrated as being a vehicle for PAR and a method that was compatible for engaging youth (Wang, 2006).

Photovoice

Photovoice, as a participatory research method, was developed by Wang and Burris (1997) and combines documentary photography with empowerment education as posited by Freire (Foster-Fishman, Nowell, Deacon, Nievar, & McCann, 2005). This research method has been identified as an opportunity for individuals, especially those marginalized and normally excluded from decision-making, to use cameras to capture important aspects of their lives that reflected their needs and concerns (Wang, 2006; Wang & Burris, 1997). Further, the literature has noted that photovoice mimicked aspects of narrative story telling in allowing individuals to relate stories about their lives, and thus provided understanding of lived experiences (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005). Ultimately, the information from photovoice could become useful in promoting dialogue, stimulating action and informing policy (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Evidence from the literature has suggested that photovoice could be useful in, engaging youth in all stages of research (Foster-Fishman, Law, Lichty, & Aoun, 2010), working with urban youth and adults regarding community violence prevention (Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchison, Bell, & Pestronk, 2004), involving youth in childhood obesity prevention (Findholt, Michael, & Davis, 2011), and promoting youth leadership in community development (Walsh et

al., 2008). A few studies addressed migration issues of youth in a host country and movement with respect to internal migration (Green & Kloos, 2009; Vargas, 2006). Also, cross-cultural applicability of photovoice was demonstrated in research with youth in Africa (Green & Kloos, 2009; Johnson, 2011), China (Ho, Rochelle, & Yuen, 2010), Latin America (Baker, 2011; Bayer & Alburqueque, 2014), Australia (Larson, Mitchell, & Gilles, 2001), Sweden (Warne, Snyder, & Gillander Gadin, 2013) and the Caribbean (Anglin, 2014; Henry, Ramdath, White, & Mangroo, 2013).

Critique of photovoice. Photovoice as a method has indeed been useful in various contexts and with different cultures. Further, the literature has suggested that photovoice could be advantageous for participants, researchers, the community, and decision makers. With respect to participants, the method has facilitated expression of ideas and concerns for individuals with low literacy and those who have had challenges with using words as the sole medium for communicating (Denov, Doucet, & Kamara, 2012; Jurkowski & Ferguson, 2008; Wang & Burris, 1997). Photovoice has also allowed participants to creatively express ideas and could be a powerful tool for engaging and empowering young people, capitalizing on the benefits inherent in using technology (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005; Flicker et al., 2008). Additionally, this method could be particularly helpful in highlighting the voices of marginalized and disenfranchised youth (Ho et al., 2010; Osseck, Hartman, & Cox, 2010). Equally important, self-reflection occurring through sharing pictures and stories could build a sense of community and togetherness through the comfort associated with discussing ideas in a safe space (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005; Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004). In addition to participants the literature has acknowledged the benefits that could be enjoyed by communities that utilized the

photovoice method. In particular, photographs could allow policymakers to visualize and get a better understanding of the issues affecting the community (Wang & Burris, 1997). Further, the flexibility of the collaborative process would facilitate tailoring the research to the needs of the community (Wang & Burris, 1997), and community members would feel valued as integral members of the research team (Moffitt & Vollman, 2004). Perhaps more importantly, working collaboratively would make the results more meaningful for the community and, the more meaningful the results, the more likely that action would be taken to bring about change (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang et al., 2004).

In addition to benefits for individuals and the community, researchers could also enjoy some advantages with photovoice. Firstly, the research process associated with photovoice could facilitate more meaningful dialogue with participants, covering more information than would be obtained by only using the interview and focus group (Darbyshire et al., 2005). Secondly, the combination of narratives with visual presentation could enhance the researcher's understanding of the issues from the participants' viewpoint (Harrison, 2002; McIntyre, 2003; Nowell, Berkowitz, Deacon, & Foster-Fishman, 2006). Finally, the photo stories have been an additional means by which the researcher could present the community's information to the scientific community (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Despite these considerable strengths, the literature has identified several weaknesses regarding the photovoice method, especially in terms of ethics and rigour. In particular, the failure to build sound relationships before the photovoice process could bring about ethical dilemmas about raising awareness and could create false expectations for participants and community, thereby foiling any efforts for change (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang & Redwood-

Jones, 2001). Besides this, research has provided no guarantee that photovoice would bring about change or that it would influence decision-making and policy at the community level. Indeed, change might only be possible if political will exists in the community (Findholt et al., 2011; Petrie, Fiorelli, & O'Donnell, 2006). Also, despite its use in various cultures including the Caribbean, none of the located studies focused on the migration phenomenon of children and families left behind in sending countries. Indeed, the literature suggested that most photovoice studies focused on health or public health issues (Catalani & Minkler, 2010; Lal et al., 2012). In spite of the challenges, the success of studies in highlighting issues concerning youth and its potential for being a catalyst for creating positive change has made it a useful tool for examining the concerns of Caribbean males of migrant fathers.

Photovoice: The Process

The literature has noted that photovoice could be modified to suit different populations catering to developmental capacity and learning needs (Foster-Fishman et al., 2010; McIntyre, 2003; Wang & Burris, 1997). I was guided by a modified version of photovoice, which sought to use age appropriate questions for facilitating the development of narratives and youth friendly exercises that prepared participants for data analysis (Foster-Fishman et al., 2010). I also consulted a manual for implementing photovoice (Palibroda, Krieg, Murdock, & Havelock, 2009). In this section, I explain the project in terms of the preparatory phase, data collection and data analysis, recruiting of audience members, as well as action and reflection. Additionally, ethical considerations form a central part of photovoice and I will discuss this in the relevant sections.

Preparatory Phase

I received approval to conduct this project from both the Conjoint Faculties research Ethics Board of the University of Calgary as well as the Ministry of Health in Trinidad and Tobago. After receiving these approvals I initiated the preparatory phase of the project which entailed recruiting co-facilitators, recruiting participants, and preparing participants. The first aspect of mobilizing co-facilitators was important because these individuals formed part of the research team in this study that sought to involve youth at multiple stages of the research process.

Recruiting co-facilitators. My initial strategy for identifying the youth groups on the island depended on the register maintained by the Division of Youth Affairs and Sport. However, on closer examination I realized that this information was outdated and most of the groups listed were no longer active. Eventually, I relied on my previous relationship with youth groups to identify possible clubs with which to collaborate. However, with this approach I targeted the most popular clubs and would likely have missed other organizations that might have been willing to partner in the study.

Two months prior to the start of the study I contacted six youth groups (three police sponsored youth clubs, one church group, and two civic organizations - the Kiwanis and Roteract clubs), regarding their possible involvement in the project. Of the six groups, the Kiwanis informed that their current operations did not include a youth arm and Roteract described problems with their existing management that prevented involvement in the project. Subsequently, I visited the remaining four groups to provide information regarding my personal profile, (name, profession, areas of functioning in Tobago), background to the study, description

of photovoice, and rationale for involving community youth groups. These one hour long sessions meetings focused on introducing the study, stimulating interest in the study, and requesting representatives who could serve as co-facilitators on the project, as well as discussing recruitment strategies. Though the groups all showed initial interest, research and photovoice were new to the organizations and most questioned their capacity to be part of such a project. The groups also struggled with organizational issues regarding, structure and leadership, which influenced their ability to participate. I revisited the groups one month before the beginning of the project and two of these organizations (one police youth club and one church group) eventually committed to become part of the research process. Consequently, one person from each of these groups became engaged in the project as co-facilitators. The other clubs assisted by posting flyers at their headquarters and sharing the information with the general membership.

The challenges surrounding recruitment of youth groups were not surprising. O'Donoghue, Kirshner and McLaughlin (2002) noted that youth were not necessarily naturally inclined to engage in PAR. In fact, in one study youth became anxious about learning new information, and required time to understand the topic of concern and express it in language that was meaningful to them (Sullivan et al., 2011). Some youth may also require specific training to foster the participatory process (O'Donoghue et al., 2002).

Training co-facilitators. At a scheduled two and a half hour follow-up meeting, I consulted with the representatives of the two interested youth clubs. This session included providing a description of the photovoice project, that is, recruitment, preparing participants, data collection, data analysis and identification of appropriate ways to implement the findings of the study. Another important aspect of the training comprised discussions about establishing ground

rules and other possible strategies for regulating the group behaviour. During this phase of the project, the team (comprised of two co-facilitators and myself) also engaged in discussions about protecting the identifying information of participants, disclosing study particulars to outside parties, and maintaining confidentiality regarding information shared in the group (see Appendix K). Further, I informed the co-facilitators how they could help advertise the study by capitalizing on both of their roles as members of a youth group and users of specific social networks. I facilitated this recruitment exercise by providing the relevant flyers. Together the two facilitators and I comprised a research team.

The tasks of the research team also included planning the logistics of the photovoice project. To facilitate this process, prior to attending the meeting, I enquired about several possible venues for hosting the project. The literature identified space as an important factor that concerned location, ensuring privacy, minimizing distractions and appropriateness for accomplishing tasks in the participatory process with youth (Curtis, Roberts, Copperman, Downie, & Liabo, 2004; O'Donoghue et al., 2002; Sullivan et al., 2011). With respect to this, the conference room of the Ministry of Tobago Development in the main town (Scarborough) was the most suitable location. It was centrally located and easily accessible. The facility was ideal being a an air-conditioned room designed for holding meetings of small groups and thus facilitated round table discussions. The space also facilitated the use of digital projectors. However, the venue was available only on weekends. Other options were larger facilities that necessitated a cost, as the study was unfunded this was determined to be prohibitive.

In addition, there were some initial concerns among the research team about an appropriate day on the weekend because Saturday and Sunday were accepted as important days

for the highly religious population of Tobago. However, Saturdays (between the hours of 9am and 2pm) seemed to be the most appropriate day and time because of availability of public transportation and it being a non-school day. Ultimately, I wrote the Permanent Secretary for the use of the facility (see Appendix M), which was subsequently provided free of charge. Further to the above steps, I encouraged dialogue about how the use of self and recognition of shared characteristics with the participants could help to guide questioning and discussions concerning the issues identified during the project. This assisted in defining co-facilitators' role in different phases of the study. Besides recruiting co-facilitators, the preparatory phase included recruiting participants.

Recruiting participants. Recruiting participants involved attending to study inclusion criteria, sampling, consent, confidentiality, and benefits. The literature has noted these issues as requiring special consideration for engaging youth, and important aspects of the process of dealing with the ethics of youth participation in research (Walsh et al., 2008). I address each of these topics in the following sections.

Inclusion/exclusion criteria. Eligibility criteria stipulated that participants be males aged 12 to 18 who resided in Tobago, and have a father who had migrated, to an international destination or another Caribbean island. Any potential participant must have shared a relationship with his father, who at the time of the study, could either be residing in the host country or had since returned to Tobago. In the latter case, it was not necessary for father and son to be living in the same household.

Sampling. Researchers have suggested that potential participants could be identified through community-based organizations or by way of participants' informal networks (Palibroda

et al., 2009). I utilized both of these strategies through convenience and snowball sampling (Marshall, 1996; Rubin & Babbie, 2001). I chose these recruitment strategies in light of the absence of information of how the target population was distributed on the island and the reality that this population was largely hidden because of their unrecognized status. The process entailed using the resources of youth organizations, schools and social networks of youth for locating and recruiting participants. Thus, to identify the initial group of participants, I used convenience sampling (Marshall, 1996) and asked the co-facilitators, youth organizations and the nine secondary schools on the island to post recruitment flyers (see Appendices A and Q), encouraging those who were eligible and interested to contact me. I also asked each participant if he knew of another youth who might be interested in the project, consistent with snowball sampling techniques (Rubin & Babbie, 2001).

However the process was not without problems. In particular, some school principals required constant reminders regarding their commitments about advertising the project. Consequently, the eventual chosen period in the school year for posting the flyers resulted in many students missing the advertisement due to the non-attendance of older students who were preparing for final high school examinations, the general erratic attendance of the school population because of class examinations, and the inability to share the information with the general student body during regular morning assembly. Besides these issues, the co-facilitators were only able to identify individuals who were over the age limit of the study and the youth organizations were not as zealous as expected in their attempts to reach potential participants for the project.

In an attempt to manage this problem I adjusted the timeline of the project and asked that the posters remain mounted until the beginning of the following school year (in September). At the same time, I received permission from two schools to use early September to present the project at their orientation session which was attended by both parents and students. Further to this, two organizations (a school and the governing body of a church youth group) facilitated advertisement of the project through the use of their Facebook pages. Eventually, 19 persons indicated interest, 14 fitted the selection criteria, ten initially committed to becoming engaged in the study, and one attended only one session. In the end nine persons comprised the final sample. Wang (1999) recommended a target of 7 to 10 participants as being an acceptable number of persons for a photovoice project.

Participant profiles. The young men ranged in ages from 12 to 17, came from different villages on the North-Western part of the island and represented four of the five secondary schools in that section of Tobago. The demographics of these young men reflected the major ethnic grouping in Tobago. Accordingly, 7 of the young men were of African Caribbean heritage and 2 were of mixed descent. For the two participants whose fathers had returned to Tobago, one lived in the same household as his father and the other young man resided with his mother and siblings. In the case of fathers who continued to reside outside of Tobago, one participant lived with his maternal grandparents, another with his mother and extended family, and two (who were brothers) resided with their mother, stepfather and siblings. The mothers of four of the young men were engaged in semi-skilled occupations (security guard, cafeteria cook, labourer), as were the maternal grandparents (taxi driver and homemaker). In the case of three participants, their mothers functioned either as a manager or teacher. To protect their identity in

published material, the participants chose pseudonyms. Details of the participants' profiles are provided in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.1

Participants Profiles – Younger Cohort

Participant/Ethnicity	**Members of household**	**Host country/island Father's current residence**	**Participant's age during study**	**Participant's age when father left**	**Participant's age when father resumed contact**	**Employment of caregivers in the home**	**Contact with father**
William (Daniel's brother) – Mixed.	William (second of seven children), mother, stepfather, five brothers, one sister.	Trinidad and still resides there.	12	Infant	3 years	Mother- floor manager at a hardware store; Stepfather – chef.	Telephone and visits to Trinidad during the school vacations.
Bertie - African Caribbean. (only participant with both parents migrated).	Bertie (eldest of two children), maternal grandparents.	Canada and still resides here.	12	Infant	10 years	Grandfather- taxi driver; Grandmother – housewife.	Telephone and visit to Canada two years ago.
Enrique - African Caribbean.	Enrique (second of three children), mother, older sister and younger brother.	USA and still resides there.	12	Infant	9 years	Mother- Elementary school teacher.	Occasional visits to the USA and father's visit to the island.
Winston - African Caribbean.	Winston (youngest of three children), Mother, two sisters.	Trinidad but has since returned to Tobago.	12	Infant	10 years	Mother - security guard.	Very limited contact through telephone.
Abel - African Caribbean.	Abel (second of three children), mother, older and younger brother.	Trinidad and still resides there.	12	8 years	Never lost total contact with father	Mother – cook at a school cafeteria.	Telephone, visits to Trinidad and father's visits Tobago.

Table 3.2

Participants Profiles – Older Cohort

Participant/Ethnicity	**Members of household**	**Host country/island Father's current residence**	**Participant's age during study**	**Participant's age when father left**	**Participant's age when father resumed contact**	**Employment of caregivers in the home**	**Contact with father**
Daniel- (William's brother) Mixed.	Daniel(eldest of seven children), mother, stepfather, five brothers, one sister.	Trinidad and still resides there.	17	Toddler	2 years	Mother- floor manager at hardware store; Stepfather- cook on inter-island ferry.	Telephone and visits to Trinidad during the school vacations.
Mike - African Caribbean.	Mike (mother's only child), mother, aunt, female cousins	Switzerland and still resides there.	16	Infant	4 years	Mother - postal service officer.	Telephone, internet, father's occasional visit to the island.
Jason - African Caribbean.	Jason (mother's only child), mother and non-biological guardians who raised his mother	USA and still resides there.	16	Infant	8 years	Mother- human resource manager at a hotel.	Telephone and father's occasional visit to the island.
Syd - African Caribbean.	Syd (last of three children), Mother, father, brother	Trinidad but has since returned to Tobago.	16	7 years	9 years	Mother- female labourer.	Limited though now residing in the same household.

Consent. The literature has identified informed consent as involving assurance of participants' awareness of all the risks and benefits associated with a study (David, Edwards, & Alldred, 2001; Morrow & Richards, 1996**)**. For the process to be valid the participant must be competent and the consent must be given voluntarily (De Lourdes Levy, Larcher, & Kurz, 2003; Reamer, 1987). Three actions have been associated with the process of gaining informed consent: providing information, understanding the information, and responding to concerns and questions of potential participants (Boddy & Oliver, 2011). The literature has further noted that research with children and youth entailed further considerations of the cultural/legal definition of the age of majority and children's dependence on adults as gatekeepers (Morrow, 2008; Morrow & Richards, 1996). Further, consent might be required of parents as well as other authority figures and this could delay the process (Heptinstall, 2000; Powell & Smith, 2009; Macnab, Visser, & Daniels, 2007; Stalker, Carpenter, Connors, & Phillips, 2004).

The process of obtaining informed consent in this dissertation occurred in several ways. Firstly, prior to recruiting participants, I required permission from the Division of Education, Youth Affairs and Sport, and principals of the nine secondary schools. This process took considerable time due to the bureaucracy associated with the movement of information within the Division. This subsequently influenced the schedule for delivery of letters as well as the timeline for receiving consent from principals. Secondly, in the current study, all participants were under the age of 18 which is the age of majority in Trinidad and Tobago. Accordingly, I informed these youth that they needed parental/guardian consent in order to participate and they willingly provided relevant contact information for their parents. Following this, I sought to provide information that facilitated informed consent based on an understanding of the research

process. Thus, before becoming involved in the formal part of the study, I invited prospective participants, parents and guardians to a group debriefing which occurred on Saturday 13th October, 2012, from 9am to 12 noon (see Appendices B and C).

Group debriefing. The group debriefing involved a verbal orientation (see Appendix D), which sought to ensure that, (1) the young people had enough information to help them make an informed decision about their willingness to participate (Morrow, 2008; Neill, 2005), and (2) individuals did not feel pressured in any way to engage in a study, whether through the urgings of authority figures or the belief that declining to be involved in the study would affect services to which they were normally entitled (Boddy & Oliver, 2011; Cree, Kay, & Tisdall, 2002). Additionally, individuals were assured that assent could be withdrawn at any time (Cashmore, 2006; Morrow, 2008).

In a further effort to promote transparency regarding procedures, participants and guardians also received folders with written documents explaining the study's rationale, its goals and objectives, as well as the nature of the research activities. I also supplied information concerning possible risks and benefits, voluntary participation and consent and assent forms (see Appendices E to G). On all of these documents I indicated that the project would entail public presentations of the findings, publication of photographs, and the optional removal of personal identifiers from any publishable material related to the project. This information was salient because anonymity could not be guaranteed because of the public presentation entailed in this type of research project (Amsden & VanWynsberghe 2005). At the group debriefing I also focused on issues related to incentives, withdrawal and dealing with emotional fallouts. Besides this, appropriate storage of data was also important to ensure that only authorized persons had

access (Hutchfield & Coren, 2011). Consequently, I informed persons that the data for the project would be stored in a locked cabinet, at my home and on my password protected laptop computer, to which I only had access. Further, participants, parents and guardians had the opportunity to ask questions and clarify concerns during the session, and received relevant contact information such as e-mails and telephone numbers should they have further questions. I then asked individuals under the age of 18 to provide written assent and I obtained written consent from their parents/guardians. In addition to the group debriefing, I spent time at the beginning of the study addressing specific aspects of confidentiality and anonymity, breaching of confidentiality and rewards which are important when conducting research with young people (Boddy & Oliver, 2011; Morrow 2008; Neill, 2005).

Confidentiality and Anonymity. The literature has defined **c**onfidentiality as the task of keeping things written or spoken as a secret, and anonymity has been identified as the state of lacking distinctive features that can label someone (Barnhart, Barnhart, & Zeleny, 1999). Within a group setting, questions have arisen concerning the maturity of youth to respect the values of abiding by principles of maintaining confidentiality about information shared by individuals (Allmark, 2002; Hollander, 2004; Laenen, 2009). The current study managed this process by establishing ground rules with participants concerning commitments to keeping information shared within the group confidential. Such a strategy is encouraged for use with children and youth (Boddy & Oliver, 2011; Laenen, 2009).

Additionally, young people should also be able to share information anonymously with the researcher outside of the group setting, thereby giving individuals the chance to discuss issues that they felt uncomfortable expressing in front of others (Boddy & Oliver, 2011**)**. Punch

(2002) has suggested strategies such as, one-to-one interviews, and 'private or secret boxes' where persons could 'post' information and has noted that these strategies could complement group dialogue. Additional procedures for preserving anonymity have included assigning numbers to participants or using pseudonyms (Boddy & Oliver, 2011). In relation to this, I offered participants the options of using pseudonyms in association with their photographs, sharing information privately with the researcher and co-facilitators as well as leaving written notes in an identified box. Nevertheless, participants chose to discuss most issues within the group setting. However, the young men preferred only the males in the group to participate in discussions regarding relationships with the opposite sex. In this case, such dialogue occurred under the guidance of the co-facilitators because of the discomfort with having me present for such a session.

Breaching confidentiality. Researchers should uphold the principles of confidentiality and anonymity (Morrow 2008). However, the literature has also emphasized that professionals should not breach the law or jeopardize participants' welfare in order to adhere to this principle (Morrow2008; Wiles, Crow, Heath, & Charles, 2008) and researchers should implement relevant protocols to deal with the breach of confidentiality. Therefore maintaining confidentiality has been described as being conditional in terms of being subject to imitations (Ahsan, 2009; Neill, 2005). To address this concern I informed participants of my responsibility to report any information that suggested that persons might be at risk to themselves or others. In addition to dealing with issues of confidentiality researchers must also address concerns about providing rewards to participants (Punch, 2002).

Rewards. The literature has acknowledged the various types of rewards, financial and non-financial, but has been inconclusive regarding the use of payments and rewards (Grady, 2005; Neill, 2005). Specifically, the debate has surrounded payment being interpreted as commercializing the investigator-participant relationship. Moreover, the proffered reward might be regarded as an inducement and might be the main focus of the participant, rather than involvement in the study. In such circumstances, offering rewards might have the unfortunate outcome of unnecessarily putting subjects at risk (Dickert & Grady, 1999).

On the other hand, the literature has provided support and guidelines regarding rewards for children and youth participating in research. For example, Boddy and Oliver (2011) suggested that payment should not be in the form of lump sum cash, rather, they should consist of vouchers and tokens guided by what appeals to young people. However, there should be flexibility in allowing young people to choose the kind of voucher (Morrow, 2008). Equally important, such payment should be based on the premise that children's contributions are of the same value as adults' (Punch, 2002). Consistent with these guidelines, I offered participants an incentive of a voucher valued at 25 Canadian Dollars and the group and participants with the guidance of the research team, decided where the voucher could be redeemed. Besides issues of consent, confidentiality and anonymity, and rewards, another aspect of the investigation involved preparing individuals for becoming engaged in the study. This activity involved addressing issues to facilitate meaningful data collection and data analysis.

Preparing participants. In a photovoice project, one aspect of preparing participants entailed discussions to facilitate problem identification (Palibroda et al., 2009; Wang & Burris, 1997). In relation to this, the research team collaborated with participants in exploring the issue

of concern. Accordingly, participants discussed how this issue affected their lives and how they could use photographs to capture their experiences related to the issue. Though I entered the study with my understanding of some concerns that may face the group, I allowed the discussions from this session to determine how we refined the themes and initial questions. Other facets of preparing participants involved training in camera use and providing knowledge about taking photographs.

Photography training. After considering costs and accessibility of youth to modern technology, I decided to use digital cameras and asked participants to indicate whether they had access to a device for the duration of the study. With respect to this, I needed to assist three young men, each of whom I loaned a Vivitar 5119 camera. I then focused on issues surrounding training in camera use and the ethics related to taking images.

Generally, in photovoice, training in camera use depended on the participants' prior knowledge of using a camera and taking photographs (Wang & Burris, 1997). In preparation for addressing this issue, I initially sought the services of a trained photographer from the community to assist with this matter. However, he was unable to participate because of illness. Attempts to locate a second photographer proved futile because of the day and time of the training. Eventually, I relied on my formal training in photography. In any event, there was little need to train regarding the mechanics of operating the camera since all, except three of the young men, were using their phone or personal digital cameras with which they were quite familiar. The other three young men demonstrated their ability to manipulate the simple digital camera provided for the study. Thus, for this training session I focused on using videos, images, and verbal presentations to explain how to use photographs to tell a story and how to use images

to capture different concepts. The session therefore included discussions about using special techniques such as zooming, textures and lighting, and time of the day to maximize special effects. At the end of this session the group practiced taking pictures.

The other features of camera use concerned ethics. Therefore, the training session incorporated dialogue surrounding, the meaning behind carrying a camera, an appropriate strategy for approaching someone about taking their picture, the ethics of taking someone's picture without their knowledge, the implication for using someone's photographs for different purposes, the circumstances under which they would personally like to be photographed, and the importance of safety when taking photographs. Participants also received documents regarding acknowledgement and release consent forms for the persons being photographed, and consent forms giving the research team permission to use photographs (see Appendices H to J). Following the preparatory phase of recruiting co-facilitators, recruiting participants, and preparing participants the group met weekly for meetings to facilitate data collection and data analysis.

Data collection and data analysis

The literature has described data collection and data analysis in photovoice as being iterative and continuously unfolding throughout the discussions, new experiences, and presentations (Palibroda et al., 2009; Wang & Burris, 1997). During the current study, the research team retrieved data from photographs, guided dialogue, recorded group meetings, journals, actions from the project, and debriefing sessions (Palibroda et al., 2009). To organize and manage this data, the team diligently recorded group meetings and other related activities, and audio taped group discussions with the permission of participants.

Group meetings. Weekly 2 ½ hour group meetings were initially scheduled to occur over a nine-week period using the conference room of the Ministry of Tobago Development. However this schedule was adjusted, (see Table 3.3), to manage participants' late arrivals, and playfulness. Additional time was also required to facilitate individuals who did not take their required number of pictures despite reminders during the week, and accommodate situations where persons missed their scheduled time to present because of co-curricular activities occurring on Saturday. Because of these various challenges, with assent of the participants, the original schedule for the project was extended by two weeks. This meant receiving additional parental consent by telephoning parents when sessions were running overtime and at the first session in December I gave individuals letters for parents requesting consent for the prolonged involvement of their child in the project. In both cases, the parents and guardians were agreeable. Additionally, I negotiated for continued use of the venue for the extension of the study. I also provided refreshments for the group at all sessions.

Table 3.3

Timeline – Photovoice Project

Session	Saturday	Average Time	Purpose
		OCTOBER 2012	
1	13th	10.00am-12.00pm	Orientation session with parents and participators and co-facilitators.
2	20th	10.00am -1.30pm	Photography training and selecting themes for pictures
3	27th	10.00am -12.00pm	Exercises to prepare for data analysis
		NOVEMBER 2012	
4	3rd	10.00am-1.30pm	Selection of photographs and contextualizing
5	10th	10.00am-12.30pm	Selection of photographs and contextualizing
6	17th	10.00am-2.00pm	Codifying
7	24th	10.00am-1.30pm	Discussion and verification of themes from analysis - Participatory and NVivo
		DECEMBER 2012	
8	8th	10.00am-12.30pm	Deciding on action to be taken, identifying stakeholders, identifying possible venue, date and time.
9	15th	10.00am-1.30pm	Planning presentation - choosing pictures, and music, deciding on presenters and information to be shared with stakeholders
		JANUARY 2013	
10	12th	10.00am-12.30pm	Planning presentation – editing scripts, formalizing format of presentation and presenters, practicing presentation.
		PRESENTATION JANUARY 16th 2013	
11	19th	10.00am -1.30pm	Debriefing

One of the activities in group meetings consisted of analyzing the experience of taking photographs. During these sessions, individuals clarified concerns, and shared tips about what they were learning when collecting photographs. Another aspect of the sessions entailed weekly-facilitated photo reflection sessions that focused on providing a space for youth voice and promoting critical reflection using group dialogue (Foster-Fishman et al., 2010). Furthermore, the sessions also included data collection (presenting photographs, sharing journal entries), and participatory analysis (Foster-Fishman et al., 2010; Palibroda et al., 2009). Equally important, the sessions served as a space for building relationships and unity (Foster-Fishman et al., 2010).

However, the various activities were influenced by the participants' attendance and outcome of the group process.

Attendance at sessions. The same reasons that made Saturday appealing for conducting the study, in fact underlined its significance on the island as a day when many other activities also occurred. This eventually impacted attendance at some sessions for both participants and facilitators. On the other hand, the issue concerning the impact of religion on participants' turnout was eventually resolved as the only Seventh Day Adventist in the group did not have problems with attending sessions on Saturday. Besides this, two of the young men missed one session, another two missed two sessions and one individual missed three sessions. One young man missed four of the sessions because of having to undergo surgery. To encourage a wide participation, I recapped information from previous sessions to get the individuals to contribute on themes arising from sessions that they missed. For example, one session consisted of only the younger participants. Therefore when the older participants joined the group the following week, I sought their contributions. In another instance, I sought clarification from young men with Trinidad-migrant fathers about contributions made by the other group members with international-migrant fathers. Revisiting themes occurred as much as possible to ensure that all participants' had the opportunity to contribute to the discussions. Additionally, the sessions were adjusted to allow sufficient time for absent participants to present their pictures and stories.

In addition to participants' absence the co-facilitators also missed some sessions. Of the two co-facilitators, one was present for four of the sessions and other was available for seven sessions. Despite the lengthy absence of one of the co-facilitators, his contributions were formidable in helping to initially guide the formulation of photo question and in facilitating

discussions at sessions at which he was present. Overall, the co-facilitators performed meaningful roles during the project.

***Role of co-facilitators in the study*.** Generally, the involvement of co-facilitators throughout the project included capitalizing on their strengths which lie in their similar life experiences as participants, as well as willingness to assume leadership in different phases of the study. For example, the younger co-facilitator was separated from his father as an infant because of international migration and this co-facilitator was also an adolescent (age 19). This co-facilitator's life experience was influential as he led the process which yielded themes and guiding questions for the photo assignments.

In the case of the other co-facilitator, similarity to the participants lay in having lived most of his life apart from his father who resided in Trinidad. This co-facilitator was exposed to research theory because of his tertiary education and felt comfortable taking the lead at times during the codifying sessions. Besides this, both facilitators helped throughout the study in mobilizing discussions which included exploring themes, considering solutions, identifying audience members and exploring creative ideas for disseminating information.

Involving youth this way addressed the issues of power sharing that has been identified as a necessary part of participatory research with youth (Zeldin, Camino, & Calvert, 2003**)**. This type of relationship has been noted as being essential for fostering youth leadership and allowing youth to be more meaningfully engaged in the participatory process (Camino, 2000; Zeldin, Camino, & Mook, 2005). However, adults should continue to provide guidance and teaching in projects involving youth participation (Norman, 2001; O'Donoghue et al., 2002). In fact, during research it would be quite common for youths to see adults as role models and depend on them to

provide the necessary support and direction (Zeldin et al., 2005; Sullivan et al., 2011). Accordingly, I continued to provide guidance throughout the project. These challenges associated with attendance and the contributions of co-facilitators occurred alongside addressing facets of the group process.

Group process. Doel (2005) has suggested that issues of control and managing challenging behaviours would be common tasks when working in group settings with youth. . Other authors have indentified important actions associated with these tasks as including, allowing the group to sanction behaviours, or employing more direct strategies (Boddy & Oliver, 2011; Laenen, 2009). Furthermore, within these scenarios adults should, (1) collaborate with the group on establishing ground rules without stifling individuals' freedom to express their opinions (2) resist the tendency to immediately pathologize a difficult behaviour and instead focus on deciphering the meaning behind the behaviour, (3) be alert to managing situations when physical and emotional risks are involved, and (4) practice self-awareness regarding how the display of difficult behaviour influences feelings and actions (Doel, 2005). Most of these issues were relevant in the current study. In particular, I worked with the group in establishing ground rules at the beginning of the study. Yet, in some instances, I needed to employ additional strategies such as curtailing discussions when some group members insisted on pursuing topics which made others very uncomfortable. Even so, some sessions were very demanding in terms of controlling behaviour. For these I resorted to group sanctioning, changing seating arrangements, and pausing the session until participants were ready to focus. In relation to these strategies, Curtis, Roberts, Copperman, Downie and Liabo, (2004) noted that the stringency used in group sessions with youth depended on the compliancy of the group. To that end, in the midst of

managing behaviour I needed to ensure that my approach did not result in stifling expressions. My struggles aligned with the literature's description of the readiness of adults for working with young people (Collins & Arthur, 2010; Curtis et al., 2004). Accordingly, it was necessary to constantly ensure that I confronted personal cultural identity factors such as gender, age, ability, and how these might have been contributing to potential biases in my interactions and interpretations. Alongside these occurrences, I sought the assistance of the co-facilitators, but they were not very helpful in managing the group's behaviour possibly because of closeness in age, personality or gender. Besides addressing the issues related to behaviour, another aspect of the group process included conducting data analysis.

Analysis. Foster-Fishman, Nowell, Deacon, Nievar and McCann, (2005) suggested activities to assist youth, especially concerning the shortcomings of participants who might not have been exposed to data analysis process. I employed this approach, which allowed youth to practice three aspects of qualitative data analysis; "data reduction, data organization to promote conclusion drawing and action, and conclusion drawing and verification" (Foster-Fishman et al., 2010, p. 76). These activities included practicing the identification of main ideas from stories and readings, determining themes from images and grouping ideas and images according to themes. The challenge pertained to making the exercise friendly to male youth. To help with this, I decided to use the computer as the main teaching tool rather than using a paper and pencil approach. Even so, the process was a bit didactic and I still had to monitor the group's attention span and give breaks at relevant periods. In addition to preparing the group, the exercise also acted as a relationship-building tool as individuals worked together to accomplish the tasks.

Further to this, as described in the photovoice literature, data analysis of photographs commenced with the group and involved three processes of, selection of photographs that were most representative of participants concerns, contextualization which involved storytelling, and codifying, that is, identifying themes. To facilitate this process, the research team allocated enough time for taking photographs with digital cameras. Through group discussions participants agreed to take five pictures each in the following categories.

- How did you feel?
- What were the things that were important to you at this time?
- What were some of the challenges/difficulties?
- What kind of support did you receive? (from whom, from what)
- How did you cope?
- How did it influence the person you are today?

Most persons took photos in each category but four persons did not take the total number of pictures required for categories, 'What was important to me at this time?', 'How did you cope?', and 'What support did you receive?' and one person did not take any pictures in category, 'How did it influence who you are today?' These young men suggested that it was difficult to find the time to take the pictures because of the other activities in their lives. Only one young man reported having difficulty in deciding the type of scenes to photograph. Ultimately, a total of 171 pictures were analyzed. Despite this challenge in getting the total number of photographs, the young men engaged in vibrant discussions and eagerly identified common, as well as, divergent experiences related to the migration phenomenon.

Once the photographs were taken, the group met regularly for discussing selected photographs in sessions that were audio taped and transcribed. During these sessions individuals chose the photographs that they believed reflected their experiences and presented these images to the group using a narrative that critically discussed the photographs. For each presentation, the digital pictures were projected unto a screen and individual presentations were followed by a group discussion about the picture and narrative. The young men thought writing was burdensome, therefore to reduce the writing component the discussions were guided by a modified version used by Foster Fishman et al. (2010). In this regard, narratives reflected answers to the questions "I wanted to take this photograph because... "… "What is important for people to understand about this photograph is…" Nevertheless, getting participants to write detailed information was a challenge. For the most part, individuals used a personalized shortcut way of identifying the pictures and noting their narratives. In some cases, young men preferred to work with other group members to help describe their narratives. To ensure that their shortened method did not undermine a deep exploration of their story, I spent time during each presentation asking questions about issues that were identified in the narratives. In doing this I sought to facilitate a thorough examination of the issues as well as assist participants who had difficulties in articulating their stories. Only after the ideas seemed to have been exhausted, did I invite the group to join the discussion. As suggested by the literature, the process allowed extraction of different meanings from photovoice data including, the visual meanings interpreted from the photographs, other meanings captured from stories behind the photographs as described by the photographer, and the results of group discussions (Foster-Fishman et al., 2010; Wang & Burris, 1997)

Following the discussions on photographs, the group met for data analysis. During this time, participants sorted the photographs into topic groups, using dialogue to help cluster their ideas into groups and determine similarities among the photographs resulting in the creation of a holistic analysis of the groups of photographs (Lykes, 2001). To facilitate this process, I assembled pictures into folders on my computer, based on the questions. For the participatory analysis process, the pictures were projected onto the screen and when categories were identified it was assigned to a specified folder. The young men and one of the co-facilitators assisted with this process. The activity allowed members to identify connections between personal and group experiences and link how policies and practices influenced their lives (Wang & Burris, 1997). These sessions were audio taped and transcribed verbatim.

In addition to activities during the sessions, I held debriefing sessions with the co-facilitators after each photovoice session. During this time, we discussed observations and behaviours, examined themes arising from the session, identified ways to facilitate contributions from those who seemed shy, and clarified the agenda for the following session. After each session I also made field notes in which I documented behaviours and events from the session and reflected on my observations. These debriefing sessions as well as my personal notes provided additional questions for following sessions.

Participants and co-facilitators were also encouraged to keep journals that reflected their experience during the study. However, as with other activities that involved writing, the group preferred to use their electronic devices and did not record consistently or detailed as expected. To facilitate reflection, I allotted time during each session to explore participants' and co-

facilitators' on-going experience and these discussions formed part of the digitally recorded sessions.

Coupled with these activities, between group meetings I transcribed the recorded sessions verbatim. Summaries of these transcripts were available for additional analysis at another session when the group reviewed the written work to verify that it accurately captured the information from the group discussions. These analytic processes resulted in possible categories and sub-categories for which I noted similarities and differences. I returned to the group with this information along with questions that arose as a result of my reflections when I sought further clarification and verification of ideas.

Once participants agreed with the summaries of the transcripts, I analyzed the data using the computer program, NVivo (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011; Lewis, 2004; Richards, 1999), and integrated this with the results of participatory analysis done in the group sessions. To facilitate this process I utilized the constant comparison analysis as a technique (Boeije, 2002; Fram, 2013). Though the literature has not always been clear about how constant comparison should be executed, there has been evidence that the technique could incorporate practical steps to suit methodologies outside of grounded theory (Fram, 2013). In line with the approach used by Boeije (2002), I structured the constant comparison technique to facilitate analyzing the presentation of pictures, group discussions, and personal reflections. This aided in reducing and organizing the data manually and sorting data into codes, categories and themes as well as ensuring that the various types of data were compared with each other (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4

Comparison Techniques

TYPE OF COMPARISON	WHAT WAS COMPARED
Within each photo-story	The discussion about each picture that was presented - the visual meaning attached to images - the presenter's narrative and - the resulting group discussion
Between photo-stories	- Common words and phrases - Exceptions - Images used to express similar ideas - Interpretation of similar images
Between groups	Discussions of issues by: - younger cohort versus older cohort, - young men whose fathers migrated to Trinidad versus young men whose fathers migrated internationally, - young men of mothers with low-skilled jobs versus young men with mothers from high skilled jobs
Group and researcher	Participatory analysis versus personal analysis

Disseminating information

Following participatory analysis, a major part of photovoice involved disseminating the results and recommendations. This process entailed two tasks. The first task involved deciding on the audience members. The literature indicated that the audience should comprise persons who possess decision-making powers, and could eventually improve the everyday lives of participants, or had the capacity to advocate for change (Palibroda et al., 2009). Considering audience members occurred after the group examined ideas resulting from discussions and photographs. For this purpose, the research team and participants collaborated to identify prospective individuals, using two strategies. Firstly, individuals suggested ideas throughout the study as part of the dialogue on various topics. Secondly, during a special session, group

members considered the importance of sharing the information, the benefit of the current findings to specific individuals and organizations, and the most influential persons and institutions that could facilitate meaningful actions based on recommendations.

The other aspect of disseminating information included identifying possible dates and venues as well as selecting an appropriate format for presenting the findings. This process occurred through noting participants' periodic relevant suggestions on the topic and integrating these comments with the discussions of a special session facilitated by the research team. The group made final decisions regarding audience members and dissemination formats by the end of these digitally recorded special sessions. In the end, the group considered using a public forum, making an appearance on a radio or television talk show, creating a website and utilizing the social media. Of these, the public forum and appearance on the radio were executed during the life of the current study.

Besides deciding on the audience members, other sessions were dedicated to resolving details regarding the public forum. Participants used the designated sessions to determine the content of these activities as well as practice the presentations. Between sessions, individuals also worked on the composition of the presentation which was finalized at the group meeting. The research team guided this process and assisted with refining content when this became necessary. I was left with the task of locating a final venue because of my connections with several institutions.

Once the group agreed on audience members, possible venues and dates, I drafted the relevant letters; inviting audience members to the public forum and requested permission from the radio station to be part of their morning programme (see Appendices L to O). I delivered the

letters by hand and followed this up with a telephone conversation. In addition, I gave participants letters which informed parents of the up-coming presentation and followed this up with telephone calls. This process, of using hand-delivered invitations accompanied by telephone calls, facilitated questions and clarification about the study and its importance to Tobago from prospective audience members as well as radio personnel.

Action and Reflection

The action component of the study involved using two media for presenting the findings. Firstly, the participants presented their findings and recommendations in a public forum comprising organizations who work with youth, persons from different government ministries, principals and parents. This presentation took the format of a slide show with music, scripts read by participants and an open discussion inviting feedback from audience members. I invited a technician to audio and video record this session and I also took notes, which I used as a guide for clarifying commitments and concerns raised during the proceedings. After the session I transcribed the audiotapes verbatim, analyzed them for additional themes using the constant comparison method as previously described. Consistent with the literature, the public forum enabled participants to articulate concerns and policy recommendations, and encouraged community members to work together towards devising policy guided by community-based research (Wang & Burris, 1997). This meeting of participants and audience members also facilitated sharing knowledge with relevant persons that could result in more effective planning and programming (Palibroda et al., 2009). Secondly, the findings were presented through an early morning radio call-in show on Radio Tambrin which is the most popular radio station on the island of Tobago. Through this medium, the group sought to raise awareness in a wider

aspect of Tobago's population. In terms of the radio programme, the same scripts were used with additional preparation comprising education about the format of talk shows and briefing about managing questions including those which might be considered as too intrusive.

After the public forum, the research team and participants met for debriefing and reflection in order to critically examine the process and action (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). During this session we examined the various recommendations and commitments given by individuals from the community and used this information to follow-up on commitments made by audience members. However in the case of the radio programme the process was different because it occurred one month after the public forum and it was not possible to get all the young men together at that time. Further, only one person was able to participate in the talk show and the show was aired during school hours which prevented the other participants from listening to the programme. Thus I conducted a debriefing session with the relevant participant immediately following the show

This project represented one spiral of the action-reflection cycle. However, it has stimulated ideas that involve establishing forums through the social media, producing a documentary and participating in the Tobago film festival. These activities extend beyond the life of this project, which will continue to incorporate repeating this cycle. It is not mandatory that I be part of the spin-off actions because the intention of PAR is to empower participants to devise strategies to address their issues.

Summary

The current study was conducted using PAR and utilized photovoice as a vehicle for engaging youth research through this particular methodology. Accordingly, I employed YPAR and in so doing I joined with co-facilitators from two youth groups and nine young men on the island of Tobago in conducting this project. The process required understanding and incorporating principles underlying the general methodology of PAR as well as working with issues related to the specific population of youth. Despite the many benefits of such a methodology, it was necessary to address various challenges of dealing with gate keepers, such as the government department and principals, addressing the issues associated with youth culture and the readiness of youth for participation in research. In the end the group engaged in processes that facilitated disseminating findings and recommendations in a public forum using a youth-friendly format as well as engaging in a radio talk show.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS: ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study, conducted on the Caribbean island of Tobago, focused on exploring the experiences of adolescent males of migrant fathers. The research process sought to elucidate this information through the use of a youth friendly space that appreciated not only participants' voices, but also their capacity to critically evaluate their issues, identify appropriate solutions, and determine relevant ways to disseminate this knowledge to appropriate stakeholders in the community. In this study a modified version of photovoice facilitated description of personal stories using data collection, data analysis and data presentation strategies that were youth-friendly and meaningful for participants.

During the current study, participants did not always find it easy to describe their life experiences, however the young men clearly identified that the absence of the male parent resulted in removing a significant aspect of life that impacted different areas of functioning. Moreover, the narratives highlighted challenges and difficulties which evoked certain emotions among the participants and resulted in individuals feeling trapped in their environment. Despite the various issues, the young men outlined how they adapted to these challenges by adopting specific positive attitudes and embracing various supports in their environment.

Additionally, the exploration and analysis embodied in the study resulted in participants formulating recommendations which were subsequently discussed with relevant policymakers. This collaboration with policymakers facilitated the identification of some possible solutions to the issues facing young men of migrant fathers in Tobago.

The current thesis reflects an integration of information elicited throughout the discussions. Regarding this, the following sections describe the themes and subthemes using quotes from the discussion sessions, images and captions. These are described in this chapter under the findings for the three research questions:

- How do male adolescents aged 12-18 in Tobago describe their experience as children of migrant fathers?
- What solutions can youth in Tobago identify to address the problems of adolescent males of migrant fathers?
- How can youth in Tobago create change by disseminating their ideas concerning solutions to problems they face as adolescent males of migrant fathers?

First Research Question: How do adolescent boys aged 12-18 in Tobago describe their experience as children of migrant fathers?

The data collection process occurred through utilizing various resources such as photographs, guided dialogue, recorded group meetings, journals, field notes, actions from the project, and debriefing sessions. Accompanying this, participatory analysis, constant comparison, and Nvivo software facilitated the identification of themes and sub-themes from photographs and stories. Overall, the analysis pointed to themes of parenting, dealing with social stigma, affective impact of father migration, and coping. These themes are embedded in five key relationship domains: son, father, family, peers and the community each of which play supportive and stigmatizing roles (see Figure 4:1). The following sections describe the themes and sub-themes.

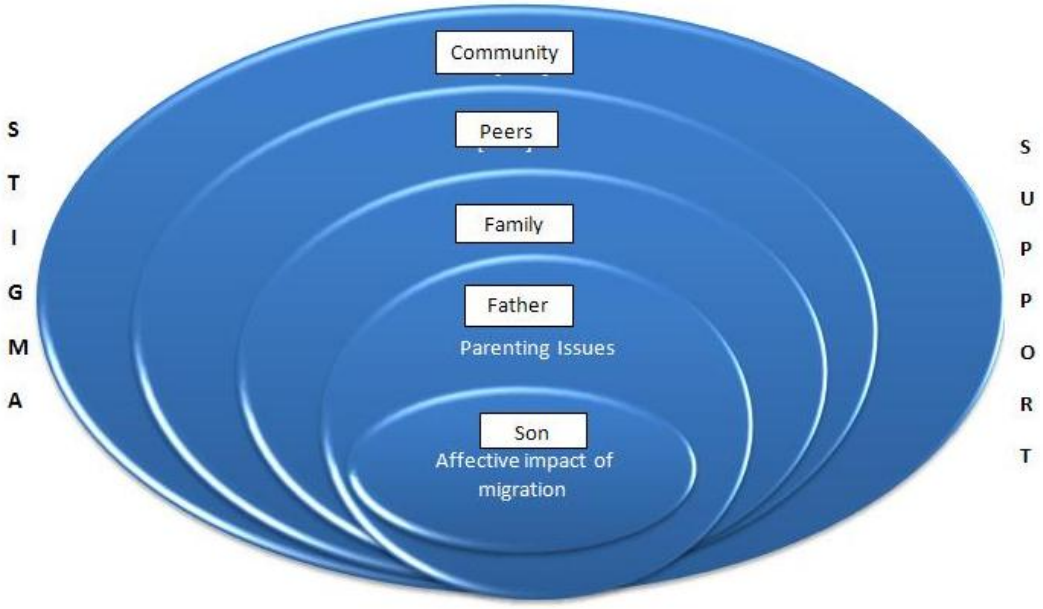

Figure 4.1 Summary of results

Parenting

Within the five relationship domains, factors associated with parenting generated the most discussions. In particular, topics that focused on father-son activities and father-son communication, held the most interest for participants and all the young men contributed eagerly towards such discussions. Three young men, with limited opportunities to interact with adult males, were more expressive about father-son interaction within this context. Generally, the stories pinpointed conceptions of what constituted some significant gender-based roles of a father and the challenges of managing with substitute arrangements. For example, the young men assigned roles that fitted the conventional gender divide of task assignment within the traditional family, and in some cases, the young men highlighted the inappropriateness of role-exchange between genders.

For the most part, when describing father-son activities, the young men spoke about missing a father who functioned as a guide, comrade, life skills coach, educator, and disciplinarian. In relation to this, the roles of guide, comrade and life skills coach held the most significance and were described with equal importance by all the young men. Less discussion surrounded the role of father as educator. Nevertheless, the younger and older cohorts sometimes explained the execution of these roles differently based on the perceived needs of the age groups. With respect to the role of disciplinarian, participants seemed the least enthusiastic about discussing this topic with members of the older cohort contributing the most to the dialogue. In terms of father-son communication, participants discussed the challenge of maintaining contact with a migrant father as reinforcing the difficulties of managing issues associated with these roles of fatherhood.

Father as guide. Participants described a major aspect of parenting as the general guidance which a young man requires for living. The younger cohort in particular characterized fathers' guidance as required to compensate for what they outlined as the more anxious, cautious nature of a mother. This was specifically desired in physical activities that encouraged risk-taking and testing of independence. Enrique illustrated this by saying, "if you are going swimming, your mother might say – that is too far, that is too dangerous." Similarly, Abel commented, "or if you are climbing a tree she will say – come off the tree you might fall - but your father will allow you." In like manner, Bertie noted:

> Yes, and say like you live in Moriah [a specific neighbourhood] and your partners live in Mason Hall [another specific neighbourhood], you know, you will want to go ride your

bike to visit them. Your mother will say – no don't ride suppose a car bounce you down, stay home. But your father would say – boy ride your bike and go.

William summarized that the more cautious stance of a mother culminates in severely restricted movements for young men: "she have you under lock and key."

For the older cohort, a father's guidance was associated with interacting with and relating to the opposite sex. When these young men participated in a focus group led by the one of the male facilitators, they indicated a desire to understand a father's perspective on what type of strategies were effective in courting a female. Mike explained:

For me it was kind of hard, because I had to learn by trial and error and knowing your father went through that kind of experience, you want to know what he did to get your mother, what tactics he used. Sometimes you might want to try it back on somebody.

Jason also spoke about the significance of male to male communication on personal topics, "there are some things I will tell my father that I will never think about telling my mother...certain personal things ...a male prefers to talk to a male." Though the older participants were vociferous in linking fathers' guidance concerning relationships with girls, Enrique noted that this was also of relevance to younger adolescents:

At a younger age too. Since in primary school, not waiting until 5th Form, me and my friends used to see who could get the most girls in primary school. Your father would have told you up front what to look for in girls. He would have given you the heads up.

Besides relationship issues, the younger adolescents also associated the general lack of fathers' guidance with a sense of being adrift in life. Enrique likened the experience to being lost (Figure 4:2).

Figure 4.2 Father as guide: Pathway in a forest

> Without my father my family is like lost and trying to find their way and we need our father to show us. (Enrique)

In the same way, Winston linked his father's absence with the need for direction, "for me it is like being in a maze and my father and I are trying to find each other." Furthermore, Bertie suggested how a father's departure was connected with relinquished responsibilities regarding showing a son how to grow and develop into a young man (Figure 4:3).

Figure 4.3 Father as guide: Unfinished foundation of a house

> This is a picture where someone cut out a landscape to build a house but never finished. This is like when my father left he started the foundation of my life, but he did not finish. He just left and went abroad. (Bertie)

Abel summarized these experiences of being lost and directionless as signifying the complementary roles played by parents in providing guidance for children, "a boy needs to get guidance from both father and mother to get along in life."

Father as comrade. Besides being a general guide, individuals in this study highlighted the role of comrade associated with fatherhood. In particular, participants noted the unique rapport linked to the father-son interaction that occurs in certain sports. Furthermore, the young men believed that compared to females, a father was better at understanding the meaning of these activities for males and appreciating the camaraderie associated with these male-oriented events. As two of the young men described in relation to football:

> If there is a football match; if he was here he would have taken you because he is interested in football. But your mother she is into cleaning and cooking and wants you to stay at home and help clean and rake the yard. (Bertie)
>
> If I have a football match and I go with my mother she will just sit there and if she sees a friend she will talk. If my father was there he would say 'go, go' ... kind of cheer me on. And if I do something bad he would probably say – keep going, don't worry about that. (Abel)

An additional aspect of camaraderie concerned a father functioning as a playmate. Although participants placed less emphasis about the importance of father in this capacity, two of the older participants noted the importance of typically male-gendered types of play. Mike explained, "we want to engage in rough and tumble play and high energy play that males like. A man is better than a woman for doing these types of activities." Similarly, Daniel linked rough play with a parent of a specific gender when reporting about one of his hobbies (Figure 4:4).

Figure 4.4 Father as comrade: Youngman standing in sailboat

> Being in a sailing club helped because when I was younger my father was not here so I could not have gone on the beach and rough play with my mother that would have been strange. (Daniel)

Father as life-skills coach. Another significant aspect of fathering concerned participants' preference for drawing on the knowledge of the paternal parent regarding certain skills. Thus, individuals suggested that a father should be there to teach his son specific

'masculine' life skills such as how to hunt, fish, and ride a bike or even in terms of demonstrating certain techniques associated with sports. Winston explained:

> I never learned to ride bike through my father. I use to go to the top of the hill. I know I cannot ride. I just let go and close my eyes. And it was more risky. He would have told you which brakes to balance, or when to use the back brakes.

Likewise, Mike's picture of bike riding (Figure 4:5) demonstrated his concern for being denied the opportunity to benefit from his father's teaching skills.

Figure 4.5 Father as life skills coach: A man and a boy riding bicycles

> For me this is one of the experiences that I never had because my father left. He never really taught me how to ride a bicycle. This picture is really a father and his young son now learning to ride a bicycle and I would have liked to experience it. (Mike)

Describing additional challenges of functioning without a father's teaching, Mike reported on fishing techniques that required a father's input, "like when I went fishing and I jumped in the

water and when I put my hand in the water I took up a big white eel. If he was around I might not have taken that chance."

Besides this, the young men believed that societal norms mandated that the mentoring associated with certain recreational activities should not, or could not be relegated to females. For example, Enrique explained, "if I had to ride bike with my mother that will look real weird," and Daniel affirmed:

> I wish that he was able to be here to help with doing certain things like hunting because my mother will not really carry me hunting. It is more like a manly thing. So I had to do it by myself.

Enrique's picture of young men playing cricket (Figure 4:6) further symbolized how the young men perceived the importance of fathers teaching certain skills related to sports.

Figure 4.6 Father as life skills coach: Children playing a game of cricket

> They want an adult to give challenge to play, an adult male, someone more skilled. It will be more special if it is daddy giving this challenge. (Enrique)

Father as educator. Discussions on the parenting roles of a father also extended to other areas of life and most group members agreed that lack of father-son teaching interlaced with

formal education. For example, Abel suggested that fathers' absence affected education when certain high school courses required an understanding of how a father functioned within a family. He noted that providing the relevant information required using imagination to fill the gaps in knowledge about the experience of having a father physically present. In this case teaching through modeling became significant.

> There were times when I needed help with my school work, like talking about the roles of a father. I made up information about what I heard other people say, not based on my experience. It would have been nice to talk from experience.

For two young men, fathers' involvement in education also concerned not having the necessary input regarding what youth perceived as male oriented aspects of schoolwork. Thus, Jason pointed out, "there are certain times a boy needs to go to different persons for different things, sometimes I need my mother but again sometimes I need my father, like when I have to do subjects like woodwork and electronics." Additionally, Abel spoke generally about the limited help that existed in a household that lacked the input of a father in academic tasks (Figure 4:7) and Enrique emphasized the importance of both a father's and mother's contribution to a child's schooling (Figure 4:8).

Figure 4.7 Father as educator: Books

Sometimes when I have a project for school and I can't get any help. My mother can't help, my bigger brother is tired and my smaller brother well he just does not know. So I need my father. (Abel)

Figure 4.8 Father as educator: School monogram

School is important to me because without an education you cannot go anywhere and with an education you can become anything you want and sometimes you need your father to help you complete your education, not only your mother. (Enrique)

For the older adolescents such teaching also related to preparation for the world of work. Syd, explained the importance of such direction from a father.

> For example they [the younger participants] may focus on the things that daddy buys for them. At our age we will not be studying that. We might more want him to help us with doing some mechanics or something. For example [Daniel's] father is a computer technician so [Daniel] will be more interested in learning to be a computer technician.

My father is a motor-bike mechanic so at this age that is what I want to know more about. In support, Mike suggested how the process should work, "when I was choosing subjects [in high school] I called my father and he advised me on what he would like me to do. Then it was my views, my mother's views and his views."

Still, two young men disagreed that fathers' physical presence would have had a different impact on their education. Daniel pointed out, "I don't think it would have made a difference to my education if my father was here. My mother sent me to extra classes. If he was here I would have been doing the same classes." Similarly, William noted, "a mother is the person who mostly encourages you to do your schoolwork. At least my mother does that."

Father as disciplinarian. Additional discourse about father-son interactions also surrounded the subject of discipline, although participants were not enthusiastic about this topic. In particular, the limited dialogue considered if individuals' occasional misbehaviour, (at home or at school), might be linked to the absence of restraint that could be enforced by a father. Two participants eagerly debated whether it was a tragedy to have been denied a father functioning as a disciplinarian in this context. One young man thought it would have been useful to counterbalance the maternal methods of disciplining. Thus, Bertie suggested:

> I don't mind if my father was the one to discipline me. I think I would have preferred this to my stepfather and my mother, well, she quarrels and goes on too much about things that I do... my father would get to the point quicker.

On the other hand, Mike preferred the relative laxity created in the current living environment. He speculated: "I don't mind my father not being here to discipline me because I am more free." Participants further explained how the father-son interaction was compromised by the irregular communication with their father. Thus the stories highlighted issues related to maintaining contact with a migrant father and the outcomes of this process.

Maintaining contact. The young men described the father-son communication as influencing two aspects of life: magnifying the physical separation, and creating an emotional disconnection. These issues were discussed in relation to how contact with fathers, (whether in person, by telephone or virtually), was infrequent and limited in duration for young men in the study. This irregular and restricted contact further complicated the challenge of having an absent father. Though articulated differently, depending on whether the father migrated internationally or to Trinidad, the overall experiences were similar. Specifically, participants with international migrant fathers were concerned about costs of telephone calls, malfunctioning internet as well as fathers' mistrust of modern technology. Jason explained: "contact is important and if the internet is down you can't contact, if the call is too expensive you can't connect and phone calls are very expensive." In Bertie's case, the challenge concerned his father's discomfort with engaging in virtual conversations, "my father does not like to use the internet because he believes it is a trap, not really a trap, but people can track you down."

On the other hand, for young men with fathers in Trinidad, the proximity of the islands and diminished cost of technology did not necessarily mean more regular contact. For instance, Daniel defined how lack of physical contact with his Trinidad-resident father impacted involvement in special events:

> When I wanted to start sailing, a parent had to be there for registration. My mother was in Trinidad at the time and I had to wait a whole week and that was a real disappointment. My daddy lives quite in Trinidad so I don't think he would have come just for this.

Likewise, Abel used a calendar (Figure 4:9) to describe the infrequent and limited nature of contact with his father who resided in Trinidad.

Figure 4.9 Maintaining contact: Calendar

> Some of us may have the same types of difficulties in trying to contact our father. It has been many months since I have been in contact with him and it is hard sometimes without him. Although my father lives in Trinidad he can only come here for a short time, maybe a day or two, because of the kind of work that he is doing and when he is here during the holidays it is because of work and we still do not get to spend much time together. (Abel)

Furthermore, participants agreed that a father's physical separation impacted the ability to maintain an emotional connection between a father and a son. The young men readily admitted that it was a challenge to deal with this double disconnection. Jason explained, "face to face interaction is different to telephone interaction. The impact is different." Similarly, Abel noted:

> Sometimes I want to tell him something in person, and he might not be there, like emotional, because phone and laptop can't give me the emotional and physical contact. So I really want to see the person.

The young men also perceived physical and emotional separation as sabotaging the father-son relationship, especially in terms of how it seemed to reduce the intimacy with their fathers. For instance, Enrique mused, "I am drifting towards my Mommy and moving away from my Daddy. That does not seem right." Enrique further associated this physical and emotional disconnection with the relationship between the genders:

> Most love comes from the same sex, the mother bonds with her daughter and the son bonds with the father. When a father leaves, a boy has to mostly stay with his mother. The father is supposed to be there.

Other illustrations of the tenuous father-son relationship emerged in William's image, (Figure 4:10), which linked the physical and emotional disconnection with the separateness of nations and Enrique's photograph, (Figure 4.11), which associated the erratic movements of the waterfall with the inconsistent, shifting, fragile relationship he had with his father.

Figure 4.10 Maintaining contact: Ocean

Separated and apart like the islands and countries. (William)

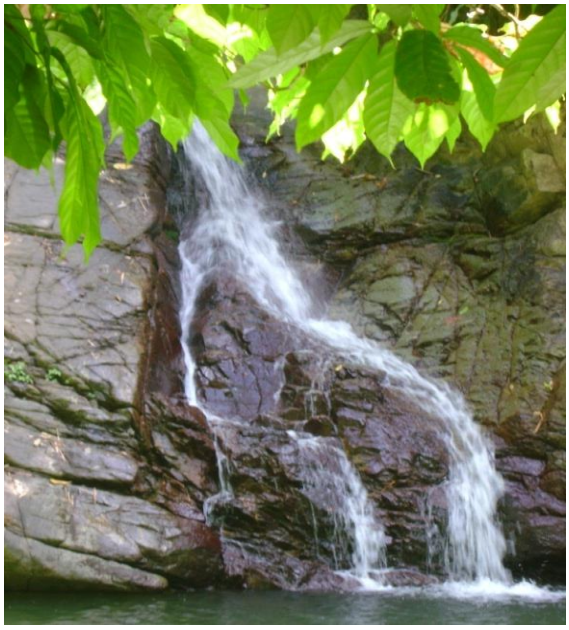

Figure 4.11 Maintaining contact: Waterfall

> Just as the waters from the river flow, first coming together, then separating. Well with me and my father, in the beginning we were together and after a while we separated. It is only now that we are starting to come back together. (Enrique)

Even more, Bertie reflected on his use of imagination to create connection with his father, "to feel connected to him when we are talking over the phone, I try to picture where he is sitting and who is around him. I picture it because I visited there already." Winston summarized the challenges associated with the absent father as indicative of general importance of fathers in families, "a father is an important part of a family and families do things together."

The young men further described how fathers' physical separation evoked specific emotions as described in the following section.

Affective Impact of Father Outmigration

Individuals identified several emotions that resulted from living with the various challenges and difficulties associated with having an absent father. Overall the young men expressed feeling trapped in an environment which generated a sense of abandonment, incompleteness, loneliness and confusion concerning their father's absence and unavailability (see Figure 4:12)

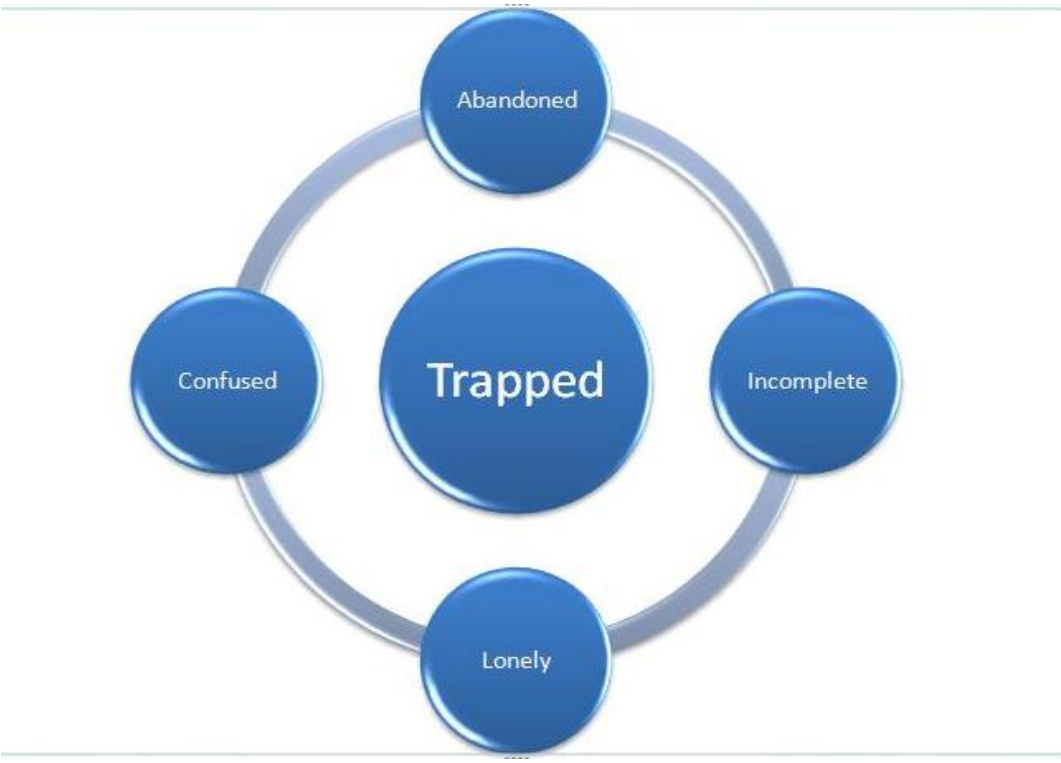

Figure 4.12 Affective impact of father outmigration

Trapped. Participants' described feeling trapped as this related to the degree of female presence in their lives. In particular, the young men suggested that female dominance in many issues often overshadowed the appreciation of masculinity, making them feel as males living in a

female world. This emotion seemed more prominent for two participants residing with only females. However, all the young men pointed to the overpowering female influence in different areas of their lives including school. For instance, Daniel noted, "when you attend meetings in schools mostly mothers are there...women seem to be everywhere." Moreover, the young men eagerly embraced Daniel's picture (Figure 4:13) as representing their description of confinement.

Figure 4.13 Trapped: Chicken behind a fence

The chicken is not free to move around as it wants as chicken.

I think this is how we feel sometimes. (Daniel)

This perception of female dominance extended to the current research where the young men expressed their concern about the female researcher and voiced their preference of having a male collecting the data. They indicated the tendency to withhold information because of viewing the researcher as someone in a 'mother's role' and of a gender that could not relate to some issues concerning young men. As Mike explained:

> Females are the dominant sex. They want to take over everything. It is as though I am surrounded by them. For example I think we should have male counsellors to deal with this type of topic. I don't think that a female talking to a boy about how his father migrated really get him to open up because he might see her as his mother and just lock her off[1].

Also, the experience of being trapped included a perception of being ignored especially concerning opinions on issues that were of more relevance to males.

> All I have is women in my house. Sometimes when I talk with mommy and she doesn't agree, and I say but mommy I am right, she does not listen, especially when I am talking about things like sports. My father would have understood. He would have listened. (Winston)

> When I talk and my mother does not listen, for me it is like some of the dogs that I hear crying at nights because they are tied up and they cry all night because no one is paying attention to them. That is how I feel when people ignore me. (Abel)

Abandoned. Living in a female world, not only engendered a feeling of being trapped, but also created a sense of being abandoned. Generally, participants felt forsaken to manage 'boy troubles' without a father to champion their cause. In relation to this, Mike described the process involving misdemeanors at school.

> Sometimes I feel that my daddy went away and left me with a lot of trouble and problems and my father is the only one who can take me out. Like when I get in trouble in school, you know, like for simple things like not doing homework or forgetting

[1] Lock off – to ignore someone or something.

> something... sometimes not writing lines...and they call your parents. I think my father will better be able to understand...because my mother...well her maternal instinct kicks in and she want to beat me. But a father would handle it differently.

Similarly, three twelve year olds discussed how a father could provide a male perspective on minor behaviour thereby counterbalancing a mother's interpretation of the same scenario.

> Like if they take away your phone in school, your father will just take the phone without a fuss while your mother will just want to talk and talk about it. He will understand because he was a boy and he went through the same things like you. You know when you are young and you want to do stupidness**.** He might understand but your mother will not understand. (Bertie)

Elaborating on this comment, Enrique responded, "she will tell them to keep it," and Winston outlined the distinctive attitudes of fathers and mothers regarding children's behaviour, "father picks up for the boys and the mother picks up for the girls."

Equally important, Syd related abandonment to a general sense of desertion (Figure 4:14) and hoping and waiting for a change in circumstances only resulted in disappointment for Bertie (Figure 4:15).

Figure 4.14 Abandoned: Tyre, dog, and derelict house

The building, dog and tyre are left unattended just as we have been deserted by our father. (Syd)

Figure 4.15 Abandoned: Coconut tree

> This reminds me of a coconut tree in our backyard that we had for some years and it never bore any fruit. Every year I looking for my father to come back and he did not, it made me feel disappointed. (Bertie)

For those with minimal father-son contact or who perceived that financial support was not provided in a timely manner, abandonment also included their concern regarding financial neglect. In this instance, three of the young men referred to situations when it was particularly difficult for their mother to manage in the absence of additional funds from their father. Abel reported on the dilemma of relying on sources outside of the family, "sometimes it was hard for my mommy to find enough money to buy the things that my brothers and sisters and I need. This is hard when we have to depend on persons outside the family. It is embarrassing." Similarly, through their images, Winston illustrated his concern about unmet needs (Figure 4:16), and Enrique highlighted the psychological fallout of financial neglect (Figure 4:17).

Figure 4.16 Abandoned: Quotation

If you don't make money, you don't make sense. Like when I need things for school, I can't get them sometimes because there is no money, Mommy alone has to buy everything. (Winston)

Figure 4.17 Abandoned: Trees

Trees with leaves are like my mother and I getting stress, like when getting grey hair - the leaves are the stress and the trees without the leaves are without the stress. Lots of stress because of challenges like getting money. (Enrique)

Yet, not all participants agreed that father-absence resulted in economic hardship. Bertie recognized the financial contributions made by his father and used apparel (Figures 4:18) to illustrate this. On a similar note, Daniel took a photograph of money (Figure 4:19)

Figure 4.18 Abandoned: Clothes and shoes

I don't know about the others but my father supports me.

He sends me shoes and stuff. (Bertie)

Figure 4.19 Abandoned: Money

Money is important to everyday life, to buy stuff, to live, to buy food.

Although my father was not here he always sent money and

this is a picture showing a small bit that he sent. (Daniel)

Incompleteness. All the young men, except one, associated the perceived abandonment by their fathers with a sense of incompleteness, which participants described as missing a part of oneself or an important part of their life. Largely, group members illustrated the emotion of incompleteness by using images that depicted 'spaces'. The young men suggested that these spaces connoted empty areas to be filled by a father's presence (Figure 4:20 to 4:22). For Bertie, this sense of a void in his life became more apparent when he compared his situation with those of peers.

Figure 4.20 Incompleteness: Space between leaves

> I feel like there is a gap in my life and I hope that my father will come back to fill that gap. It makes me feel small inside in my heart. (Winston)

Figure 4.21 Incompleteness: Space between clouds

I feel like there is a space in my life, as a part of my life is gone. (Jason)

Figure 4.22 Incompleteness: Heart-shaped painting

I see my friends with their family and when I look at myself I see that I am missing something. (Bertie)

Additionally, Mike and Abel used the same image of an unfinished government building to illustrate the incompleteness they felt in their lives (Figure 4:23).

Figure 4.23 Incompleteness: Unfinished building

> The reason why I took a picture of this building is because it was incomplete and right now they are trying to finish it and fix all the problems that are there and they are not able to fix it even though they are trying. The childhood days when my father was not around, no matter how they will try, they cannot fix that because you will never be able to get back there, will never be able to compensate sufficiently. (Mike)
>
> This picture means my life is unfinished without my father. The houses are other people who have their parents with them while I do not. That building will be finished but I hope that someday my life will be filled. But it is taking so long. (Abel)

Abel further explained this incompleteness as contributing to his inability to manage some life issues:

> For me, it is true that my life is not full without my father. My father is now starting to come back because my father recently started working in Tobago. All these years he has been gone and I really had problems with certain things in my life.

However, not all the young men agreed with these sentiments of incompleteness. Thus, Daniel alluded to the counterbalancing effect of having a significant presence of males within the extended family system and said, "I don't really feel incomplete because I grow up with lots of males in my family, so nothing is really missing."

Loneliness. Three young men associated their father's absence with loneliness and indicated missing their father and wishing he was with them. This feeling of loneliness was present regardless of the number of people in their environment. For instance, William explained, "you may say I should not feel lonely because I have so many persons in my life but I am separated from a person who is very important to me." Likewise Jason's image of a moon in a starless sky (Figure 4:24) depicted the aloneness he experienced when his father was absent.

Figure 4.24 Loneliness: Moon in the night sky

> The moon is lonely in the sky and that is how I feel. I am thinking about daddy. Only when the moon is full does it have significance because it lights up the place. So only when my father calls me I feel happy and no one else is important. (Jason)

In like manner, Mike's photo of a four roads junction (Figure 4:25) explained his experience of loneliness even though he was surrounded by people.

Figure 4.25 Loneliness: Four roads intersection

> Each road has a meaning. Sometimes it is a kind of lonely and one way street for me, like the vehicle you are seeing down at the end. So that everyone is going their own different directions but I have the longer road. (Mike)

Confusion. Explanations or the lack thereof, concerning why their father left sometimes created confusion for four youngsters. Daniel referred to dealing with unanswered questions during the earlier years of his life (Figure 4:26).

Figure 4.26 Confusion: Billboard

When I was small I did not know when, and

why my father left, why he was not coming back. (Daniel)

To some extent these questions also concerned information regarding the other family life of participants' fathers. As Mike expressed when describing some of his struggles in accepting the broken relationships between father and mother, and emotional distancing between father and son (Figure 4:27).

Figure 4.27 Confusion: Internet router

Unlike the internet box that knows everything, I still don't understand a lot about

why my father left, why he left my mommy, why he had other children. (Mike)

However, this confusion seemed to have been replaced by an eagerness to build relationships with step-siblings, if not with step-mothers, and this occurred alongside the frustration of

overcoming the language barriers to facilitate this process. For instance, in response to questions about his father having another family, Mike noted,

> I don't really like my stepmother, so I don't really care. I can't talk to them because of the language. All I want from my stepmother is anything nice that she thinks that I would like. The only problem I basically have is trying to communicate with my little brother because he cannot speak English. [He] speaks German. I have to learn German.

Bertie also highlighted the difficulty in communicating with his step family.

> My stepmother speaks Portuguese. She cannot speak English well. All she knows is 'hello', 'hi', 'how you going'. My brother speaks Portuguese because he grew up in a Portuguese family. Everyone talks Portuguese. I can't understand Portuguese. But when I went to visit, everybody gave me money when I was leaving. I liked that.

On the other hand, Winston, whose contact with his father was more irregular than many of the other young men, suggested that the disorientation had affected his performance in school (Figure 4:28).

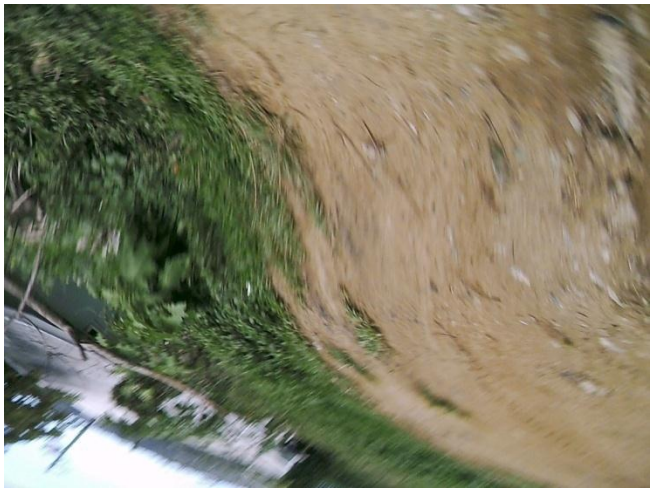

Figure 4.28 Confusion: Blurred grass and dirt

> It is hard for me to concentrate on my schoolwork because I feel confused. about this situation. I don't understand why this has to be happening to me. (Winston)

Emotions and the Environment: Anger and Behaviour. Generally, although admitting to committing infractions of school rules, participants believed that their misbehaviour was normal for that age group rather than connected to unresolved feelings towards their father. Nevertheless, two participants readily identified how the father-son separation produced anger which was directed towards persons in their social environment. For example, Syd explained how his anger impacted relationships with the opposite sex. He shared, "as a child growing up when you are separated from your father it is hard to keep a relationship with the opposite sex because when you have problems you take it out on your partner."

For Abel, teasing paternal relatives was the chosen response to address resentment concerning his father's relocation to Trinidad.

> When my father left I was so angry that I tortured my aunt and my niece. I told them things to irritate them, although I did not mean it. I was feeling so sad and lonely and angry that I would take out my anger on them. I wanted some way to release the anger. I was angry because he left me and my mother and my brother to go away. Although it was for a good reason, he still left.

On the other hand, Winston challenged suggestions that his conduct had anything to do with misplaced anger. Regarding this, participants attending the same school described Winston's misbehaviour as the following dialogue depicts:

> When I graduated from primary school I did not get an award, but I think I deserved one. But the teachers are too biased, they don't like me. (Winston)
>
> What makes you think that they do not like you? (Co-Facilitator)
>
> I am too bright for them. (Winston)
>
> He is a trouble maker and rude. (Abel)
>
> Do you hear them describing you as a trouble maker? (Co-Facilitator)
>
> Yes. (Winston)
>
> And [he] want to be a bad man. (Enrique)
>
> In school now the form mistress calls him a trouble maker and they wring his ears. (Abel)

Further to these issues surrounding parenting and affect, participants also suggested that the inadequate father-son interactions created opportunities for individuals to be labelled by persons within the social environment. Accordingly, it was sometimes difficult to deal with the negative comments and pessimistic expectations from adults and peers.

Dealing with Social Stigma

The group believed that the father-absent environment made it easy for persons in the community, family and school to speak about participants in derogatory terms. In particular, one of the younger cohorts gave his interpretation of how adults believed individuals should respond to the father-son separation phenomenon. Abel remarked, "some people try to bring you down. They say - your father don't want you no more. Why don't you forget about him?" Further to this, Mike saw the disparaging comments as related to society's perceptions of attitudes and behaviours regarding fathers and sons:

> It was kind of difficult because society had a stigma on my father and they expected me to be like him, smoke weed[2], run woman[3], ride bike. My daddy was not too wholesome and they expected me to be just like him and because he migrated they expected me to be worse.

Equally important, two other participants linked this with society's general perception of males.

> You know how people like to say negative things about men, that man not standing up to their responsibilities, they not minding their children, they don't care. But the reason the public say these things is because they not well educated about these situations. Don't stereotype me give me a fair chance. (Syd)
>
> Society has certain perceptions of males – you have to do this, you have to do that, you have to be tough and most times when you grow up without your parents, without your

[2] Smoke weed – Use marijuana.
[3] Run woman – Having intimate relationships with more than woman simultaneously.

> father, they feel you are kind of soft, you are a sissy. But I find with your father being there it prevents that. (Jason)

Although less commonly identified, two participants compared how these conversations were not only in the wider community, but evident within the family. For example, 16 year old Mike was particularly incensed about the derogatory remarks from his maternal aunts. He noted the continuing need to battle these judgmental statements from early childhood.

> I will always get cuss [4] by my aunt – that is why your father left you. He is not a good person. He never mind you[5]. You will not amount to anything good. He did not like your mother. It comes out as she always tugging at me like I could not be anything good and I used to cuss her back- don't be on my father. A boy and his father have a special bond.

In contrast Daniel noted, "my family was always there for me. They never said anything to make me feel different. They would not say bad things like, his father not there. They behaved as normal."

The social stigma experienced by father absent young men was also connected with other aspects of their lives. Mike articulated the negative association linked to his village of residence:

> Sometimes there is stigmatization based on the area in which you live because the area in which I am presently living is stigmatized. So for example my area is known for producing good sportsmen but also good drug lords, marijuana smokers, criminals along that line, a lot of vagrants. So it was kind of difficult along that line because everybody

[4] Cuss- To curse or use abusive language
[5] Mind – To take responsibility for a child's upbringing especially in terms of providing financially for the child.

will see you just falling into the stream and going in the same direction. It is what they expect of you – well his father is not here, so right, that is a next drug lord or that is a next marijuana smoker.

The school was also a source of social stigma and in this case, participants' interpretation of negative comments varied depending on father's residence. Thus, for participants with international migrant fathers, negative comments seemed related to peers' misconceptions of the reality of having a migrant father. In particular, some school mates focused only on the possible material benefits of having a father abroad. The young men suggested that such criticisms had a tendency to isolate them from their peer group.

> Sometimes they [school mates] tend to show-off[6] and other times when they realize some of the benefits you are getting from your father being abroad, they get jealous and make comments to make you feel that you are better than them. For example when you have brand name shoes and stuff that they never saw before they say- he feel he big because his father living abroad, he feels because his daddy is living there he is rich and everything nice. (Mike)

> Every school term I go to school with a different shoe and everybody asks me where I get it from and when I tell them that my father sent it they will say – boy you real lucky boy- but they don't understand what really going on. (Bertie)

> When I was in football training, my friend told me to tell my daddy that I lost my shoes, but I should really give it to him instead, so that my daddy would buy another one and he could have my shoes. (Enrique)

[6] Show-off – to boast.

In contrast, the young men with Trinidad resident fathers, though agreeing with the isolating environment created by peers, offered a different explanation. In this situation, the young men focused on isolation that was largely triggered by peers boasting of the availability of fathers for school-related activities. These boastings, whether subtle and overt, were sufficient to create a sense of isolation (Figures 4:29 and 4:30).

Figure 4.29 Dealing with social stigma: Horses

> One white horse and all the rest brown, I felt singled out in the class as the only one without a father to go to meetings and other events. (Daniel)

Figure 4.30 Dealing with social stigma: Baked goods

> All the buns have crosses except one. Sometimes I feel odd. A cross can be put back on it. Sometimes your father can come back. My father is the cross and I am the bun. (Abel)

Despite the difficulties and the accompanying emotional fall-outs and social stigma, the participants did not believe that they were left without assistance and, in fact, readily identified coping strategies.

Coping

The narratives outlined supports from various sources which were important for helping the young men to cope with their issues. Generally, coping strategies and the degree of personal benefits from these supports depended on the accessibility of the resources and the mindset of individuals. Overall, the resources were both material and non-material in nature and related to circumstances external to the individual as well as factors within the individual.

Coping: Support from the External Environment. The contributions of females, men, community groups and religion acted as pillars of support for the young men in this study. In

some cases the activities of these benefactors represented conventional gender-specific responses and certain supports, though beneficial for some young men, were debilitating for others.

Support from women. Despite concerns for the major presence of women in their lives, the group acknowledged supportive females from their families and the wider community. In this regard, participants indicated appreciation for the role that mothers, grandmothers, aunts, peers and teachers played in providing financial, emotional and instrumental support. For instance, Abel used a family photograph (Figure 4:31) to signify the extent of support received from females in his family network. Similarly, Enrique's images of food and equipment (Figure 4:32) represented material and non-material ways in which females provided support. Also, Daniel's photograph of a flower (Figure 4:33) demonstrated emotional support.

Figure 4.31 Coping: Family portrait

> This is a picture of my family; my great grandmother, aunts and uncles. My mother was involved in athletics such as netball and football. My family came together to see her go away to play. And that is how I feel. My family always comes together to support me, if I need help. (Abel)

Figure 4.32 Coping: Food supplies and a computer

My grandmother sends food supplies and she would buy anything I want if my mother can't afford it. (Enrique)

Figure 4.33 Coping: Flower

Females have been my main support while growing up. My mother and grandmother supported me most of the time, a shoulder to cry on. (Daniel)

Some young men discussed receiving emotional support from females in their peer network, as Mike noted:

> Sometimes when you think about certain things, like how you can't see your father and all that.., you lose control of your tears. You feel to cry and they say man does not cry. So you try to 'man up' and it affects you. They will say 'man up', how you behaving so, you behaving like a girl. Only girls cry. And you feel a little angry. But you buss some tears[7] in your pillow. Or I wait until no one is around or if I have close female friends I hug them and cry, if you are lucky enough. Sometimes the girls cry with you.

A younger participant, (Abel), supported this statement and indicated:

> I don't hide to cry. A good girl friend if she is affectionate, she supports you. That's where you get the emotional support. We can meet and talk. Some of my female friends also encouraged me, saying; don't give up, positive motivations.

Additionally, assistance in the form of practical support from female teachers was acknowledged by the youth. This was particularly important for William who reported, *"*sometimes female teachers do things like what a father would do. Like if I have to build something for a project, they will tell you what to do, what nail to use." However, the group agreed that it was difficult to trust female school personnel because of the lack of confidentiality displayed by these adults. As Enrique commented, "even if you have counsellors you can't trust them either. They will go in the staff room and talk too." Abel also expressed this concern:

[7] Buss some tears - Cry a lot.

> Some teachers you don't trust them and you don't want to tell them. You want to tell them but is like if you tell them you know that they will go and talk because you know how teachers commessive[8]**.** They go back to the staff room and talk.

S*upport from men.* In addition to the support from females, the young men were equally appreciative of support from men, whether this was within or outside of the family network. In particular, participants envisaged these men as playing the role of substitute fathers who engaged in activities that simulated the father-son relationship.

With respect to activities with men within the family network William suggested, "I like my stepfather because I can do plenty of things with him. You can get away with things." Enrique further explained the input of surrogate fathers in the kinship system:

> My uncle plays the role of my father. Anything I need I just call him and ask him and if he can do it he will or if he cannot do it right away he will make time for me. We do everything together, we play games together, video games and like everywhere he is going he takes me with him. He is the one who will take me to car shows and boys stuff and thing.

Support from these men in alternative father roles, also included teaching life skills. For example Jason suggested: "I never learnt to ride bike through my father. It was my cousins who taught me."

Furthermore, the interaction with these substitute fathers, especially for younger adolescents in the group, sometimes facilitated the opportunity to talk about issues that are important to males. Abel stated: "my older brother is there with me. Things that your father will

[8] Commessive – Being overly interested in the affairs of others; confusion associated with gossip and slander.

have to tell you, my older brother will tell me those things and we talk a lot." William also noted how such conversations could serve as an opportunity to address his anxieties, "family is important to me. When I am alone and afraid, my brother is there for me."

In addition to activities from men within the family system, Syd also demonstrated how males in the wider community could be a source of support, "I play football and I have a good relationship with my teammates and the coach is like a father to me, like the time when I needed new shoes and my father would not help and my coach helped."

Despite the gratitude for the input of men, two participants highlighted the group's concerns about the possibility of the love and generosity of father figures replacing the significance of biological fathers.

> My stepfather and mommy's friends help to fill the gap in my life. Sometimes I don't want that. I want my father to fill that gap for me and it is a challenge. I will be asking my father constantly when he will be coming and then he promises to come, but does not keep his promise. (Abel)

Bertie concurred with this idea stating, "I agree with what he is saying that you replace your father with other people in your life. Sometimes you really want to know why that person is not here and there may be other male figures. Say you have a real good friend you take him as your father figure."

Support from community groups. The women and men were not the only sources of support for youth with migrant fathers. Some individuals found that their involvement in civic organizations and community youth groups compensated for some of the difficult experiences. For example, Mike, who was a member of the Boy Scouts, spoke of the counter balancing effect

for the smothering associated with female dominance, "I was involved in scouts and in a sense I think it helped me especially by getting away from being around females all the time. So sometimes I feel a bit more free to express myself."

Participation in other groups, such as village steel pan,[9] and karate, also provided an outlet and an opportunity to mix and interact with other young people. This process assisted in minimizing the negatives about being the child of a migrant father, including dealing with unfavourable emotions. Thus, Jason explained, "when I was younger I had a problem with anger and my mother let me join karate and that helped." Similarly, Mike commented on how playing the steel pan (Figure 4:34) diverted his attention away from issues concerning his father.

Figure 4.34 Coping: Steel pan

> I channeled my mind into being part of the steel pan group in the village and it took my mind off the situation. (Mike)

[9] A musical instrument originating from Trinidad and Tobago

Also, Syd, who is a musician in the church band, indicated the role of music in his life, "when I am down, I play my keyboard to make me feel better."

Support from religion. Support to manage life's difficulties also came by connecting to religion and religious activities. For example, Abel, who is involved in a religious youth group noted, "when socializing it allows you to take your mind off your father. Like joining church groups, interacting with other people, not just boys."

Additionally, two participants were thankful for the chance to learn about praying and depending on God as a means of coping with their difficulties. Winston explained, "praying is the best option. When I pray I believe that God helps me to do better in my school work. I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me." Similarly, Abel demonstrated the significance of praying in his life and used an image of a broken basket on an open Bible to explain this experience (Figure 4:35).

Figure 4.35 Coping: Bucket on a Bible

> I always say - always remember to pray. My father was here for a little while and then he went away and I feel broken. When I pray the hardest things may seem possible to do. Everything can also be repaired and praying is important, it helps to deal with the brokenness. (Abel)

Besides this, participants appreciated the input of church members and leaders who provided inspiration to stay in school and encouragement to maintain an optimistic attitude towards life. Abel summarized, "all the time that I did not have my father here, people in the church motivated me to do better in my school work."

However, for two participants, involvement in church proved to be difficult. Mike reported, "for me it was hard because people in church looked at you funny. When the church has male-oriented events and I went alone, the people were so sympathetic that it made me feel funny," and Bertie supported wholeheartedly and commented, "I find that church people pushed me aside and make you feel odd."

Coping: Drawing on Internal Resources. In addition to capitalizing on resources in their external environment, participants described coping strategies related to hiding feelings and developing a hopeful outlook on life. These strategies consisted of masking feelings, submitting to distractions, and having a positive self-perception, each of which are described below.

Masking feelings. Some participants developed an apathetic attitude towards life that concealed their true feelings and this helped individuals to contend with challenges of father's absence. For example, Daniel described his attitude using a carnival mask (Figure 4:36).

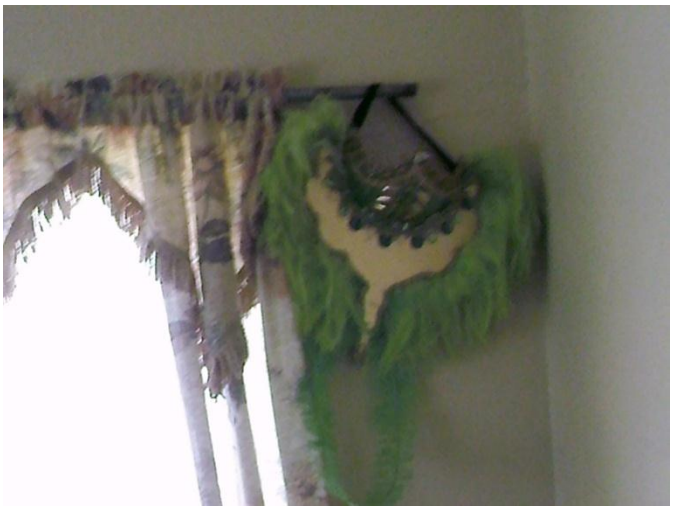

Figure 4.36 Coping: Mask

I hid my feelings. I covered up my feelings of abandonment and shame. (Daniel)

As another example, the following excerpt illustrates the process youth used to disguise feelings and adopt a fictitious demeanor:

> I had a 'don't care' attitude, whether they said my father was good or bad, I just did not care. So nothing could affect me. I don't think I care too much about my father. (Mike)
>
> It can make you have a 'don't care' attitude towards life. (Syd)
>
> Tell me about that. (Co-Facilitator)

Because he not really coming I don't really care for him. (Mike)

But some of us care. We care but we pretend [not to]. (Bertie)

I believe that as a boy gets older he can lock off his father, well at least in my case. When I was about 12 it bothered me more but by the time I reached later teens I didn't business[10]. It did not bother me as much because as I got older I was not really studying my father I was studying girls. (Mike)

I study girls too but it still bothers me about my father. (Bertie)

Distractions. Some of the young men discussed how engagement in leisure activities helped to temporarily erase the distress of their father's absence. In relation to this, Enrique noted, "when I am having fun I don't think about my father. Once a boy is having fun he will not think about his father." Abel concurred, "when I mixed with other young people it helped me to take my mind off my father."

For others, such activities only reminded them of missed opportunities for engaging in activities as a father-son duo. As Bertie contrasted, 'you are wrong. Like when playing with scratch bombs[11], you still think about how your friends have their fathers here to burst scratch bombs with them and I have to be bursting them all by myself." Winston contextualized these thoughts by indicating the degree to which these activities can cover the impact of father's absence, "It depends on how fun it is. The more fun it is the less I think about my father."

[10] Don't business – To ignore someone or something.
[11] Tiny explosive devices

Development of competencies. In spite of the challenges, individuals in the study shared that the experience as a child of a migrant father helped them develop positive character traits. For example, Mike referred to the asset of being responsible, "though I have picked up some physical injuries, it is easier for me now. It made me more responsible. My parents tend to give me more responsibilities now." Abel focused on the boost in problem-solving skills, "you learn how to think fast, to problem-solve. I think that is how I passed Maths examination. Because of my problem-solving skills I had to learn how to think more without someone to help me." For Daniel, functioning without his father engendered two characteristics: creativity and a caring personality. He explained:

> I believe having to do things by yourself makes you think outside the box and also for me although my father was not here to care for me I have decided to be here to care for my sisters and brothers.

Likewise, William described an appreciation for recognizing his individuality and gratefulness for how his experiences positively influenced his current position in life:

> I am just glad to be alive and still existing. I could have been in an orphanage, but I am here with mommy. Although my father is not here I like myself and everything about me. I am unique. Although I miss my father I am self-confident and everything will be o.k.

Some narratives of the youth alluded to the development of resilience. For instance, Syd stated, "sometimes my situations seemed hard to get over, but I see myself stronger now than in the past." In a similar manner, Mike's picture of a wooden walkway (Figure 4:37) depicted how

he successfully handled negative situations in his life and Jason depicted his fortitude through the image of an historical landmark on the island (Figure 4:38).

Figure 4.37 Coping: Wooden planks covering a walkway

This walkway with the piece of board is like a form of blockage. Sometimes even though going through the same situation people can become like a blockage and influence you negatively but I was able to pick up things early and put it aside and move on. (Mike)

Figure 4.38 Coping; Silk cotton tree

Like the big silk cotton tree. I am stronger. (Jason)

Furthermore, some individuals described how their experience resulted in a positive sense of self. Accordingly, Abel used a picture of broken bricks (Figure 4:39) to describe his positive self-concept, and Syd's image of a flowering tree (Figure 4:40) demonstrated his positive self-perception in the midst of challenges.

Figure 4.39 Coping: Broken bricks

> Some people think that I might be damaged and like some things that are damaged, you cannot use. But broken bricks are still very important when building. So I am still important. (Abel)

Figure 4.40 Coping: Poui tree

The Poui Tree - How I am today -, flourishing, someone of worth. (Syd)

Second Research Question: What solutions can youth in Tobago identify to address the problems of adolescent males of migrant fathers?

The group was cognizant throughout the study of the significance of identifying solutions. Accordingly, individuals periodically made recommendations as concerns arose during the presentation of pictures and group discussions. In addition to this process, discussions on solutions occurred within selected periods of the sessions and focused on examining the framing questions:

- What would you like to tell young men like yourself?
- What would you like to tell adults?
- What would you like to change?

This information formed part of the recorded and transcribed process which I analysed for themes and subthemes and verified with the group at another session.

Ultimately the group suggested that the limited knowledge regarding the migration phenomenon influenced the responses of adults in the different social environments. Accordingly, group members proposed that the public should have a general appreciation of the impact of migration, including the gender-specific responses associated with this event. For example, Daniel indicated, "the public should be more aware of different individuals in the community who have family problems, a problem like this." Also, Mike thought that educational activities should emphasize the distinctive impact of social issues on the different genders. He suggested, "most of the time when it comes to certain types of problems they tend to look at the girls as being more vulnerable. But they don't know." Bertie further noted the impact on males and solicited sensitivity from the public, "when you are under pressure nobody knows, nobody sees when you are crying, nobody is concerned about you. People need to be more considerate."

Furthermore, some participants believed that society's lack of understanding and limited awareness of their situation fueled negative labelling. Abel specified, "people need to know that the persons that they are labelling as trouble makers [are] not giving trouble on purpose. It is because of the anger, sadness or anxiousness of their father living away." Likewise, William indicated:

> In Tobago if you do something wrong people always say - your father or mother never tell you to do that, they never teach you that. But these people don't know what you are

> going through. They do not know if your father gone or if your mother is here. But they are telling you about your father and your mother.

For Syd, the knowledge gap not only resulted in negative labelling, but also faulty communication patterns between adults and youth of migrant fathers. He noted, "adults need to know that when they talk to children in a particular way that children take it to heart and react negatively because children who are going through these situations can be very emotional." The analysis regarding solutions suggested that raising awareness could be the beginning of the journey towards positive actions at the level of government, community, school, and family. In relation to this, participants discussed the types of action that should occur at the different levels of government, community, schools and individuals.

Government's Involvement

Group members envisaged the role of government as multipronged concerning policies directed at keeping fathers in Tobago, and addressing the emotional and financial needs of young men whose fathers were migrating. In terms of keeping fathers on the island, the young men particularly noted the importance of the availability of employment. The various comments on this issue were summarized in Mike's statement, "I think there should be enough job opportunities here so that people will not need to migrate." For fathers who continued to migrate, Jason suggested that policies should ensure material support for children left behind. He recommended, "the government should put something in place to ensure that fathers must financially support their children even when they [the fathers] are going to live outside the country."

In addition, Daniel advocated that policies should also address relevant interventions for young men who may be young offenders:

> I am sure that if we do a survey in the YTC[12] we might probably find boys with this issue and this might be the reason why they behave like that and the authorities may not give the suitable punishment. The kind of punishment they give may only make the young people commit more crime.

However, Mike considered that it may be first necessary to educate policymakers with the hope that this would positively impact intervention strategies regarding young men of migrant fathers:

> Probably the government or the institutions do not really know about the boys' problems or how to handle them. So when the boys go there and they continue to instil harsh treatment, it just builds up the anger and create more criminals.

Winston further suggested that the information given to policymakers should also include the challenges experienced by single mothers who parent without the involvement of fathers. He stated, "there are plenty boys in YTC without a father and the mother can't control them. So they have to go to YTC because they have no father support." To demonstrate these concerns, Abel gave a case example:

> I know a boy, his father had migrated and his mother never really had time with him. And from Standard Four his uncle had to come to the school every week to talk with the teachers because nobody was able to control him except for the uncle because the uncle knew his situation and what was going on in his life. By Form one he was sent to YTC.

[12] YTC – Youth Training Centre, a juvenile detention centre located in Trinidad.

Community Involvement

Beyond the level of governmental involvement, the group also considered mobilizing local community resources. Specifically, participants suggested targeting men within the extended family and wider community to function as social fathers. For example, Bertie advised, "when you don't' have a father around to teach you skills, uncles can help." Jason further indicated that this task could be undertaken by men outside the family, suggesting that, "men in mentoring programmes can also teach skills."

Also, the group contemplated methods of identifying the quantity of persons affected on the island by targeting various locations within communities. In regards to this, Enrique summed up the group's discussion and proposed, "we should find ways to check the schools and the block[13] to find boys in this kind of situation, those who are in school and those who are not in school." However, the group believed that lack of statistics should not deter the implementation of programmes. Thus, Daniel proposed creating 'friendly spaces' and appropriate activities for youth affected by migration:

> What should happen with any issue there should be workshops and lectures to assist these young people. We should have a meeting place to direct boys to go if they need help. We can have more projects like this one because there aren't really any programmes for us. There is not really anything out there to assist.

Yet, Mike suggested that persons who appreciated the complexity of the issue should be the ones to facilitate these workshops and programmes.

[13] The block – Places in the villages such as street corners where young people having out in a casual atmosphere.

> For example, he [indicating one of the co- facilitators of the study] could probably be a good mentor because he has been through the situation just like us, rather than other persons trying to assist and causing more problems.

School-level Interventions

Beyond the level of government and the community, the youth suggested that schools could also participate in providing solutions for youth impacted by migration. In particular, a sensitive delivery of the school curriculum could help individuals manage some issues. Syd explained:

> I find when the teachers are teaching they can have a bit more consideration for the children because they don't know who is who in the class and how it would affect them. Look for example if me and Winston might be in the same class and the teacher might give a topic, I might take it as normal but Winston might take it differently.

As a supplement to the classroom events, Abel believed that the school counsellor played a defining role. He advocated that, "the guidance counsellor should be able to help by giving exercises to do based on what is happening with you."

Participants' Role in Long-term Change Efforts

In addition to recommendations directed at the government, community and educational institutions, participants also suggested that members of the group could be part of the long term change process that extended beyond the life of the current study. In this regard, individuals saw the group as being an integral part of a support system. Mike commented:

> We need to come together as boys and help each other because he who feels it knows it. Bring the boys together, the boys that have similar situations. Then we can sit around a

> table and talk or we can plan our own events, probably some of us never had certain experience with males. We can keep male-based events, go fishing, sailing.

Two individuals saw themselves as motivators for young men who needed encouragement to articulate the difficulties of being the child of a migrant father. For example, Enrique stated, "there are more people in the community with their father gone and they are afraid to come out and talk about what happened. I will like to tell them - express yourself." Daniel affirmed:

> I will try to encourage individuals that have been through the same problem as me in trying to prove to them that with or without our fathers we can still achieve in life and we shouldn't let this stop us from moving on with our lives.

At the end of the research process, the young men insisted on creating a name for the group as an indication of members' positive self-perception, and individuals' belief of having the capacity to do something meaningful to address the issues of young men in Tobago. After several deliberations the group agreed to the name 'Young Men Making a Difference'.

Ultimately the group decided that addressing the impact of migration on adolescent males in Tobago should include five strategies. Firstly, it is important to identify the children of migration in Tobago, (in the schools and community), and provide relevant support when needed. Secondly, 'friendly spaces' are necessary to allow young men of migrant fathers to be able to meet, talk and support each other, but this should preferably be facilitated by males with similar experiences. Equally important is the education of school personnel on how migration affects children so that the school can be more supportive. The education process should also target the community to promote awareness about the migration phenomenon as well as identify ways of providing support to adolescents of migrant fathers. Finally, informing the government about the

problem should occur alongside these initiatives with the hope that this can result in the formulation of appropriate policies.

Third Research Question: How can youth in Tobago create change by disseminating their ideas concerning solutions to problems they face as adolescent males of migrant fathers?

Dissemination of information comprised two components, identifying who should receive the information, (the audience members), as well as the appropriate format for delivering the information. Similar to the process of identifying solutions, the study facilitated ideas about dissemination alongside the various discussions occurring in the sessions. Besides this, the group brainstormed about possible audience members and presentation formats during special forums guided by the research team.

Regarding the format of dissemination, discussions surrounded pinpointing youth-friendly avenues as well as choosing mediums that could stimulate awareness in a wide cross section of the island's population. At the end of deliberations the group concluded that the relevant and feasible channels for publicizing data should comprise presentation at a public forum of key persons, promotion in the media, creation of a web page, and utilization of a popular social networking site. Of these, the public forum and the media promotion occurred as part of the project. One of these chosen medium for dissemination, (the public forum), aligns with the suggestions of Wang (2006) as an important channel for sensitizing policymakers and receiving crucial feedback on recommendations for change. The young men decided to choose the other avenues of dissemination to address issues related to the location of the study, facilitate the age-related creativity of the participants and target youth who needed the information.

With respect to audience members, discussions highlighted a recurrent topic concerning the importance of including the politicians in Tobago as part of any forum regarding presenting findings and recommendations. However, it was also necessary to be cognizant of the political tensions on the island resulting from the up-coming elections and the on-going strain between the Tobago House of Assembly and the central government of Trinidad and Tobago. As a result, the group decided on inviting the Chief Secretary of the Tobago House of Assembly because of his influential position concerning the management of Tobago's affairs. Instead of the Government Minister, the group considered including a representative from the Ministry in Tobago that conducted the business of the Central Government of Trinidad and Tobago. At the end of the audio-recorded special session the group concluded that the key persons for the public forum should comprise school personnel, members of government, personnel from the government departments, staff of Student Support Services, community youth groups, church representatives and media personnel (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1

Key Persons at Public Forum

Persons Invited	**Persons Who Attended**
Principals (Nine Secondary Schools)	3 Principals, 1 Vice principal
Senior Representative of the Moravian Church	Senior Representative of the Moravian Church
Community Youth Groups – Roteract, 3 Police Youth Clubs	Two police youth clubs sent apologies. Time of the day was inappropriate.
Senior Staff of Student Support Services – Senior Social Worker, Guidance Officer, Special Education Officer.	Senior Staff of Student Support Services – Senior Social Worker, Guidance Officer, Special Education Officer.
Parents of the participants	5 Parents of the participants
Administrative Officer IV - Ministry of Tobago Development	Sent apologies. Could not attend because of other pressing matters
Permanent Secretary – Ministry of Tobago Development	Sent two advisors of Minister Of Tobago Affairs
Senior representative – Division of Education, Youth affairs and Sport	Senior representative – Division of Education, Youth affairs and Sport
Chief Secretary - Tobago House of Assembly	Sent apologies. Could not attend because of other pressing matters
Media – Newspapers and Television	Media- Newspapers
Members of the study group – researcher, co-researchers, facilitators	Members of the study group – researcher, co-researchers, facilitators

Public Forum

The public forum included a slide show with music, scripts read by the young men and an opportunity for feedback from stakeholders. Though the young men were excited about participating in the study, some individuals, especially those without prior experience with public speaking, seemed anxious about presenting the results in the chosen format. This was resolved by ensuring that the scripts were not too lengthy and rehearsing the presentation several times prior to the event.

On Wednesday 16th January 2013 from 9 am to 12 noon, the study group met with the audience members at the conference room of the Division of Education Youth Affairs and Sport. The venue seemed suitable because it was the only enclosed area that fit the criteria of being centrally located, amenable to having discussions with limited distractions and available at no cost to the group. I sourced a technician who audio-taped and videotaped the session with the attendees understanding that the information would be used for publication. In addition, I took notes which I used at the end of the session to clarify issues raised and commitments made by the various personnel. After the session I transcribed the audio tapes verbatim, analyzed them for themes and integrated this with the summary obtained at the session. Table 4.2 summarizes the commitment and concerns arising from this session. The information presented at the public forum was published in the newspaper (Baird, 2013; see Appendix P)

Table 4.2

Commitments and Concerns

Persons/Institutions	**Commitments**
Video and audio technician	To help produce documentary for television.
Newspaper reporter	To help with documentary production or in any capacity that capitalizes on his training and role in the media capacity.
Principals	One principal wished to begin a buddy programme in her school
Vice-Principal	To share the information within her school and work arduously regarding developing some system to reach children with this issue within the school system.
Church Representative	Linking with organizations that already exists in the community regarding being more involved in mentoring programmes.
Personnel from Ministry of Tobago Development	Willing to have further discussions concerning how to go forward with the information presented in the forum.

Emerging Concerns

- Any effort at implementing initiatives should avoid strategies that will stigmatize individuals.
- The culture of secrecy in Tobago and the mistrust of the Education system may influence parents' willingness to provide information concerning the whereabouts of fathers for school records.
- Finding men as mentors may be very challenging.

Media: Radio Talk Show

In addition to the public forum, the group agreed to use the radio in an effort to raise awareness in a wide cross section of the Tobago population. Of the two radio stations on the island we choose the one which was reputed to be the most popular. However, we could not afford air time so the radio station allotted us a restricted time between 7.30 and 8.00 am. Nevertheless, the request for radio-time could not be accommodated before the 19th February. This was one month after the debriefing for the public forum and the official end of the gathering of the group. However, participants suggested that we keep this arrangement because of its importance concerning reaching more persons on the island. Yet, the entire group could not be

part of this exercise as the studio at the radio station could not accommodate all the participants, and not all the participants felt comfortable talking on a call-in programme. Ultimately, two young men agreed to represent the group, but in the end, one of the designated youth was unable to participate. Equally important, it was necessary that the process be an empowering activity and represented the contributions of the group. I facilitated this by briefing the group on the proceedings of a radio talk show, ensuring individuals of the right to refuse to answer any question that seemed too intrusive or generated discomfort, and giving youth the option of using the scripts from the stakeholder's meeting.

On Tuesday Februaury19th 2013, Mike and I participated in a 30 minute call-in talk show and responded to questions from the show's host and public callers. For this occasion, we focused also on protecting Mike's identity, as much as this was possible. As such, Mike was introduced as 'one of the participants' rather than using a name. At the end of the activity, the show's host extended an informal invitation for us to return and present further information after the thesis was written. Subsequent to the radio show broadcast, individuals in the community approached me and expressed interest in the results of the study. Unfortunately, the other participants were unable to listen to the broadcast because the airing occurred during school hours.

Immediately following the radio show, I facilitated a special debriefing exercise with Mike, discussing his experience of being part of such a process and addressing any concerns. Generally, Mike found the experience rewarding and appreciated the opportunity to share the group's findings in this manner. He also indicated that his comfort level was partly due to his passion for public speaking.

The following section describes the debriefing and reflection session which occurred after the public forum. During this time the research team and participants critically examined the study, including their experiences.

Debriefing

The debriefing session gave participants an opportunity to talk about their experience about being part of the study. Indeed, it was the first time that anyone within the group participated in a photovoice project or engaged in a forum that encouraged adolescent males to candidly discuss experiences as children of migrant parents. Consequently, participants highlighted their appreciation for the opportunity to bond with each other, express ideas and feelings freely, and learn how to respond positively to life's difficulties.

Debriefing: participants' experiences. Similar to other sessions, these discussions were digitally recorded and transcribed. The co-facilitator who was present assisted with guiding questions and discussions. However, at this particular session, the young men were more restless than usual, therefore in addition to the group session, I also questioned the young men individually whose interviews I also taped and transcribed. I analyzed the transcripts for themes and sub-themes resulting from these discussions. Generally, individuals described their experience by answering the questions:

- What did you learn from the study?
- What did you dislike about the study?
- If you had the opportunity to do this all over again how would you do it differently?

What did you learn from the study? The themes identified from the discussions suggest that participants benefited mostly from shared knowledge which influenced their perspectives

about their parents in spite of the difficulties experienced with having an absent father during this period of their lives. Specifically, individuals noted the benefits of the study in teaching about the value of fathers in relation to males and sensitizing to the important contributions of mothers. For instance, William acknowledged appreciation of a father's support, "I learnt that although your father wasn't there you should not treat him any differently because while you were growing up he still helped you in the way of supporting you to show that he still cares." Similarly, Winston highlighted the importance of believing in his father as well as learning how to manage the loneliness associated with father-absence, and noted, "I learnt that you can't give up on your father and how to cope with missing my father." For Enrique, the issue concerned appreciating the sacrifices of mother while recognizing the significance of a father's role in the family. He advised, "I learnt that your mother is working hard and you should try to appreciate what she does and if you have a child you should stay in his life because a child needs both parents."

Other salient aspects of the learning process also included dealing with emotions, normalizing the experience as children of migrant fathers and adopting appropriate attitudes in the midst of difficulties. Thus, Syd described the importance of learning to manage anger, "I learnt how to deal with different situations and how to control anger," and Bertie emphasized a benefit of the study as that of reducing the sense of loneliness and isolation, "I learnt that there are other people like me. It helped like emotionally and I stopped feeling alone, like I was the only person on the island in this situation." In William's case, learning involved recognizing the need to make the best of life in spite of the disappointments. "I learnt that not everybody will have a father active in their life but you have to learn to live with the situation." On the other

hand, Mike is the only participant who spoke specifically about the group process and commented on learning about team work, **"**I learnt how to work as a group, how to give and take."

What did you dislike about the study? Of all the participants, four young men directly addressed the question related to concerns about the study. In this respect, William was concerned about attrition and indicated, "I did not like how some persons did not show up or just disappeared." Two group members were uncomfortable with the attitude sometimes displayed by participants. Thus, Daniel commented on the amount of rowdiness, "I did not like how the boys played around so much sometimes it just wasted time even though it helped us to bond, they did it too much. The boys could have been more focused at times." For Enrique, discomfort lay in the responses of some participants during discussions. He remarked: "I did not like when some boys laughed at what others said." Only one young man expressed concern about the use of photography. Syd stated: "It was a challenge to decide what pictures to take and how to take the pictures."

What did you like about the study? Further to identifying their learning experience and concerns about the study, participants also commented on the appealing aspects of the study. In this regard, five group members highlighted valuing the creation of a 'friendly space' to share and examine their issues (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Sharing Stories: Creating 'Friendly Spaces'

Participant	Comment
Abel	I liked how everyone had a chance to give their opinion and was listened to. The study helped me to think about things and talk about personal things that I would not normally talk about.
Mike	I liked being here because it gave me the chance to share ideas and to just let loose and let it out and I got to share my experience with the younger boys.
Winston	I liked the way how it brought boys together to show how we need fathers and how we got a chance to share opinions.
Syd	The study was motivating and the pictures showed how boys like us are feeling inside. I liked how boys could come out and talk about their problems without reacting in an emotional way.
Enrique	I liked taking the pictures and expressing my feelings.

In contrast to Daniel's comment about the disadvantage of rowdiness in sessions, Abel particularly liked this activity. He identified the positive aspect of playing together as, "it was fun. The playing around helped us to bond and connect more with each other." In addition to these benefits, the possibility of having formed lasting friendships held significance for Mike who concluded, "because of the study some of us will still be friends after we leave here."

Further opinions about the study surrounded appreciation for getting adults to listen to their stories, whether this was through the conducting of research or the attendance at the public forum. Accordingly, William pointed out: "I like that someone actually conducted a study about our situation and cared about the fact that fathers are migrating," and Syd commented: "I liked how people came out to support the presentation."

If you had the opportunity to do this all over again how would you do it differently? Of all the young men, three individuals were vocal about specific changes and addressed concerns with the methodology. Winston recommended a change regarding the number of participants, "I wished that it had included more boys to get more opinions." For William, there should be revamping of the data collection method to ensure that the young men are more focused during sessions. He proposed, "if I had to do this differently I would interview persons to prevent the fooling around.'' Also, Enrique focused on the gender of the investigator and indicated, "if I had to do this differently I would prefer the researcher to be a man."

In contrast to identifying a change in the current study Jason thought that it would be beneficial to replicate certain aspects of the study and pointed out, "I will not really change anything, but I think we should have more situations like this, not particularly this programme, but more interactive sessions as male to male so that we will be able to get acquainted."

Debriefing: co-facilitators' experiences. In addition to the opinions of participants, the debriefing activity also included the learning experiences of the co-facilitators. These young men possessed similar characteristics with the group, being of the same gender and having the experience of residing in a household with an absent father. In general, co-facilitators were grateful for the investigation that highlighted the voices of young men as individuals with potential, and provided the opportunity for examination of important issues concerning young men.

One of the co-facilitators received formal exposure to research theory through university training and his expressions were more extensive and inclusive of academic jargon related to

highlighting the voices of youth. This co-facilitator, as early as infancy, lived apart from his Trinidad resident father:

> My experience as a research assistant on this project was a positive experience. I was impressed by discussions and conversations. Many times academic research does not necessarily pay particular attention to its participants. However this research made sure that the participants were the centre of the research as well as the information gathered from them. I am so proud that the young men were able to express themselves. In society we often marginalize groups because of the bad behaviour of few members. The bonding developed because of the shared experiences but more because there was an environment to express those shared experience without being judged or criticized. This research also encouraged me as a youth worker to continue to put young people at the centre of my work and to treat them as equal partners.

In contrast, the other co-facilitator's highest level of training was at high school level and devoid of research experience. Nevertheless, his response also focused on an appreciation for giving the participants the space to both air their voices and analyze issues. This young man was closer in age to the participants and at the age of two, his father migrated to the United States:

> Being part of the study was a great experience. Having a similar experience like these young men I thought it was good to get together and open up about the experience of growing up without a father and it made us more comfortable to deal with the situation. I never did research before so I also thought it was a good idea to get the young men to look at the situation in different ways.

Evaluating Actions

Reflection on action is also important for the purpose of conducting evaluation and identifying possible further responses (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988; Stringer, 2007). Reflection and action operate together throughout the research process as well as at specific stages in the study (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). In addition to the reflection on the process of the study (debriefing on participants' and co-facilitators' experiences), this project focused on initiating reflection on the actions resulting from the study.

Reflection and follow-up. The group was generally enthused about the initial responses from the public forum. However, concerns prevailed about the 'Buddy Programme' which was identified by a principal. Specifically, the young men discussed current perceptions among students about the bullying behaviours of older male pupils and the implications for implementing such a programme at this time. Also, individuals concurred that relying on verbal commitment was not sufficient and thus follow-up effort was necessary as a catalyst towards the implementation of meaningful actions.

In relation to follow-up work, one of the facilitators volunteered to locate someone who could assist with establishing the website and one of the participants proffered to create a Facebook page with consultation from group members. Due to my understanding of, and experience with the system, I agreed to initiate the follow-up with persons from the institutions and consult with the group as this became necessary.

Further actions. I met with the advisors from the Ministry of Tobago Development which generated two outcomes. Firstly, using the Ministry as a reference I connected with a network of faith-based organizations which had already indicated their interest in working with

youth. The organization's president suggested the possibility of incorporating the results of the study into an impending mentoring programme for young men within designated communities in Tobago. This programme focuses on using adult men as mentors.

Secondly, the discussions with Ministry personnel highlighted types of governmental funding that could be accessed for a television documentary that embodied the findings of the study. Subsequent to this meeting, I mobilized resource persons who could begin discussions about the documentary. These individuals included a television reporter, a cameraman and newspaper reporter from the public forum, and two members of the study group.

This first meeting took place on Tuesday, 16th, July 2013 and resulted in identifying:

- Two short-term goals of utilizing specific 'feature clips' of the public forum as a precursor to broadcasting a full-length documentary
- One long-term goal of entering the Tobago Film Festival Competition using a story based on the findings of the study.
- Two additional resource persons who could assist with the script-writing and the production process.

These activities will initially focus on raising public awareness about the impact of migration on adolescent males in Tobago. The group of resource persons also suggested that the televising of the findings should highlight the stories' rather than focus on specific individuals. This would ensure that the message reaches the target audience without unnecessary stigmatization of the individuals from the project. Ideally these activities should be done in conjunction with the establishment of the website and Facebook page, using the internet and social media as youth-friendly spaces to which individuals can be referred for information and support. The process

will be driven by the group, "Young Men Making a Difference". These spin-off actions of the current study will continue beyond the life of the present project and should incorporate repeating the action-reflection cycle. My involvement in the further actions will be in the capacity as an advisor. It is not mandatory that I be integrally involved in further actions because the intention of PAR is to empower participants to devise strategies to address their issues.

Summary

The study emphasized the gender responses in relation to the migration phenomenon on the Caribbean island of Tobago. Accordingly, the presentation of individuals' pictures, stories and resulting group discussions identified how the challenges experienced by young men in this study influenced their emotional responses and navigation of their environment. Equally important, participants' stories described perceptions of the components of the father-son relationship and individuals' understanding of some specific roles of a father within the family unit. Furthermore, the young men discussed missing the companionship of a father in maneuvering some developmental tasks and felt trapped in an environment that did not seem to give sufficient understanding of their issues.

Despite challenges, participants described coping strategies that capitalized on resources within the individual as well as the social environment. Accordingly, the narratives highlighted the pivotal role of support from women, social fathers, peers, religious institutions and co-curricular groups. However, the stories pinpointed ambivalence that may accompany the beneficial process of substitute fathering.

Ultimately, participants used the emerging themes to identify solutions that targeted systems at the governmental, community and school levels which included, collecting relevant

data on children of migrant parents in Tobago, creating youth-friendly spaces as a means of support, generating public awareness of the phenomenon of the impact of migration on young men in Tobago, and establishing relevant mentoring programmes. Collaboration with policymakers assisted in consolidating possible short and long-term actions which could be implemented. The project concluded with stimulating discussions about building a website, establishing a page on Facebook, creating a documentary, and supporting the efforts of a community-based mentoring programme.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The current study emphasizes the distinctiveness regarding the experiences of Tobagonian adolescent males whose fathers have migrated and augments the limited knowledge concerning Caribbean migration (Bakker et al., 2009; Blank, 2007; UNICEF, 2010). Even more, the current study reduces the dearth of information concerning Caribbean fathers and the relationship with their sons. In light of this significant knowledge gap, the results of this study are salient and provide evidence that father outmigration impacts adolescent males in significant ways. In particular, the participants' stories indicate that their fathers' absence affects them across multiple life domains of the individual, family, community and school. Further, paternal absence impacts important social relationships and influences decision-making about certain life issues. Importantly, the findings demonstrate considerable resiliency among young men of migrant fathers. Also, the findings are important because the study highlights father outmigration in a matrifocal society whereas other studies have emphasized mother outmigration for these societal types. Along with father outmigration, the study explores several issues surrounding the significance of fathering as influenced by the child's age and gender, the family structure, the ethnic grouping and socioeconomic background. Finally, this study shows several benefits associated with engaging youth as co-researchers, problem solvers and actors in directly contributing to the development of recommendations aimed at improving their lives.

Generally speaking, the current study sought to explore father outmigration and its effects on adolescent males on the Caribbean island of Tobago. To accomplish this, the investigation used YPAR to understand and give primacy to the experiences of young adolescent men whose

fathers' had migrated. Specifically, youth shared their experiences using photovoice. The young men then analyzed the data, pinpointed possible solutions and disseminated the findings to selected policymakers and the members of the general population of Tobago.

Through the synthesis of data from employing participatory analysis and using NVivo, the study identified several key findings in response to the following research questions:

- How do male adolescents aged 12-18 in Tobago describe their experience as children of migrant fathers?
- What solutions can youth in Tobago identify to address the problems of adolescent males of migrant fathers?
- How can youth in Tobago create change by disseminating their ideas concerning solutions to problems they face as adolescent males of migrant fathers?

In the following sections of the paper I discuss the findings within the framework of these specific research questions. I then identify the limitations of the study and present implications for social work in terms of practice, policy, theory, education and further research.

First Research Question: How do Adolescent Boys Aged 12-18 in Tobago Describe Their Experience as Children of Migrant Fathers?

The findings in this research study summarize young men's perspectives in relation to roles and relationships of gender within the family. The results also identify issues of resilience and pinpoint avenues of support for youth impacted by parental migration. To this end, the data augments the knowledge base regarding the impact of migration on a specific category of Caribbean children, young males experiencing father outmigration. Overall, the themes from participants' stories emphasizes the following: fathers play significant roles in the lives of left-

behind adolescent males, left-behind male children have distinct perspectives concerning the role of women, adolescent left-behind males experience emotional and psychological fallouts, and adolescent left-behind males derive support from different aspects of their environment.

Fathers play significant roles in the lives of left-behind adolescent males. For the young men in the current investigation, the issues that held most significance involved mourning the loss of various father-son interactions, yearning for specific forms of contact with their father, and dealing with issues related to school life. Regarding 'losses', previous research suggested that individuals discerned parental migration as a special type of loss called ambiguous loss, defined as loss that occurs without allowing the person to experience closure (Boss, 1999; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Boss (1999; 2006) proposed that ambiguous loss resulted in a continuous search for meaning and understanding to resolve unanswered questions about the loss. This form of loss typically occurs in two ways: when the person is physically absent but is kept psychologically present and when the person is physically present but psychologically absent (Boss, 2006). Further, ambiguous loss often goes unrecognized by society (Boss, 1999; 2006). In the case of parental migration, academics have proposed that, in left-behind youth, ambiguous loss triggered grieving for the migrant parent or mourning for the loss of anticipated benefits of socializing with the absent parent (Boss, 1993; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Also, the literature noted that in coping with the experience of ambiguous loss, children attempted to maintain a psychological closeness of the absent parent and could undergo prolonged periods of emotional distress (Boss, 1999; Polanco-Hernández, 2009; Vargas, 2008). For example, in an investigation with immigrant Caribbean youth researchers associated ambiguous loss with individuals' emotional fallouts of loneliness, sadness and depression

(Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002). Additionally, one study conducted with a clinical sample in Trinidad noted that in some cases of mother outmigration, left-behind children with poor father-child relationships perceived inadequate father involvement as a loss, for which children mourned (Jones et al., 2004). In both cases of the immigrant youth and Trinidadian children, researchers focused on the emotional impacts associated with ambiguous loss.

The current study makes three salient contributions to the literature regarding the concept of 'mourning' or 'loss' within the migration phenomenon. Firstly, within the Trinidad and Tobago context, this study is the only one which focuses on mourning and loss in terms of father outmigration by highlighting young men's concern about the deficits in the father-son relationship that result from a father's absence. Secondly, the study examines the concept of loss for left-behind youth in Trinidad and Tobago by seeking the perspectives of a non-clinical sample of young men and highlighting the voices of Tobagonian youth. Thirdly, the investigation adds to the literature by defining some specific situations, that is, the lack of distinct male oriented interactions, which generates a sense of loss for young men.

In addition to highlighting loss surrounding father-son interaction, participants pinpointed another salient aspect of a father's role by describing the comparable significance of emotional and physical father-son contact. Concerning parental contact, the limited body of available research suggested that a migrant father's contribution to the child's financial welfare determined the importance of the father-child connection (Parreñas, 2008). Also, a few studies suggested that the absence of the traditional nurturing mother created more distress than an absent father and thus maintaining parent-child contact held more significance when mothers migrated (Asis, 2006; Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Graham et al., 2012). Even more, these studies analyzed

retrospective data of young adults to understand the value of emotional and physical parental contact. In contrast, the current study suggests that adolescent male youth expect consistent parent-child communication when fathers migrate, similar to the literature documenting the effects of mother migration. Further, unlike previous studies, the current investigation demonstrates that emotional and physical father-son connection goes above and beyond material well-being such that the degree of a father's financial support does not solely determine the significance of the father-son bond.

Besides ambiguous loss and parent-son contact, the young men in the current study highlighted a father's significance in relation to paternal influence on school life. Specifically, participants reported that a father's absence may impede efforts regarding interpreting and applying aspects of the school curriculum. This was particularly salient when course topics assumed that children would be able to provide specific information about the functions of a physically present father. Also, some young men, particularly the older adolescents in this study, pinpointed the value of a father's input when making career choices. Though, one young man suggested that a father's presence might not make a difference in terms of providing academic support. Concerning school achievement, the literature explained the observed educational outcomes of adolescent males in relation to increased household incomes and highlighted low commitment to school as a consequence of either father outmigration (Giannelli & Mangiavacchi, 2010) or overall parental migration without providing in-depth analysis of concerns related to the father-son separation (Alcaraz, et al., 2012; Hu, 2012; Kandel & Kao, 2001; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006). In comparison, youth in the present study did not raise the issue of impaired school performance. Indeed, the current study emphasizes the concerns of

young men who are regularly attending school and pinpoints factors within the school which can impact the young men's learning experience such as the delivery of a school curriculum that is not sensitive to the experiences of young men of migrant fathers.

Alongside the specific concerns of father-son contact, academic issues, and loss of father-son interactions, participants' stories also highlighted how perceptions of a father's importance can differ somewhat for younger and older adolescent males. Some studies have compared the needs of younger and older children of migrant parents and indicated that poorer outcomes were more likely for young children in terms of psychological well-being (Fan et al., 2010) and educational performance (Lu, 2012), whereas both older and younger children experienced challenges in physical health (de Brauw & Mu, 2011). However, these investigations neither considered participants' views regarding a father's importance nor captured the issues related to the son and his migrant father, specifically. Concerning the exploration of intra-group differences, the current research highlights the importance of considering father outmigration in relation to certain concerns of young men undergoing the early and middle stages of adolescence. To illustrate, the two cohorts presented some similarities regarding their emotional fall outs, the physical and emotional contact from a father, the importance of fathers, and resilience. However, there were also differences between the two groups such that the older group placed more emphasis on addressing career choices and forming relationships with the opposite sex, whereas the younger group emphasized meeting material needs. These differences and similarities suggest the need for further comparative investigations regarding the two cohorts, but such an examination is beyond the scope of the current study. The literature notes that the different stages of adolescence are accompanied by distinct features of physical, social,

cognitive, and emotional development which influence individuals' future interests, sexuality, self-direction (Ashford et al., 2006; Clark-Lempers, Lempers, & Ho, 1991)

Overall, the current study highlights some noteworthy points regarding understanding the significance of a Caribbean migrant father in the life of his son. Firstly, the findings present youth's perspective concerning the importance of a father's involvement in the lives of adolescent males. In contrast, previous Caribbean research on father involvement considered either parental reports regarding the father's relationship with young children, or surveys that evaluated the interactions between the father and his adolescent daughter (Anderson, 2009; Brown & Johnson 2008; Payne & Furnham, 1992; Roopnarine 2002; Roopnarine et al., 2013). Though some studies suggested that Caribbean men were more involved with their children than previously thought (Anderson, 2009; Barrow, 1998, Yildirim, 2013), academics have highlighted the lack of information concerning the nature of the relationship between Caribbean fathers and their sons (Barker & Verani, 2008; Barrow, 1998; Roopnarine, 2002). In this respect, the current study indicates that it is important to consider young men's expectations in conjunction with fathers' opinions. In particular, the young men's stories demonstrate youth's belief that paternal parenting should include specific activities such as assisting with school work and career choices, befriending in cases of discussions on male-oriented topics, and teaching specific life skills. In fact, the young men suggested that these activities facilitate meaningful father-son engagement, the absence of which, made the individuals feel incomplete. The participants' opinions provide directives regarding wholesome father involvement for males of a particular age group and complement the academic literature concerning views about the factors that influence the father-son relationship.

Secondly, the study evaluates a father's influence on his son's education based on data collected directly from youth. This method used by the current study is in contrast to other investigations that depended on estimations of economic related factors to understand the issues that impact educational outcomes of young men through primarily secondary analysis of large datasets (Alcaraz, et al., 2012; Edwards & Ureta, 2003; Giannelli & Mangiavacchi, 2010; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2006). Thirdly, the findings challenge previous notions that described fathering in matrifocal society as being restricted to that of a disciplinarian and breadwinner (Graham, et al., 2012; Roopnarine, 2002; Yeoh et al., 2005). In fact, the participants in this study suggested that a young man needs his father for other reasons which are significant for males. As such a father is also important as a comrade, guide, life-skills coach and educator for these adolescent males.

Finally, alongside highlighting youth's voices, the study supports the belief that non-residential Caribbean fathers are important to their sons in several ways (Barrow, 1998; Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002; Roopnarine, 2002). This is noteworthy because the call for an increased understanding of father involvement comes from young men in the current study who reported having to continuously confront issues such as emotional fallouts, social stigma, and gaps in parenting that were linked with the prolonged physical and psychological absence of their father. In the midst of the various challenges associated with the father-son separation, the young men indicated the need for a father-son relationship. In this way, the present findings add to the literature on father absence in providing another view of understanding Caribbean non-residential fathering, particularly when such disrupted fathering occurs as a consequence of economic migration. The findings thus reinforce the opinions of academics who have noted the

need to consider migration and its impact as an important part of the discussions on non-residential fathering within modern day society (Barrow, 1998, 2001; Roopnarine 2002; Roy, 2008). Additionally, the present investigation re-emphasizes previous suggestions concerning conducting meaningful exploration of Caribbean masculinity to understand how Caribbean males perceive themselves within familial settings (Anderson, 2012; Barker & Verani, 2008; Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002; Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013). Further to highlighting issues surrounding the father-son relationship, the current study pinpoints participants' opinions regarding the role of women.

Left-behind male children have distinct perspectives concerning the role of women in families. Adolescents in the current study perceived mothers and fathers as performing gender specific roles in relation to male children. In so doing, the young men emphasized the maintenance of traditional gender roles within the family. Thus, participants were clear regarding the inappropriateness of engaging in certain designated male-oriented activities with their mothers. The finding is consistent with the literature that suggest the existence of a strict gender divide in some matrifocal societies such as the Philippines (Asis, 2006; Battistella & Conaco, 1998) and the Caribbean (Barker & Verani, 2008; Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013). Indeed, studies in Jamaica indicated how parents socialized children to maintain cultural values regarding traditional gender practices (Anderson, 2009; Leo-Rhynie, 1997). However, academics have debated the extent to which Caribbean women's participation in families sometimes involved crossing the gender divide and scholars have suggested some specific impacts that women's actions could have on Caribbean family life (Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013; Tamis-Lemonda & McFadden, 2010).

Concerning women's participation in families, some have argued that Caribbean family environments with absentee fathers, especially low income households, have minimized the impact of men's contribution to family life as women have found ways of substituting for the father's absence (Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013). These strategies adopted by women have seemed to reinforce beliefs that fathers function in nonessential roles within low income households (Tamis-Lemonda & McFadden, 2010). Scholars have further suggested that low income African Caribbean families with an absent father have generally generated strong mother-son bonds and encouraged poor socialization of boys (Barrow, 1998; Roopnarine, 2013). However, some academics have challenged the notions surrounding the nonessential role of fathers in low income households (Tamis-Lemonda & McFadden, 2010). Indeed, the participants' stories endorsed the proposition regarding the close mother-child relationship. Accordingly, the young men described a strong emotional connection to their mothers. Further, participants' narratives highlighted the survival strategies employed by mothers. Thus, individuals identified mothers as a major source of financial support. Yet, a notable finding in the current study is the young men's concern that a strong mother-son alliance that existed because of a father's absence, could result in the weakening of the father-son connection. To this end, individuals presented a particular view that complements discussions about three issues, namely, the degree to which women in matrifocal societies can substitute for absent fathers, the type of mother-son relationships that exist within female headed households (Barrow, 1998, 2001; Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002; Gayle, 2002), and the potential detrimental impact of the mother-son bond on the father-son relationship. Thus, the young men in the current study emphasized that a mother could partially substitute for a father's absence and adolescent males

could develop a distinct relationship with their mothers but these mother-son processes did not diminish a son's perception of a father's significance. Additionally, participants identified emotional and psychological fallouts that resulted from the father-son separation and which further emphasized the salience of a father.

Left-behind adolescent males experience emotional and psychological fallouts when fathers migrate. The current study suggests attending more closely to emotions of adolescent males of migrant fathers, because similar to their female counterparts who confront parental outmigration, young men also experience feelings of loneliness, abandonment, and anger. Previous research on emotional well-being as a consequence of parental migration mostly suggested that children experienced poor outcomes when parents migrated. However, the investigations did not explore factors related specifically to father-son dynamics of the migration phenomena. For example, concerning children with migrant fathers, Polanco-Hernández (2009) found an increased likelihood of emotional fallouts for children 12 years and under but did not provide specific analysis related to the young male and his absent father. Other studies analyzed the general concept of 'parental migration' but these studies also omitted specific discussion of the father-son separation. To illustrate, Battistella and Conaco (1998) considered children 9 to 15 years old and indicated overall negative outcomes in the case of mother outmigration and favourable outcomes for father outmigration. Also, two studies conducted with children 8 to 14 years old found a higher likelihood of depression for children of migrant parents when compared to children whose parents did not migrate. Further, in the case of children 12 and under, studies indicated an increased likelihood for youngsters to experience emotional fallouts (Fan et al., 2010; Graham & Jordan, 2011; Tao et al., 2013).

In terms of Caribbean research, criticisms include the limited information for older adolescent males (Crawford- Brown, 1997; Elliot-Hart et al., 2006; Jones et al., 2004), and distinct data on emotional well-being which was largely derived from stories of immigrant youth who were reunited with migrant parents (Adams, 2000; Hine-St. Hilaire, 2008; Smith et al., 2004). Additionally, Caribbean research found that girls were more prone to problems of mood and females demonstrated an increased tendency for depression (Jones, et al., 2004; Elliot-Hart et al., 2006). This current study adds to the literature by emphasizing emotional responses of left-behind adolescent males and indicates that, similar to mothers' absence, father outmigration can trigger emotional outcomes of abandonment, loneliness, and anger.

Another interesting finding from the stories of at least two of the young men of African Caribbean descent is the emotion of being 'confused' regarding the migrant fathers' decision to marry someone other than their mother. This confusion stemmed from these young men's hope that parents would stay together. In lieu of parental union, the participants expressed a desire to build relationships with step siblings and noted the difficulty associated with the situation. As such, the investigation presents novel data regarding how migration impacts familial relationships within non-traditional family types by indicating distinct features that can define father outmigration in families where parents are not categorized as married, divorced or separated. This information regarding the nuances surrounding migration and specific Caribbean family forms contrasts with previous literature on father outmigration and family structure, which either focused exclusively on traditional family types (as defined by structural functionalists) or did not specifically indicate the examination of non-traditional categories of families (Carletto et al., 2011; Frank & Hummer, 2002; Hildebrandt & McKenzie, 2005; Kuhn,

2006, Schmeer, 2009). However, the literature's narrow focus on families has spurred Caribbean academics to recommend that investigations pursue contemporary understandings of life within the special family structures among African Caribbean peoples and examine the relationship between fathers and children within these families (Roopnarine & Hossain, 2013; Wilson et al., 2003). Despite the debate on whether research on father absence adequately examines Caribbean family types, the literature is silent about Caribbean youths' experience of growing up within specific family structures and how such circumstances impact individuals if the father migrates. In light of the debate and missing information on Caribbean youth, the current findings indicate certain aspects of youth's experience in Caribbean family life. Specifically, the current investigation identifies youth's emotional reaction towards a father's conjugality and highlights youth's concerns about factors such as language and distance which impede building relationships with step siblings who reside in their migrant father's host country. Further, the current study underscores that youths desire to build relationships with step siblings despite poor relationships with step mothers.

Alongside highlighting youths' emotional responses, the investigation demonstrates a non-therapeutic safe environment for discussing feelings. Specifically, the photovoice approach used in the current study indicates an alternative technique for assisting young men of migrant fathers to address emotional difficulties by creating the space that facilitates expressing and working out feelings without the accompanying input of a counsellor. Accordingly, the young men indicated gratitude for being able to reveal their feelings comfortably which ultimately helped to normalize their issues and reduce the loneliness associated with being a child of a migrant father.

For the most part, the migration literature has not discussed strategies for facilitating males' expression of emotions. Nonetheless, the photovoice literature has suggested how self-reflection occurring through sharing pictures and stories could build a sense of community and togetherness as individuals feel comfortable discussing issues in a secure space (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005; Strack et al., 2004). Also, a group forum that facilitates dialoguing imitates a setting with which males are comfortable in communicating, and is suitable for ensuring meaningful engagement in a supportive environment (Kiselica, 2003). The possibility of using photovoice to create a safe non-therapeutic space is significant because participants identified peers who were having challenges dealing with father outmigration issues, and the literature notes the difficulty of engaging Caribbean youth in counselling (Gopaul-McNicol, 1998; Pottinger, 2005; Pottinger et al., 2008). Additionally, at least one study explored the potential of using photovoice as a strategy to assist marginalized males in working out psychosocial issues (Rolbiecki, Teti, & Hampton, 2013).

Besides emotional responses the current study also pinpoints issues surrounding youths' psychological health. In terms of psychological well-being, the current findings support previous studies regarding the possibility of interpersonal relationship problems with left-behind males and the likelihood for children who are left behind at ages nine and younger to experience behavioural problems (Crawford-Brown, 1997; Fan et al., 2010; Jones et al., 2004). However, past investigations discussed psychological well-being in relation to conduct disorder and substance abuse without defining the link between the adolescent and father outmigration, specifically (Crawford-Brown, 1997; Gao et al., 2010; Graham & Jordan, 2011). Additionally, one Trinidadian study highlighted interpersonal relationship problems for males but did not

provide details (Jones et al., 2004). In terms of conduct disorder, the discussions in the current study seemed to allude to this behaviour problem for one of the participants. Although, the young man acknowledged some behavioural issues, the study was not designed to explore other data sources that would provide in-depth analysis of the situation.

Regarding interpersonal relationships, one of the older adolescents identified having problems maintaining an intimate relationship with the opposite sex and a younger participant described disruption in family relationships that occurred because of his self-described taunting behaviour. In this sense, the study provides novel data by defining two forms of interpersonal difficulties that may be experienced by young men of migrant fathers namely, intra-familial conflicts, and strained relationships between a young man and his female partner. Overall, the current study's identification of participants' basic issues regarding father-son interactions, father-son contact, emotional responses and psychological well-being also emphasizes similarities in youths' experiences regardless of the destination of migrant fathers.

Whether fathers migrate internally or internationally, a young man's experience is important. The findings of this study broaden the discussions of previous Caribbean literature on international migration, by providing information about the effects of South South migration on left-behind children. This distinct evaluation of the migration experience has not been a concern within previous Caribbean literature. More specifically, the current investigation captures the nuances of the migration phenomenon for Trinidad and Tobago and, in so doing, highlights special features of internal migration within a unitary state in the Caribbean.

Regarding analyses of Trinidad and Tobago migration issues, the literature identified one country-based study which found a higher likelihood of poor emotional and psychological

outcomes for left-behind children but the investigation focused on international migration without any indication of the involvement of Tobagonian participants (Jones et al., 2004). To this end, the study failed to pinpoint the unique experiences of Tobagonians. In contrast, the current investigation highlights cases of both international migration as well as situations of parental migration to the island of Trinidad. More specifically, the current findings indicate that young men whose fathers migrated internationally or to Trinidad experience similar outcomes in terms of mourning father-son activities, experiencing psychological and emotional fallouts and developing coping strategies. Accordingly, the current study suggests re-evaluating how Tobagonian youth define migration. Perhaps participants' similar experiences are related to the fact that individuals reside on the lesser developed land mass of the twin-island country of Trinidad and Tobago. Under such circumstances, the islands' differing economic status may be the impetus for parental migration. As the literature notes, Caribbean migration has its fair share of South South migration which may even surpass international migration and in both cases the prospect of a better life is a major stimulus for peoples' movement (ECLAC, 2005; Ferguson, 2003). However, the findings go further and indicate theories other than economics that are useful to describe other aspects of migration for Tobagonian youths. In particular, Freire's empowerment education (Checkoway et al., 2003; Larson et al., 2005) is relevant as it allows youth to both recognize the role of these macro factors and explore solutions to resolving the fallouts from the migration phenomenon.

Moreover, the limited approach to evaluating issues which impact Trinidad and Tobago may not be unusual. In fact, some Caribbean authors have noted the tendency of academics to overlook analyses of the special circumstances concerning the two islands (Carter, 2004; Jordan,

2007). The inadequate evaluation of circumstances affecting Trinidad and Tobago seems to include the migration phenomenon. Thus, the current findings suggests revisiting existing analyses of migration as it relates to the distinct ways in which the types of migration impact youth in Tobago.

Another aspect of internal migration is the previous literature's focus on China when appraising the outcomes for left-behind children. Concerning this discussion, the current study adds to the literature in terms of providing an alternative perspective which highlights how factors such as location and culture determine the internal migration experience, particularly in terms of the unitary twin-island states within the Caribbean. Despite the various challenges and concerns, the current study also indicates resiliency among the participants.

Adolescent left-behind males can be resilient. The findings demonstrate that male youth of migrant fathers can exercise resilience by using coping strategies within themselves and through capitalizing on supports in the external environment. In doing this, the study emphasizes youths' strengths and resources rather than the young men's pathology. However, the young men indicated ambivalence regarding accessing various supports.

Generally speaking, a few studies highlighted resiliency in children of migrant parents, but the authors either associated the benefits with mother outmigration or did not provide adequate specific data regarding environmental supports (Asis, 2006; Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Jordan & Graham, 2012). For example, Jordan and Graham (2012) noted that children were able to adjust positively to changing family structures that resulted from mother outmigration. However, longitudinal studies were needed to determine if the results persisted into adolescence. Other studies indicated that good values that influence children's socialization

such as religious connection, personal problem-solving skills as well as positive relationships with peers and teachers, determined the coping ability of children of migrant parents (Asis, 2006; Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Jones et al., 2004). Additionally, one study suggested that father outmigration did not necessarily affect children's coping ability because of the support received from mothers (Battistella and Conaco, 1998) whereas some researchers indicated that support from extended families and communities could bolster the coping skills of youth when parents migrated (Asis, 2006; Parreñas, 2005). Although, investigators did not provide details regarding how the various supports could be implemented.

Similar to previous studies, the current investigation underscores the significance of environmental supports such as females in the extended family, the community, church and teachers. However, the investigation goes further by describing the strategies that adolescent males can utilize and outlining distinct actions that can aide in managing the issues associated with father outmigration. These strategies include personal actions of masking feelings and having a positive self-concept, and engaging in environmental activities such as participating in civic organizations and community youth groups. Additionally, encouragement from church leaders and members as well praying can act as measures of support. Further, unlike previous studies, the current investigation identifies men such as uncles, older brothers, stepfathers and sport coaches, who can function as social fathers. Even more, study findings stipulate ways in which social fathers can provide relevant assistance for left-behind young men namely teaching life skills, engaging in sporting activities, and facilitating discussions of issues that are important to males. Also, the findings emphasize the importance of the male-male interactions that comprise the relationships with social fathers because these activities simulate the father-son

relationship. The young men's stories also highlight the support from women, (which include mothers, grandmothers, peers and teachers), and acknowledge the financial, emotional and instrumental help that these persons can provide. Thus, participants described how mothers and grandmothers assisted in providing food and other material needs. Further, peers of the opposite sex and mothers facilitated periods when the young men needed to cry, an activity that would not have been condoned by male friends. Additionally, at least two young men indicated how female teachers sometimes gave practical help regarding school projects that required building objects.

In addition to personal coping strategies, another facet of resilience concerns how participants' actions defy society's expectations. Specifically, the current investigation challenges the negative labelling of young Caribbean males as failures. To illustrate, the participants in this study were mostly males of African Caribbean descent who demonstrated commitment and ability to make meaningful contribution to resolving youth issues. In the end, participants used the information about the various strategies to guide consultations with policymakers about relevant interventions to address youths' concerns. In identifying coping strategies and working with policymakers, the study aligns with the literature that emphasizes a comprehensive view of resilience as comprising, recognizing the presence of particular factors in the environment, identifying the opportunities available for the adolescent to negotiate for what they need, and accepting adolescents' ability to accomplish such negotiations (Bottrell, 2007; Ungar, 2007). Overall, the young men's proposals are consistent with the literature that heralds participants' perspectives as valuable when seeking to describe resilience (Creswell & Plano

Clark, 2007), and academics' urgings about recognizing the meaning of resilience as it relates to culture, gender and race (Ungar, 2004).

Aside from resilience, the present research identifies a contradictory feature of supportive environments. Firstly, the findings outline a dilemma for young men in managing bonding with social fathers. In particular, participants highlighted concerns that the 'substitute father-son' bond could replace the 'father-son' bond. This finding was not mentioned in previous studies, but the perspective is important even as academics advocate for a deeper understanding and evaluation of the different types of fathering, especially the role of social fathers in the Caribbean (Barker & Verani, 2008; Barrow, 2001; Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002).

Secondly, the study suggests that male adolescents of migrant fathers may sometimes endure stigmatizing environments at the levels of the family, school and community. For example, one participant discussed the disparaging comments issued by family members who harboured low expectations about the young man's ability to succeed in life and continually reminded the participant of his father's rejection. Another individual noted that young men of migrant fathers residing in certain communities were labelled as failures. Additionally, within the school, participants described having to sometimes endure isolation from peer groups. Also, two participants specifically noted the church as a source of discouragement. Thus for one individual, the church did not provide any special support resulting in him feeling ignored. For the other young man, the sympathy demonstrated by church members highlighted his unique circumstances and ultimately made him uncomfortable. Another conflicting aspect of the supportive environments related to the attitude of teachers and school counsellors. In particular the young men suggested that it was difficult to discuss personal issues with school personnel

because such persons often violated the principle of confidentiality. Despite the existence of a stigmatizing environment, the young men clearly demonstrated how social fathers, extended family members and the community helped them to be resilient and manage their challenges. In fact, the role of familial and extra-familial support in the lives African Caribbean males should not be underestimated. Accordingly, academics have indicated that the social context of particular family types such as exemplified in the Caribbean makes it possible for men in the extended family and community to fill the gaps in the father-son relationship which occurs due to father absence (Barrow, 2001, Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002). Further, the supportive function of social fathers is possible in the cases of father outmigration in the Caribbean (Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002).

Generally speaking, the present research obtained data surrounding resilience and stigma by using a theoretical approach that captured qualitative aspects of youth's lives in a manner that gave participants flexibility regarding articulating their stories, and respected youths' perspectives about their issues rather than relying on adult's voices (Barker & Weller, 2003; Kullman, 2012). Beyond the process of identifying experiences, the young men also pinpointed solutions to problems faced by adolescent men of migrant fathers.

Second Research Question: What Solutions can Youth in Tobago Identify to Address the Problems of Adolescent Males of Migrant Fathers?

The social work literature identifies three broad areas which characterize human functioning and towards which interventions are targeted when seeking to address social issues. These include the micro level (individual and family), the mezzo (small to medium sized groups such as neighbourhoods and schools) and macro level (large systems) (Hepworth et al., 2010;

Zastrow, 2014). In relation to these areas, the participants suggested solutions that could be implemented by individuals, the government, the community, and the school. Regarding the government, participants proposed that interventions should be aimed at creating job opportunities to reduce the extent of father outmigration, introducing relevant policies to ensure that migrant fathers continue to financially support left-behind children, and establishing guidelines for working with juvenile offenders who have migrant fathers. These suggestions about the government's involvement are noteworthy in light of discussions that indicate that a major driving force of Caribbean migration is due to a search for job opportunities (ECLAC, 2005; Ferguson, 2003; Hope, 1999), remittances from migration do not automatically equate to enhanced financial situations for left-behind families but it depends on how people use resources and government economic policies (Azam & Gubert, 2006; de Haas, 2010; Bracking & Sachikonye, 2010), and the need for adequate policies and strategies to address the fallouts for children of parents (UNICEF, 2010).

Concerning the community, the young men recommended strategies such as collecting relevant data on children of migrant parents in Tobago, creating youth-friendly spaces as a means of support, generating public awareness of the phenomenon of the impact of migration on young men in Tobago, and establishing relevant mentoring programmes. In terms of the school, the participants believed that two approaches can be helpful, namely, a school curriculum that is sensitive to the migration phenomenon and counsellors who are able to provide relevant activities for youth who are having problems in the classroom. The recommendations at the community level reinforce appeals from academics for adequate statistics on Caribbean migration for guiding policy, and the need for Caribbean countries to implement relevant

consistent data collection procedures to monitor the migration phenomenon (Blank, 2007; Crawford-Brown, 1997; ECLAC, 2005; IOM, 2013). Further, the literature suggests that male youth can benefit from mentoring programmes which can promote social, emotional, behavioural and academic development for youth , especially when mentors can form quality relationships such as providing closeness, and emotional and instrumental support (DuBois-Comtois et al., 2013; Herrera, Sipe, & McClanahan, 2000).

Alongside the interventions of the government, community and school, the young men envisaged themselves as being part of a support system that involved motivating other young men whether through participating in support groups or providing one on one encouragement to peers. As Checkoway et al. (2003) note, when youth are encouraged to participate in making decisions about issues that affect them, it allows youths to claim their role as important contributors to knowledge building. Further, the process helps youth to understand themselves, their membership in the community and the process by which they can bring about social change in matters that concern them, whether at the level of institution or community (Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2003; Larson et al., 2005). Though some prior research sought to highlight youth voices (Asis, 2006; Jones et al., 2004; Murphy, 2014), these investigations did not include youths' perspectives on relevant actions to address the issues raised in the studies.

In identifying actions, the young men demonstrated their ability to generate solutions for their own problems. In this regard, the study supports Freire's theory of empowerment education and YPAR which emphasize youth's capacity to be problem-solvers within settings that facilitate young peoples' engagement in critical thinking (Allman, 2010; Cahill, 2007; Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006). Further, the study demonstrates a gender-relevant and culture-specific strategy

for implementing Freire's empowerment education (Allman, 2010; Mayo, 2004; Wilson et al., 2008) through the implementation of the theoretical approach with male youth in the Caribbean context of Tobago. It is interesting to note that Freire's approach to teaching literacy was revolutionary and has been adopted and adapted to fit different socio-economic and cultural contexts in the global North and South (Mayo, 2004). Also, the findings lend credence to applying critical social work theory with young men of migrant fathers by reemphasizing the role of structural forces. Thus the young men identified macro level factors that contributed to their problems as well as macro level solutions to address the issues. Furthermore, from a cultural standpoint, the study provides evidence for the policymakers' thrust in Trinidad and Tobago regarding the feasibility of ensuring youth participation in initiatives that address youth-related issues.

Generally speaking, the problem-solving capacities of the young men were promoted through engaging participants as co-researchers in the current YPAR project and adopting a youth-adult partnership (Y-AP) approach (Zeldin et al., 2003). In sync with YPAR, the participatory process involved accepting youths as having the ability to identify relevant solutions that will promote their well-being (Cahill, 2007; Cammarota & Fine, 2008).

In Y-AP, adults and youth agree to work together on youth issues, sharing responsibility and recognizing and valuing each other's decisions and contributions (Messias, Fore, McLoughlin, & Parra-Medina, 2005; Norman, 2001). Furthermore, the Y-AP process allow youth to practice leadership roles as well as assume meaningful participation under the guidance of an adult (Halpern, 2005; Larson et al., 2005; Powers & Tiffany, 2006). For example, co-facilitators helped throughout the study in mobilizing discussions which included exploring

themes, considering solutions, identifying audience members and exploring creative ideas for disseminating information. Also, I provided guidance throughout the project while encouraging youth to freely express their ideas and opinions which were acknowledged as essential to the research process. Ultimately, Y-AP teaches youths the values of problem-solving and commitment, as youth and adults work closely together on accomplishing tasks (Halpern, 2005). In essence, the participants' identification of solutions emphasizes the value of recognizing young men of migrant fathers in Tobago as potential problem-solvers, critical-thinkers and contributors to policy.

As Dick (1999) notes, action research that involves participants as part of the research team will encourage in-depth data assessment as participants become confident in interpreting and critiquing the findings. In the current investigation participants' evaluation of the findings provided the foundation for the young men to identify ways of sharing the findings with policymakers, an action designed to bring about change.

Third Research Question: How can Youth in Tobago Create Change by Disseminating Their Ideas Concerning Solutions to Problems They Face as Adolescent Males of Migrant Fathers?

In addition to identifying solutions, the current action research project primarily involved sharing the findings with stakeholders who could either initiate change or influence change processes. In terms of previous migration research, I have not encountered this approach to engaging left-behind children and thus the procedure is noteworthy. Overall, the process entailed two activities of disseminating the findings and implementing actions. I describe these activities under themes which suggest the following: dissemination avenues can include

policymakers and youth-friendly technology, youth can and should be fully engaged in the dissemination process, and change requires implementing solutions based on commitment of both policymakers and youth.

Dissemination avenues can incorporate youth-friendly technology and use traditional photovoice media which recognize cultural nuances. The youth in this study demonstrated various avenues of disseminating solutions which included a public forum that reached specific stakeholders and the media (radio call-in programme), which targeted a wide cross section of the society. Additionally, in terms of actions after the study, participants decided to utilize a social media network site (Facebook) that catered to modern youth culture, to reach young men of migrant fathers. From a photovoice standpoint these strategies are not unique and the literature largely focused on the use of various traditional dissemination methods which included public discussions and photo exhibitions (Palibroda et al., 2009; Wang, 1999). Additionally, authors have indicated that research designs which incorporated digital devices and web-based programmes could ensure meaningful engagement of youth in enquiries through capitalizing on the widespread use of modern technology among young people (Flicker, et al., 2008; Foster-Fishman et al., 2005). The current study reinforces the rationale for using such strategies and demonstrates the cultural applicability of this type of investigation by indicating the use of modern technology in research with Tobagonian youth. Previous migration research has neither identified media for sharing data and solutions with policymakers nor has such literature suggested how disseminating findings can contribute to addressing the migration phenomena.

Besides the use of youth-friendly technology, the current study suggests how contextual factors such as deciding on policymakers and pinpointing communication mediums can influence dissemination. Regarding policymakers, this involved considering the political relationship between Trinidad and Tobago. Therefore, to prevent undermining of the dissemination process, the group selectively chose members of government who would participate in the public forum. Also, in identifying relevant communication strategies, it was prudent to appraise the prominent role played by the radio station as a channel for educating the island's population. However, identifying various avenues for dissemination occurred against the background of the salience of fully engaging youth in the dissemination process.

Youth can and should be fully engaged in the dissemination process. The dissemination process is part of the final stages of the research and includes the information that is useful for policymakers. However, effective dissemination represents the culmination of a wider process of being an integral part of collecting and analyzing relevant data (Palibroda et al., 2009; Wang, 1999). In essence, the dissemination process speaks to the significance of engaging youth at multiple stages of research. Under these circumstances, youth are able to talk about their issues in a meaningful manner because of being involved in the various tasks associated with understanding and interpreting factors related to the problem (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). Accordingly, the young men in this study were closely involved in the various aspects of dissemination including, gathering and interpreting the data, pinpointing the target audience, designing the presentation format, and sharing the findings and solutions. Ultimately, allowing youth to consult with policymakers facilitates the development of skills of leadership and advocacy which are hallmarks of YPAR (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Powers & Tiffany, 2006).

Further, the young men's integral involvement in the dissemination process demonstrates how to build on youth creativity when planning meaningful ways to communicate youth's issues. This type of youth involvement, as co-researchers, can help policymakers in Trinidad and Tobago define how youth can be engaged in addressing their issues. I do not know of opportunities like this being offered to young men on the island of Tobago, neither did I encounter any studies that provided such possibilities for young men of migrant fathers. Beyond the process of disseminating findings, is the central issue of creating meaningful change which the current study emphasizes as requiring commitment from various stakeholders.

Change requires implementing solutions based on commitment of both policymakers and youth. The second aspect of disseminating information concerns change which exists on a continuum, with the lowest level being that of raising self awareness and the highest level being reflected in the implementation of practical solutions (Franks, 2011; Findholt et al., 2011; Reason & Bradbury, 2001). At the end of this study change may be described as being at the lowest level. The reasons for the extent of change may be based on several factors. Firstly, the time-line of the current project did not facilitate implementing certain actions that could stimulate more extensive change. For example, the long-term ventures such as the film, school-based projects and mentoring programmes, which the young men identified, will require extensive planning and funding, beyond the scope of this dissertation research. Moreover, the impact of migration is not as visible, nor as prioritized as the fallouts from other social issues such as HIV/AIDS and crime. Thus, policymakers may be reluctant about allocating limited resources to migration projects and they and the community may be slow in accepting the full implications of the migration phenomena. Hence, some types of change such as the society's

modified attitude and the community's resolve to address the impact of migration, is unpredictable. Nevertheless, in light of the dearth of knowledge that exits in the Caribbean concerning the impact of migration (Bakker et al., 2009; UNICEF, 2010), raising community awareness is possibly a significant stride towards implementing practical solutions.

Generally speaking, the literature identifies substantial challenges that are often encountered in efforts to implement sustainable change as part of action research including, creating change in different cultures, the extent to which youth participation can generate substantial reform and the difficulty of progressing from research to action (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006; Findholt, et al., 2011). Accordingly, more evaluation is needed regarding the impact of youth participation on practice and policy, especially concerning applications outside North America, and regarding the contexts which are favourable to positive impact, whether in the community or institutions (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006; Lerner et al., 2005; O'Donoghue et al., 2002). Further, youth participation that occurs through YPAR may only result in raising community awareness with no guarantee that this translates into changed policies and practices (Findholt, et al., 2011; Petrie, et al., 2006). Additionally, moving from research to action may sometimes be difficult or even impossible because the ability to effect change varies depending on the individuals and organizations involved (Franks, 2011; Pain & Francis, 2003).

Despite the extent of change generated during the study, the group decided to follow-up on the implementation of solutions after the completion of the project. This is also significant because it suggests that individuals were empowered to engage in a process that could ultimately result in more meaningful actions. This attitude which participants adopted at the end of the

study, that does not necessarily include the direction of the researcher, is also a goal of PAR regarding building the capacity of individuals to address social issues.

Conclusions

In sum, the findings support the use of social work critical theory and Freire's empowerment education with youth of migrant fathers (Allan et al., 2003; Allman, 2010, Mayo, 2004). The study's theoretical approach is important because previous migration studies have used economic or psychological theories which either emphasized a pathological stance or failed to see individuals as critical thinkers who could make deliberate positive contributions to resolving their issues. Also, the theoretical approach used in the current investigation promoted examination of the interrelatedness of factors at the individual and macro levels, and thus highlighted the multidimensional nature of the impacts of migration. Moreover, the research process promoted recognizing the value of untapped knowledge which in this case could be regarded as the knowledge of learners as identified in Freire's empowerment education (Allman, 2010).

Additionally, the study demonstrates a youth friendly procedure that meaningfully engages male youth who are confronting migration issues. Specifically, youths implemented the photovoice method which the literature supported as a strategy that encouraged in-depth analysis of participants' stories (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005). Furthermore, photovoice uses the story telling method which relates to youth's natural way of conversing and utilizes images that allow the participants to freely express their point of view (Darbyshire et al., 2005; McIntyre, 2003; Nowell et al., 2006). The significance of the strategy should not be under estimated because this photovoice project conducted in Tobago emphasized the relevance of the method for a culture

outside North America, in particular the Caribbean setting, and provided further evidence for utilizing photovoice with non-health issues.

Furthermore, the findings reinforce the literature regarding exploring Caribbean men's perspectives on family life issues and using appropriate methodologies to highlight the opinion of males (Anderson, 2009; Barker & Verani, 2008; Brown et al., 1997). As a result, the current methodological approach is one way of filling the gap concerning, identifying appropriate research strategies to understand the voices of males within the matrifocal societies of the Caribbean, and utilizing child-centred research and methods that emphasize the voices of Caribbean youth.

Even more, within the context of father outmigration the investigation supports the appeal for a better understanding of gender-based responses as noted by at least one other study (Kuhn, 2006). In seeking to address gender issues, the study minimized the overshadowing of males' experiences which occurred in previous investigations that focused on the feminization of migration.

Finally, the methodology encouraged the exploration of issues which Reason and Bradbury (2001) noted as being a hall mark of action research studies. Specifically, the research facilitated second person inquiry which ultimately promoted the voices of persons who did not normally have the opportunity to discuss their concerns to effect change. Further, in the current study, second person enquiry comprised a safe space for interacting and expressing ideas for which the young men expressed gratitude. Also, the research process promoted presentational reflection (Fong Chiu, 2006), that is, the findings allowed youth the freedom to be creative in representing the data and expressing their knowledge.

Limitations

Despite the important findings of the current investigation, there are some limitations which must be considered, namely, issues related to ensuring diversity, concerns about managing behaviour, questions surrounding power, pitfalls encompassing reticence, matters of implementing actions, and effects of inadequate self-exploration.

Regarding diversity, a drawback of the study involved the inability to gain a vast variation among participants. To manage this drawback, the recruitment included using flyers in schools, targeting youth networks, and earmarking youth clubs. In spite of these procedures, all the young men, except one, came from the Western end of the island which is closer to the main town. Additionally, participants' network of friends and other personal contacts were not as extensive as expected. Therefore, it was not possible to ascertain the experiences for young men from a wider cross section of the island. To illustrate a disadvantage of using a restricted sample, the study failed to attract young men living in the seaside villages away from the island's capital who might experience the migration phenomenon in unique ways. Further, in spite of the large number of African Caribbean people living in Tobago, the island has a fair number of East Indians whose experiences the study was not able to capture. Additionally, there was little variety among participants regarding caregivers and thus all the young men, except one, was left in the care of their mothers. These various factors concerning location, ethnicity and care giving arrangements may influence participants' experiences.

A second limitation concerns that of addressing issues of control and managing challenging behaviours, which are common when working in group settings with youth (Doel, 2005). In the current study, important guiding actions included allowing the group to sanction

behaviours or employing strategies that directly addressed individuals' disruptive behaviours. Despite these techniques, some sessions were challenging and some group members believed that the boisterousness detracted from the proceedings. Ultimately, the behavioural issues may have influenced the extent of participants' contribution and the depth of participatory analysis which comprised the methodology.

A third limitation of the current findings relates to the fact that it is not entirely possible to remove the power imbalances that exist between researcher and participants (Collins & Arthur, 2010). Therefore it is not unforeseeable that some decisions and interactions would have been influenced by my gender, age, and ability. Fourthly, despite trying to encourage adequate group participation to capture everyone's experience, there were some persons who tended to be avid contributors to the discussions whereas others needed constant prodding. In reality, it is possible that the experiences of some individuals may have been overshadowed and this would have narrowed the articulation of the range of experiences. Fifthly, the study began on the premise that the targeted youth groups on the island were operational and well organized. However, this was not the reality and as such many of the groups were not prepared to engage in the project because of leadership issues. The lack of commitment from youth groups might have also resulted from insufficient time being spent with groups to ensure understanding of the photovoice process, to generate motivation to embrace the study, and to build confidence regarding capacity to participate. In the end, limited participation of youth groups affected not only the ability to reach a diversity of participants, but also stymied the capacity to engage a broader range of youth who could advocate for implementation of initiatives to address migration issues on the island of Tobago.

Besides these limitations, a major part of the study involved an action component. The group hoped to engage the community, politicians and school principals because of the influence of these agents on policy at different levels in Tobago. However, political commitment was not as forthcoming as expected and this may have prevented access to resources for swift implementation of solutions or even influenced whether the relevant government departments adopted the suggestions. Further, school principals did not follow through on their promises which comprised setting up a 'buddy programme' and establishing a system to reach young men of migrant parents in their institution. Principals' inaction may have resulted from the lack of human and material resources to effectively implement such initiatives as well as the absence of the required stimuli to sustain the initial motivation concerning the projects. Overall, the minimal commitment from policymakers ultimately influenced the extent to which the action component was implemented.

Finally, encouraging participants' self exploration is important especially pertaining to understanding Caribbean males' perceptions of gender roles. In light of the complexity surrounding Caribbean masculinity and fatherhood, some academics attach importance to exploring not only societal expectations, but also examining how the young Caribbean man views himself regarding roles within the family (Anderson, 2009; Barker & Verani, 2008; Lewis & Lamb, 2007). However, the current study did not sufficiently analyze participants' self-perception regarding gender roles and instead readily accepted youths' portrayal of what seemed to be the mirroring of societal norms. The action regarding insufficient exploration of participants' perception of gender roles may be a reflection of my personal bias and evidence of a disadvantage associated with conducting research in one's culture. In particular Corbin Dwyer

and Buckle (2009) explain how difficult it may sometimes be for 'insider' researchers to fully explore participants' experiences because of assumptions regarding shared cultural factors. Nevertheless, the limitations of being an insider are outweighed by several benefits which include my understanding of the milieu, my refusal to objectify the young men and the possibility that I established the participants' trust in my ability to present their voices fairly.

Implications for Social Work

Social workers require adequate knowledge to effectively address the various issues which practitioners encounter. To this end, the current research enhances social workers' knowledge regarding how adolescent males experience father-son separation. In particular, the findings suggest unique ways in which father outmigration affects a young man's social functioning, a special strategy that can facilitate youths' capacity to critically examine their issues, and a method of identifying appropriate youth-relevant strategies that can be beneficial to policy makers and clinicians. Overall, the study points to useful knowledge for social workers in terms of practice, policy, research, theory and education.

Practice

The findings suggest potential interventions which social workers can use to address the impact of father outmigration on adolescent young men and emphasize youth participation as an underlying factor that should guide practitioner's actions. Specifically, the current investigation suggests implementation strategies that are proactive and preventative in nature and thus indicates approaches that can reach individuals and families who may be at risk for adjusting negatively to the impact of father outmigration. To this end, the current research suggests that interventions should be designed to incorporate strategies which target the individual, family,

extended family, community and government in deliberate ways. To illustrate, at the individual level, programmes can include creating specialized spaces for young men to talk. This presents an opportunity for school and community social workers to be creative in establishing relevant avenues for young men to discuss pertinent issues. Also, social workers should not neglect the possible positive effects of using the media for community awareness programmes and employing workshops for face to face discussions with parents and young people. This multi-component approach (targeting the individual along with various parts of the social environment) has a high likelihood of success because the benefits obtained in the different environments reinforce each other (Catalano, Hawkins, Berglund, Pollard, & Arthur, 2002; Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004).

Additionally, Tobagonian social workers should incorporate adult male facilitators in the different discussions because, as the current study suggests, male-male interactions are important for young men. Yet, in employing the various strategies social workers should recognize youth's capacity for making meaningful contributions towards designing initiatives. Indeed, Checkoway and Guiterriez (2006) note the importance of utilizing youth participation in all aspects of social work as it promotes a proactive rather than a reactive approach in providing services.

A particular aspect of the prevention approach is the value of implementing universal and targeted programmes which social workers can consider as complements to clinical interventions. In particular, universal programmes are administered to whole communities, for example schools or villages (Small & Memmo, 2004; Catalano et al., 2002), whereas, targeted programmes focus on those who may be at risk for certain problems (Catalano et al., 2002; Offord, 1996). These approaches will be relevant because the stories from the young men in the

current study indicate the existence of hard-to-reach youth of migrant fathers, some of whom are not managing their life circumstances well. These young men remain hidden because of the society's acceptance of migration, the general lack of awareness regarding the experiences of left-behind children, and the stigmatization of being a child of a migrant parent.

Nevertheless, professionals should comprehend the strengths and weakness of the different types of programmes. Specifically, the major advantages of universal interventions are the elimination of stigmatization or labelling, and the benefits that accrue to the population as a whole (Griffin, Botvin, Nichols, & Doyle, 2002; Offord, 1996). On the other hand, a disadvantage is the possibility of the largest benefits going to those at the lowest risk, and the expenses of implementation (Offord, 1996). However, studies show that those who are in need of the intervention receive the desired benefits (Stoolmiller, Eddy, & Reid, 2000). For targeted programs, a main advantage is the possibility of reaching those at highest risk (Lochman & Wells, 2002; Offord, 1996). Disadvantages include, high costs associated with screening, high refusal rate, possible unreliability of screening resulting in persons being mislabeled, and emphasis on risk factors for a part of the population (Offord, 2000).

Recognizing the importance of prevention approaches is significant for social work practice on the island of Tobago where the common approach is synonymous with the descriptions of a reactive, crisis-oriented style as outlined by Hawkins (2006). Accordingly, Tobagonian social workers largely utilize interventions that rely heavily on casework, are largely reactive in nature, are remedial, and target problems considered to be urgent. Yet, the expanded knowledge base of social work, evidence from practice, the complexity of social problems, and the limitations of the remedial approach, mandates the adoption of prevention interventions (Frey

& Dupper, 2005; Mahoney & Matthews, 2008; Walker, 2006). Above all, prevention is necessary if professionals are to meaningfully address youth problems before they reach unmanageable proportions (Shore, 2000).

Furthermore, the investigation indicates an alternative to treatment. Though treatment approaches are necessary for addressing problems, they should be conducted in an environment that also favours prevention (Offord, 1996, 2000). Further, treatment approaches have certain challenges in that they reach many families only after periods which indicate a large burden of suffering, service a minority of children, and have limited positive effects once the problem has begun (Catalano, et al., 2004; Offord, Kraemer, Kadzin, Jenson, & Harrington, 1998). Also, treatment is expensive, at least more so than prevention, with respect to long term costs (Jones, Dodge, Foster, & Nix, 2002; Reid & Eddy, 1997).

The goal is for combined strategies (clinical, targeted, and universal) to produce sustainable effects and ensure effective interventions (Catalano et al., 2002; Offord, 1996). An example of this integration of implementation strategies is the wraparound approach which uses a continuum of care incorporating universal, targeted, and clinical interventions (Eber, 1997; Hoagwood, Burns, Kiser, Ringeisen, & Schoenwald, 2001; Pumariega, Winters, & Huffine, 2003). In essence, the wraparound approach targets multiple systems within the child's environment, is long-term and adapts the duration and intensity of interventions to suit the client's needs (Burchard, Burns, & Burchard, 2002; Stambaugh et. al., 2007; Pumariega et al., 2003).

Besides suggesting the use of an integrated approach, the current study represents a culturally relevant youth-based research that can guide social work interventions. This is

important because the literature notes that appropriate interventions should be guided by sound research which includes cultural sensitivity (Bellamy, Bledsoe, & Traube, 2006; Thompson, 2011; Leschied & Cummings, 2002). In addition to implications for social work practice, the findings provide directions for social work policy.

Policy

The current research indicates various ways in which social workers can advocate for policy to address the migration phenomenon. Specifically, in appealing to governments, Caribbean social workers should recommend that policymakers consider the nuances associated with migration within unitary island states. Within the Trinidad and Tobago context, this will mean engaging the two governing bodies (Tobago House of Assembly and the Central Government). Such discussions should stress the impact of international migration as well as emphasize the effects of migration between the islands.

At another level, Tobagonian school social workers can consult with administrators regarding the inclusion of migration information as part of the existing school policy on collating student's demographic data. However this will involve ensuring that the relevant data is collected in a consistent manner by working closely with school supervisors at the headquarters which manage education issues in Tobago (Division of Education Youth Affairs and Sport) as well as encouraging principals to commit to the data collecting process. The data can assist in identifying the number, gender and age groups of students of migrant parents and the information can be a baseline for determining appropriate interventions. In fact, recommendations from one Jamaican study included the need for identifying school children who were experiencing parental migration (Crawford-Brown, 1997). The current study adds to

this recommendation by suggesting specific methods of identification that can work within the Tobago context. Additionally, advocacy at the school level can also involve engaging the curriculum officers at the main headquarters for education matters in the country (Ministry of Education) with a view to include the topic of migration in a meaningful manner within the Social Studies courses at the primary and secondary school levels.

Research

The current study has only begun to examine the issues surrounding migration types and its impact on adolescent males. Nevertheless, the process can guide future research in terms of youth-directed studies, culturally relevant investigations, and methodology. For example, subsequent studies should attend to characteristics of male youth in deciding on research strategies which facilitate separate enquiries for younger and older adolescents to allow more in-depth analysis of the specific age groups. Also, for future investigations involving YPAR, it is important that researchers address specific challenges related to group process with adolescent male participants such as dealing with the possible boisterousness and utilizing techniques that will keep young men focused and fully engaged. In essence, conducting separate investigations for the different stages of adolescent development and attending more closely to the nature of males can provide more in-depth information concerning the impact of migration on young men.

Additionally, the challenge with implementing actions is that of identifying specific strategies that can boost the action stage of YPAR. Accordingly, youth participatory research approaches conducted in Tobago where resources are limited may require researchers to allot sufficient time to the action component to facilitate negotiating for funding and sourcing relevant supports. This can promote meaningful implementation of practical solutions. Further, in the

Tobago context, it may mean using creative approaches to target government and non-governmental organizations. For example, diplomatic missions, utility firms and oil companies have indicated interest in supporting programmes that target youth. Accordingly researchers can also engage these organizations regarding funding for projects that address the impact of migration on youth. Another aspect to boosting the action component relates to collaborating with youth groups. Specifically, in light of the uncertainty regarding the functioning of youth clubs in Tobago, future research that seeks to incorporate youth organizations on the island should ensure that such clubs are sufficiently prepared to participate. This may necessitate spending sufficient time to gain buy in from the relevant groups and to help build capacity of willing organizations.

Besides these initiatives, Caribbean researchers should conduct more enquires regarding the experiences of youth when parents migrate to islands within unitary states as well as investigate issues surrounding general intra-regional parental migration. Such investigations should also address questions of gender response and appropriate interventions. Other issues for exploration include the similarities and differences between inter-island movement and rural-urban migration. Overall, further exploration of the experience of adolescent males is warranted and should consider in-depth examination of the experiences of young men of migrant fathers from varied cultural contexts. These explorations should consider engaging youth as co-researchers because youth-directed investigations provide guidance for practitioners regarding how to create opportunities for engendering characteristics of "personal confidence, social connectedness, civic competency and leadership development" among youth (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006, p. 2).

Theory

The findings point to factors at the level of the individual, family, community, school and government which contribute to the experiences of male adolescents in Tobago. In this sense, the study reinforces the person-in-environment perspective and ecological systems theory. Generally speaking, the person-in-environment approach is fundamental to social work practice and focuses on understanding the individual and behaviours in relation to the context in which participants live and operate (Hepworth et al., 2010; Karls, 1992; Zastrow, 2014). Similarly, the ecological systems theory guides social work intervention in terms of recognizing the dynamic relationship between individuals and the various systems in which individuals function (Ungar, 2002). In essence, person-in-environment perspective and ecological systems theory suggest that it is necessary for social workers to consider individuals along with their environments when conducting effective assessment and interventions. With regards to the tenets of these theories, the findings imply the important relationship between the young men of migrant fathers and their environments and indicate the multiple points at which intervention can occur.

Also, the study supports social work critical theory which highlights the need for considering macro level factors when addressing social issues, promoting co-participatory relationships with clients, and advocating for the oppressed and marginalized (Healy, 2001a). In particular, the investigation indicates the significance of suitable governmental policy to ensure that youth's issues are addressed in a meaningful manner. Additionally, as an extension of critical theory, the findings lend credence to Freire's empowerment education and thus highlight the significance of appreciating the problem-solving capacity of youth and the value of engaging youth as co-researchers. Furthermore in line with critical theory, the study demonstrates the

relevance of collaborating with marginalized populations such as adolescent youth of migrant fathers, understanding their stories, and advocating for appropriate change. Alongside theory, the study identifies some implications for social work education.

Education

Social work education has been growing in an effort to match the increasing needs of vulnerable groups (Healy, 2004). As part of tertiary level instruction, social workers should be adequately prepared to address the needs of left-behind youth who form an integral part of Caribbean societies. In light of the extent to which migration affects Caribbean peoples, universities within and outside the Caribbean should include special courses regarding this issue and encourage examination of the complexity of the phenomenon (Dillon, 2015). For tertiary institutions in host countries, knowledge regarding migration will assist in deepening the understanding of migrants and help in devising relevant interventions to facilitate integration of Caribbean people. Indeed, the various studies concerning the adjustment problems for Caribbean migrants point to the significance of this strategy (Lashley, 2000; Levitt et al., 2004).

Yet, the inclusion of the topic of migration within the curriculum should be done in a purposeful manner, that is, the course content should comprehensively address the relevant issues (Dillon, 2015). For example, Ledoux and Montalvo (1999) indicate how a university's curriculum can meaningfully structure courses by including relevant theories, emphasizing suitable methodologies and incorporating appropriate field experience. Furthermore, the curriculum should cater for building students' capacity for devising relevant interventions to address the complex nature of migration regarding gender, age-groups and Caribbean culture.

Summary

This section represents a synthesis of the dissertation which focuses on the understudied phenomenon of father outmigration on the Caribbean island of Tobago. Thus, the chapter summaries the methodology, indicates the key findings, describes the limitations, and makes recommendations for social work. To this end, the chapter emphasizes the central role that migrant fathers play in the lives of their sons, demonstrates a methodology that highlights youth's voices, and suggests a strategy that helps young men to identify relevant solutions to their issues.

Regarding the general impact of migration, the study notes that the father-son relationship should not be taken for granted, emphasizes that managing possible fallouts should include recognizing young men's emotional responses, highlights the issues surrounding the role of mothers and the extended family, underscores environmental supports and accompanying dilemma, and considers young men's resiliency.

In essence, the role of women in lives of young men needs to be revisited especially in light of the family structure and relationships within Caribbean matrifocal societies where women are expected to fill gaps left by an absent father. Accordingly, the young men in the current study suggest that there is need for initiatives which will counter the extensive presence of women in everyday life. Also, the support of the extended family, the community and institutions is noteworthy. However such support is most effective when it includes avenues for filling the gap in the father-son relationship and recognizing the resiliency of the young men. Also, the findings suggest that adolescent males accept substitute fathers with ambivalence and

these young men of migrant fathers in Tobago are concerned about endangering the connection between father and son.

Concerning methodology, the present investigation indicates that engaging youth in a meaningful manner facilitates dialogue that encourages rich, in-depth description of life experiences. Further, using youth-friendly and male-friendly strategies such as modern technology combined with photography is useful for engaging youth and promoting the process of critically analyzing the impact of migration. Accordingly, the study supports photovoice as an effective way of creating a space for adolescent young men of migrant fathers in Tobago to discuss their issues and consider possible solutions. Furthermore, the investigation demonstrates that fostering critical analysis and utilizing YPAR is possible when adults capitalize on strengths and resources of young men and partner with youth as co-researchers.

In the end, the findings reinforce social work critical theory and Freire's empowerment education, suggest some useful proactive strategies that social workers can implement to address the migration phenomenon, indicate various ways in which social work can advocate for relevant policy, and recommend strategies for meaningful inclusion of the topic of migration in university courses.

In spite of the many benefits of the research there is need for future investigations that will reach a wider sample of Tobagonian young men who are affected by father outmigration in a way that attends more closely to the nature of males and the unique strategies to keep young men engaged and focused in co-participatory research.

Epilogue

The process of this PAR project has reinforced the principles that this type of qualitative research cannot be rushed, and that it is necessary to be willing to adjust to the realities of implementing PAR as this relates to culture and community. For instance, the issues related to the speed of the process has surely been tested as the young men have faced disappointments related to human resource and funding to achieve certain post-project activities. Thus, although the initial filming and script writing have occurred, the original photographers have not stayed with the project. Despite these setbacks, the group has currently retained the services of two other photographers to work on the project. Additionally, the Facebook page is functional and is been serviced by one of the co-facilitators and group members. Further, I continue to work with the group as an advisor and have now identified organizations that may be possible source of funding. These avenues are currently been explored with a view to getting a documentary produced. Also, the organizers of an impending radio programme that focuses specifically on men's issues are interested in broadcasting the study findings.

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Appendix A
Recruitment Information

TOPIC: The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers Have Migrated.
WHAT IS THIS ABOUT? Telling your story, expressing yourself through photography, helping others get a better understanding of your experience, and being part of creating solutions.

WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO PARTICIPATE?

- You must be a male 12 to 18 years of age living in Tobago
- Your father may have gone to live on another Caribbean island or in a country outside the Caribbean.
- Your father can still be living in the island or country to which he migrated or he can now be living in Tobago.

WHAT WILL YOU DO?
Attend approximately 12 sessions once per week from July to September (Dates to be announced).

Session 1: Orientation to photovoice - a method that allows you to tell your story using photographs.
During the remaining sessions:

- Take pictures that show what it is like to be separated from your father when he migrates.
- Select and discuss the photos in a group with other young men with similar experiences of being separated from their fathers because of migration.
- Discuss how this information can be used to make life better for boys in Tobago whose fathers migrate.
- Present the photos and the information to the public using a method that the group decides.
- Meet for group debriefing and reflection at the end of public presentations.

Participants will receive a voucher valued at 25 Canadian dollars, and a digital camera loaned for photo assignments.

The process will be facilitated by Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary and youth clubs in Tobago.

If you are interested in being part of this project, contact Mona Dillon at: _____.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board and the Ethics Committee, Ministry of Health, Trinidad and Tobago, have approved this project.

Appendix B
Information Letter (Parent)

Dear Parent/Guardian,

This letter explains the accompanying flyer that your child has brought home or has spoken to you about.

Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary is conducting a photovoice research on the experiences of adolescent boys in Tobago whose fathers have migrated. Your child may be a potential participant if he is an adolescent male in Tobago who has experienced a father-son separation at some point in his life due to his father's migration to another part of the world. However, as a minor, your child cannot be part of this project without your consent.

An information session on this research project will be held on…… at ……I look forward to seeing you and your child at that time. The session will provide a brief overview on the photovoice project, what your child will learn and how you can sign him up. You will also have the opportunity to meet the persons who will be working with your child.

I hope that you will let your child participate if he is eligible.

If you have any questions please contact Mona Dillon at _____.

Sincerely,

Mona Dillon
PhD Candidate, University of Calgary.

Appendix C
Information Letter (Adult)

Dear _____,

This letter explains the accompanying flyer given to you or that you may have read.

Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary is conducting a photovoice research on the experiences of adolescent boys in Tobago whose fathers have migrated. You have been selected as a potential participant because you are an adolescent male in Tobago who has experienced a father-son separation at some point in his life due to your father's migration to another part of the world.

An information session on this research project will be held on…… at ……. I look forward to seeing you then. This session will provide a brief overview on the photovoice project, what you will learn and how you can sign up. You will also have the opportunity to meet the persons who will be working with you.

I hope that you will participate.

If you have any questions contact Mona Dillon at _____.

Sincerely,

Mona Dillon
PhD Candidate, University of Calgary.

Appendix D
Study Overview Used in Orientation

Introduction
This project is being conducted by Mrs. Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary, as part of the requirement of the Doctor of Philosophy in social work at the University of Calgary. The following information answers some common questions about the project. Please feel free to ask questions about anything that is not clear.

What is the project about?
The objectives of the study are to: (1) provide the opportunity for adolescent males in Tobago to learn in a way that allows them to examine their situations critically, which becomes important in making appropriate choices in daily living, (2) facilitate youth participation and inclusion in research that targets youth issues, and (3) create the environment for youth to share knowledge with policymakers in Tobago that can result in more effective planning and programming regarding youth services.

Why is the study important?
Women and men in the Caribbean have been migrating for many years. While there is some information on what happens when the mother leaves, there is very little information on the effects on boys when their fathers migrate and there is no information about the effects on children in Tobago. This project seeks to provide understanding regarding how adolescent males in Tobago are affected by this type of father-son separation that occurs when fathers migrate. The project will be using a special method called photovoice to get relevant information.

What is photovoice?
In photovoice persons use photographs to tell stories about their lives. Individuals then use group discussions to identify important issues from the stories in the photographs. The information is then used to get the attention of decision-makers in the community.

What will participants do in this project?
In this study, the young men will participate in data analysis games that allow individuals to practice analyzing content and integrating themes in stories. This process will help to prepare them for the activities of the project. They will also receive training in the ethics of photovoice, camera use, photography and how to use photographs to tell stories. They will then take photographs that identify important issues for males when a father migrates. Their participation will also involve keeping a journal and working with the group in informing decision-makers about the project's findings. Additionally, participants will be given the option of inviting other interested young men to be part of the project.

How will the photographs be used?
Once photographs are taken, the young men will get together with other participants to discuss stories related to everyone's photographs. These discussions will occur in group sessions that are audio taped and last for approximately two hours and individuals must provide consent to be audio taped. Some photographs will be included in public exhibits, presentations or publications and individuals will need to participate in these activities. Individuals only need to take photographs and share information that they consider to be appropriate and comfortable.

Are there other persons involve in this project?
Yes, in this project, members of Tobago youth clubs will be assisting with the different activities.

Will any identifying information be used?
Names will be used during group discussions, and individuals will be asked some basic information such as name, age, and personal history that are related to the issue of the experiences of adolescent boys of migrant fathers. However, names and identifying information will not be revealed with photographs and narratives included in exhibits, presentations or publications. Unless consent is received, all the information will be removed that will allow others to identify persons in future publications and presentations. Nevertheless, despite efforts of confidentiality, there is always the chance that someone may recognize persons at public presentations or in photographs that individuals may use of themselves.

However, where intended reporting of photographed images includes public display, the researcher will have no control over any future use by others who may copy the images and report them in different formats or contexts, including, online. Also, that absolute anonymity and confidentiality cannot be guaranteed because of due to the group setting has been included.
If persons wish to be acknowledged for their contributions, consent must be given for first names to be available in public publications and presentations.

How will the data be stored?
All the information in the form of audio tapes, written transcripts, and photographs, will be stored in a locked cabinet designated for this project. The cabinet will be accessible only to the researcher (Mrs. Mona Dillon). Anonymous data will also be stored on a computer, of which the researcher (Mrs. Mona Dillon) is the sole user, with password protection at the login and individual file level. Although co-facilitators will be involved in the process of data collection, sharing and analysis, they will be instructed not to retain or store data from the project. The data will be stored for a period of 10 years for use by interested and legitimate researchers, after which it will be destroyed.

How long will the project last?
The project will last approximately 12 weeks.

What are the risks to participating in this project?

There is minimal risk involved. The discussions and questions will be similar to that which participants would likely discuss with others outside the study. However, the presentations in the group sessions or the sensitive nature of some questions or opinions may cause emotional discomfort. Individuals can refuse to answer a question or withdraw from the study at any time. If persons require counselling and support, they will be referred to services available in the community.

How will participants benefit from this project?
Photovoice encourages people to deal with issues and enables them to discuss the issues in a safe environment. Participants will have the opportunity to meet with males who have similar experiences and contribute to sharing solutions with policymakers that will positively influence the lives of young men in Tobago whose fathers have migrated.

Is participation mandatory?

- Involvement in the study is voluntary. Individuals can decide not to participate in the study at any time without penalty or the loss of services to which they are currently entitled or will have access to in the future. At the time of withdrawal, involvement will be immediately terminated accompanied by an expression of gratitude. If persons withdraw from the study, only the narratives and pictures collected up to the time of withdrawal, which have already been utilized in public displays and publications, will be retained and used. Unutilized photographs will be returned to persons at the time of withdrawal.
- If during the study new information becomes available that will affect individuals' willingness to continue to participate in the study, they will be informed as soon as possible.

Will persons be paid or will individuals need to pay for anything?
Participants will receive a digital camera to use for photo assignments, which they must return at the end of the project, and a token of appreciation valued at 25 Canadian dollars for their participation.

What else does participation involve?
Individuals under the age of 18 will be asked to read and sign an assent form but their parents must also sign consent forms. Persons 18 years of age will need to read and sign a consent form. All participants will also be required to read and sign a photovoice ethics form and a photograph release form.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board and the Ethics Committee, Ministry of Health, Trinidad and Tobago, have approved this project.

If you have any further questions concerning this project, please contact Mrs. Mona Dillon at _____ or _____.

Appendix E
Consent Form- Parent/Guardian

Researcher: Mrs. Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Contact at _____.
Supervisor: Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary.
Title: The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers Have Migrated.

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about anything mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board and the Ethics Committee Ministry of Health, Trinidad and Tobago, have approved this research study.

Objectives of the Study
The objectives of the study are to: (1) provide the opportunity for adolescent males in Tobago to learn in a way that allows them to examine their situations critically, which becomes important in making appropriate choices in daily living, (2) facilitate youth participation and inclusion in research that targets youth issues, and (3) create the environment for youth to share knowledge with policymakers in Tobago that can result in more effective planning and programming regarding youth services.

Your child is invited to participate because he is an adolescent male in Tobago who has experienced a father-son separation at some point in his life because of his father's migration to another Caribbean island or some other part of the world. The project seeks to gain an understanding of the experiences of adolescent males in this situation.

Use of data
The primary use of data will be for a thesis project but participants will be involved in all other decisions around dissemination of findings.
How long will the project last?
The project will last approximately 12 weeks.

What will my child be asked to do?
Session 1: Orientation to photovoice, which is a method that allows your child to tell his story using photographs.

During the remaining sessions your child will:

- participate in data analysis games to prepare him for the activities of the project

- receive training in the ethics of photovoice, camera use, how to take photographs and how to use photographs to tell stories.
- take photographs that capture important aspects of his life and reflect his needs and concerns.
- be involved in group discussions to talk about the photographs and their personal meanings.
- keep a journal, recording his experiences, ideas and insights related to his involvement in the project.
- work together with the group in informing other people in the community about the findings from the project.
- have the option of inviting other interested young men to join the project.
- read and sign a photograph release form.
- meet for group debriefing and reflection at the end of public presentations.
- review summaries of written transcripts and provide comments within one week of receiving these
- transcripts

What is the purpose of the photographs?
The photographs are taken to identify the important issues for males when their fathers migrate, and educate others about the issues and what can be done to positively influence the lives of young men in this situation.

What type of personal information will be collected?

Your child will be asked some basic information such as name, age, and personal history that are related to the experiences of adolescent boys of migrant fathers. This will be collected on a separate sheet of paper and secured by the researcher.

What are the risks to my child?

There is minimal risk involved. The discussions and questions will be similar to what he would likely discuss with others outside the study. However, the presentations in the group sessions or the sensitive nature of some questions or opinions may cause emotional discomfort. Your child can refuse to answer a question or withdraw from the study at any time. If your child requires counseling and support he will be referred to services available in the community (see attached list of services).

What are the benefits to my child?

Photovoice encourages people to deal with issues and enables them to discuss the issues in a safe environment. Your child will have the opportunity to meet with other males with similar experiences and contribute to sharing solutions with policymakers that will positively influence the lives of males in Tobago whose fathers have migrated.

Are there other persons involved in this project?

Yes, in this project, members of Tobago youth clubs will be assisting with the different activities

Will my child be paid for participating or will he need to pay for anything?

Participants will receive a digital camera to use for photo assignments, which he must return at the end of the project, and token of appreciation in the form of a voucher valued at approximately 25 Canadian dollars for his participation

How will my child's photograph be used?
Once your child has taken his photographs he will get together with other participants to discuss stories related to their photographs. These discussions will occur in group sessions that are audio taped and last for approximately two hours.

Some photographs may be included in public exhibits, presentations or publications and your child will be involved in these activities. Your child will receive a copy of his photographs. At anytime he may ask us not to use any specific photograph(s) or story unless these photographs and stories have already being used in public displays and publications. Your child only needs to take photographs and share information that he considers to be appropriate and comfortable.

Please note that, where intended reporting of photographed images includes public display, the researchers will have no control over any future use by others who may copy the images and repost them in different formats or contexts, including online.

How will my child's identifying information be used?
Your child's name will be used during group discussions. However, names and identifying information will not be revealed with photographs and narratives included in exhibits, presentations or publications. Unless you consent, all the information will be removed that will allow others to identify your child in future publications and presentations. Nevertheless, despite efforts of confidentiality, there is always the chance that someone may recognize him at public presentations or in the photographs that he may use of himself. In addition, absolute anonymity and confidentiality cannot be guaranteed due to the group setting.

If you wish that your child be acknowledged for his contributions, you need to consent for his first name to be available in public publications, presentations, including being attached to his photograph.

I wish my child to remain anonymous: Yes: ___ No: ___

I wish my child to remain anonymous, but you may refer to him by a pseudonym: Yes: ___ No: ___

Your child will choose a pseudonym for himself _____

You may use my child's first name Yes: ___
No:

You may quote my child and use his first name and attach his name to his photos Yes:__
No: __

You may quote my child and use his first name but do not attach his name to his photos Yes_
No____

Does my child have to participate?

- Your child's involvement in the study is voluntary. He can decide not to participate in the study at any time without penalty or loss of any services to which he is currently entitled or will have access to in the future. At the time of withdrawal, his involvement will be immediately terminated, accompanied by an expression of gratitude. If he withdraws from the study, only the narratives and pictures collected up to the time of withdrawal, which have already been utilized in public displays and publications, will be retained and used. His unutilized photographs will be returned to him.
- If your child attains legal age during the course of the study, consent will be sought from him to continue participating in the study.
- If during the study new information becomes available that will affect your child's willingness to continue to participate in the study, you and your child will be informed as soon as possible.

How will the data be stored?

All the information in the form of audio tapes, written transcripts, and photographs, will be stored in a locked cabinet designated for this project. The cabinet will be accessible only to the researcher (Mrs. Mona Dillon). Anonymous data will also be stored on a computer, of which the researcher (Mrs. Mona Dillon) is the sole user, with password protection at the login and individual file level. Although co-facilitators will be involved in the process of data collection, sharing and analysis, they will be instructed not to retain or store data from the project. The data will be stored for a period of 10 years for use by interested and legitimate researchers, after which it will be destroyed.

What else does my child's participation involve?

For your child under the age of 18 to participate in the study he must read and signs an assent form and his parent or guardian must read and sign this consent form. Your child will also need to read and sign a photograph release form and a photovoice ethics form.

Signatures (written consent)

Your signature on this form indicates that you (1) understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your child's participation in this research project, and (2) agree to your child participating as a research subject.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. Your child is free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You and your child should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout his participation.

Agreement Statement: I confirm that Mrs. Mona Dillon has explained to me the purpose of this research, the study procedure that my child will undergo, as well as the possible risks and benefits that my child may experience. I have read or have had the contents of this form read to me and I understand it. Therefore, I give consent for my child to be engaged as a participant in this research project.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Parent/Guardian's Name: _____ Date: _____

Parent/Guardian's Signature: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's Signature: _____Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

- Mrs. Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Please contact at _____.
- Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Please contact at _____.

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact the:

- Senior Ethics Resource Officer, University of Calgary at _____.
- The Office of the Chief Medical Officer, Ministry of Health, at _____.

A copy of this consent form has been given to you for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

Appendix F
Consent Form (Youth Aged 18)

Researcher: Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Please contact at _____.
Supervisor: Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary.
Title: The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers have Migrated.

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about anything mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board and the Ethics Committee, Ministry of Health, Trinidad and Tobago, have approved this research study.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are to: (1) provide the opportunity for adolescent males in Tobago to learn in a way that allows them to examine their situations critically, which becomes important in making appropriate choices in daily living, (2) facilitate youth participation and inclusion in research that targets youth issues, and (3) create the environment for youth to share knowledge with policymakers in Tobago that can result in more effective planning and programming regarding youth services.

The project seeks to gain an understanding of the experiences of adolescent males in Tobago who have experienced a father-son separation at some point in his life because of their father's migration to another Caribbean island or some other part of the world. The project focuses on youth taking pictures, sharing stories and identifying the important issues for males when their fathers migrate, and what can be done about these issues.

Use of data
The primary use of data will be for a thesis project but participants will be involved in all other decisions around dissemination of findings.
How long will the project last?
The project will last approximately 12 weeks.

What will I be asked to do?

Session 1: Orientation to photovoice, which is a method that allows you to tell your story using photographs.

During the remaining sessions you will:

- participate in data analysis games in preparation for the activities of the project

- receive training in the ethics of photovoice, camera use, how to take photographs and how to use photographs to tell stories.
- take photographs that capture important aspects of your life and reflect your needs and concerns.
- be involved in group discussions to talk about the photographs and their personal meanings.
- keep a journal, recording your experiences, ideas and insights related to your involvement in the project.
- work together with the group in informing other people in the community about the findings from the project.
- have the option of inviting other interested young men to join the project.
- read and sign a photograph release form.
- meet for group debriefing and reflection at the end of public presentations.
- review written transcripts of group sessions and provide comments within one week of receiving these transcripts

What is the purpose of the photographs?
The photographs are taken to identify the important issues for males when their fathers migrate, and educate others about the issues and what can be done to positively influence the lives of young men in this situation.

What type of personal information will be collected?

Some basic information will be collected on a separate sheet such as name, age and personal history that are related to the experiences of adolescent boys of migrant fathers. This will be secured by the researcher.

What are the risks if I participate?

There is minimal risk involved. The discussions and questions will be similar to what you would likely discuss with others outside the study. However, the presentations in the group sessions or the sensitive nature of some questions or opinions may cause emotional discomfort. You can refuse to answer a question or withdraw from the study at any time. If you require counseling and support you will be referred to services available in the community (see attached list of services).

What are the benefits if I participate?

Photovoice encourages people to deal with issues and enables them to discuss the issues in a safe environment. You will have the opportunity to meet with males who have similar experiences and contribute to sharing solutions with policymakers that will positively influence the lives of males in Tobago whose fathers have migrated.

Are there other persons involved in this project?

Yes, in this project, members of Tobago youth clubs will be assisting with the different activities

Will I be paid or will I need to pay for anything?

You will receive a digital camera to use for photo assignments, which you must return at the end of the project, and a token of appreciation valued at approximately 25 Canadian dollars for your participation.

How will my photograph(s) be used?

Once you have taken your photographs you will get together with other participants to discuss stories related to everyone's photographs. These discussions will occur in group sessions that will be audio taped and last approximately two hours.

Some photographs will be included in public exhibits, presentations or publications and you will need to participate in these activities. You only need to take photographs and share information that you consider to be appropriate and comfortable. You will be given a copy of your pictures. At any time you may ask us not to use any specific photograph(s) or story unless your photographs or stories have already been used for public displays and publications.

Please note that, where intended reporting of photographed images includes public display, the researchers will have no control over any future use by others who may copy the images and repost them in different formats or contexts, including online.

How will my identifying information be used?

Your name will be used during group discussions. However, names and identifying information will not be revealed with photographs and narratives included in exhibits, presentations or publications. Unless you consent, all the information will be removed that will allow others to identify you in future publications and presentations. Nevertheless, despite efforts of confidentiality, there is always the chance that someone may recognize you at pubic presentations or in photographs that you may use of yourself. In addition, absolute anonymity and confidentiality cannot be guaranteed due to the group setting.

If you wish to be acknowledged for your contributions, you need your consent for your first name to be available in public publications and presentations, including being attached to photographs.

I wish to remain anonymous: Yes: ___ No: ___

I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym: Yes: ___ No: ___

The pseudonym I choose for myself is: _____

You may use my first name Yes: ___ No:

You may quote me and use my first name and attach my name to my photos: Yes: ___ No: ___

You may quote me and use my first name but do not attach my name to my photos Yes _ No___

Do I have to participate?

- Your involvement in the study is voluntary. You can decide not to participate in the study at any

time without penalty or loss of any services to which you are currently entitled or will have access to in the future. At the time of withdrawal, your involvement will be immediately terminated accompanied by an expression of gratitude. If you withdraw from the study, only the narratives and pictures collected up to the time of withdrawal, and which have already been utilized in public displays and publications, will be retained and used. Your unutilized photographs will be returned to you.

- If during the study new information becomes available that will affect your willingness to continue to participate in the study, you will be informed as soon as possible.

How will the data be stored?

All the information in the form of audio tapes, written transcripts, and photographs, will be stored in a locked cabinet designated for this project. The cabinet will be accessible only to the researcher (Mona Dillon). Anonymous data will also be stored on a computer, of which the researcher (Mona Dillon) is the sole user, with password protection at the login and individual file level. Although co-facilitators will be involved in the process of data collection, sharing and analysis, they will be instructed not to retain or store data from the project. The data will be stored for a period of 10 years for use by interested and legitimate researchers, after which it will be destroyed.

What else does my participation involve?

For you to participate in the study you must read and sign this consent form, a photovoice ethics form and a photograph release form.

Signatures (written consent)

Your signature on this form indicates that you (1) understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and (2) agree to participate as a research subject.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Agreement Statement: I confirm that Mona Dillon has explained to me the purpose of this research, the study procedure that I will undergo, as well as the possible risks and benefits that I may experience. I have read or have had the contents of this form read to me and I understand it. Therefore, I give consent to be engaged as a participant in this research project.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature _____Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's Signature: _____Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

- Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Please contact at _____.
- Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Please contact at _____.

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact the:

- Senior Ethics Resource Officer, University of Calgary at _____.
- The Office of the Chief Medical Officer, Ministry of Health, at _____.

A copy of this consent form has been given to you for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

**This is the age of majority in Trinidad and Tobago.

Appendix G
Youth Assent Form

Researcher: Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Please at contact_____.
Supervisor: Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary.
Title: The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers have Migrated.

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about anything mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board and the Ethics Committee, Ministry of Health, Trinidad and Tobago, have approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study

This is a photovoice project about the experiences of adolescent boys in Tobago whose fathers have migrated. You will be taking photographs based on certain themes and discussing these themes in a group setting.

Use of data
The primary use of data will be for a thesis project but participants will be involved in all other decisions around dissemination of findings.
What will I be asked to do?

Session 1: Orientation to photovoice, which is a method that allows you to tell your story using photographs.

During the remaining sessions you will be asked to:

- participate in data analysis games in preparation for the activities of the project
- receive training in the ethics of photovoice, camera use, how to take photographs and how to use photographs to tell stories.

- take photographs that capture important aspects of your life and reflects your needs and concerns
- participate in audio taped 2 hr long focus group discussions, and share your thoughts and opinions about photographs in an open and respectful and honest way.
- keep a journal, recording your experiences, ideas and insights related to your involvement in the project.
- participate in public presentations of the project's findings.
- read and sign a photograph release form.
- meet for group debriefing and reflection at the end of public presentations.
- review summaries of written transcripts of group sessions and provide comments within one

week of receiving these transcripts

What is the purpose of the photographs?

The photographs are taken to identify the important issues for males when their fathers migrate, and educate others about the issues and what can be done to positively influence the lives of young men in this situation.

How long will the project last?

The project will last approximately 12 weeks.

What type of personal information will be collected?

Some basic information will be collected on a separate sheet such as name, age and personal history that are related to the experiences of adolescent boys of migrant fathers. This will be secured by the researcher.

What are the risks if I participate?

The risks associated with this study are minimal. However, topics may arise in the group discussions that may be emotionally difficult. If you feel uncomfortable during these discussions you may leave the room and not participate in the session.

What are the benefits if I participate?

You will be meeting with other males who have similar experiences and talking with adults about how to help young men whose fathers migrated.

Will I be paid or do I need to pay for anything?

If you agree to participate you will be given a digital camera for taking pictures, which you must return at the end of the project. You will also receive a voucher valued at approximately 25 Canadian dollars for your participation.

Are there other persons involved in this project?

Yes, in this project, members of Tobago youth clubs will be assisting with the different activities

How will my photograph(s) be used?

Some photographs in this project will be used for public presentations and publication. You will be given a copy of your pictures. Your name will never be used other than during discussions, unless your parent consents to use your first name in publications and presentations. At any time, you may ask us not to use any specific photograph(s) or story. If you wish to participate in the project and do not want your photographs or stories used for the project, you may say so, unless your story or photograph has already been used in public displays and publication.

Nevertheless, despite efforts of confidentiality, there is always the chance that someone may recognize you at pubic presentations or in photographs that you may use of yourself. In addition, absolute anonymity and confidentiality cannot be guaranteed because of the group setting.

Please note that, where intended reporting of photographed images includes public display, the researchers will have no control over any future use by others who may copy the images and repost them in different formats or contexts, including online.

Do I have to participate?

- Your involvement in the study is voluntary. You can decide not to participate in the study at any time without penalty or loss of any services to which you are currently entitled or will have access to in the future. At the time of withdrawal, your involvement will be immediately terminated accompanied by an expression of gratitude. If you withdraw from the study only the stories and photographs collected up to the time of withdrawal, and which have already been utilized in public displays and publications, will be retained and used. Your unutilized photographs will be returned to you.
- If during the study new information becomes available that will affect your willingness to continue to participate in the study, you will be informed as soon as possible.

How will the data be stored?

All the information in the form of audio tapes, written transcripts, and photographs, will be stored in a locked cabinet designated for this project. The cabinet will be accessible only to the researcher (Mona Dillon). Anonymous data will also be stored on a computer, of which the researcher (Mona Dillon) is the sole user, with password protection at the login and individual file level. Although co-facilitators will be involved in the process of data collection, sharing and analysis, they will be instructed not to retain or store data from the project. The data will be stored for a period of 10 years for use by interested and legitimate researchers, after which it will be destroyed.

What else does my participation involve?

For you to participate in the study you must read and sign this assent form, a photovoice ethics form and a photograph release form.

Signatures (written consent)

If you are interested in participating in this project, please read the agreement statement carefully, sign, date and return this form in one week. Remember your participation is voluntary. You can decline to participate in the project at any time.

Agreement Statement: I have read or have had read to me the information contained in this assent form. I understand my part in this research. I give my assent to participate in this research.

_____ _____

Print Your Name Here Date of Birth

_____ _____

Sign Your Name Here Today's Date

Researcher's Name	Signature and Date

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

- Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Please contact at _____.
- Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Please contact at _____.

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact the:

- Senior Ethics Resource Officer, University of Calgary at _____.
- The Office of the Chief Medical Officer, Ministry of Health, at _____.

The extra copy of this form is for you to keep. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

Appendix H
Consent Form for People Who May Appear in Photographs

Researcher: Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary.
Please contact at _____.

Supervisor: Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary.

Title: The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers Have Migrated.

Introduction

This project is being conducted by Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary, as part of the requirement of the Doctor of Philosophy in social work at the University of Calgary. The project focuses on youth taking pictures, sharing stories and identifying the important issues for males when their fathers migrate, and what can be done about these issues.

Use of data

The primary use of data will be for a thesis project but participants will be involved in all other decisions around dissemination of findings.

If you are asked to have your photograph taken as part of the project and agree to do so, please read the following:

- **What is the purpose of the photographs?** Your pictures will be used by Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary, and youth in Tobago in a photovoice project. The project is about the experiences of adolescent boys in Tobago whose fathers have migrated.
- **What is involved?** Your participation will take ten minutes. During this time, the photographer may take pictures that contain images of you. The project is confidential. Your name or any other identifying information will not be known or listed with photographs and reports. It is important to know however that despite efforts to maintain confidentiality, there is always the possibility that someone may recognize you in the photographs. **Your willingness to be photographed is voluntary and you may refuse.**
- **What happens to the photographs?** Photographs become the property of the youth involved in this photovoice project and will be used in exhibitions and public presentations in Tobago, and in publications. Please note that, where intended reporting of photographed images includes public display, the researchers will have no control over any future use by others who may copy the images and repost them in different formats or contexts, including online.
- **What if I have other questions?** You may contact Mona Dillon at _____ or _____.

Agreement Statement: By signing this form, I agree to voluntarily have my photographs or my child's photograph taken. I also understand that unless otherwise notified in writing, Mrs. Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary and the youth involved in this photovoice project assume that permission is given to use my photograph(s) or my child's photograph(s) for exhibits, presentation, publications and/ or other educational purposes and that no identifying information will be used.
If the individual being photographed is a minor (under age 18), parental or guardian permission must be provided.

Child's Name: _____ Child's Age_____
Print Parent/Guardian's Name: _____ Voluntary Phone#
Parent/Guardian's Signature: _____ Date: _____

OR

Print Adult's Name: _____ Voluntary Phone#
Adult's Signature: _____ Date: _____
Photographer's Name: _____

Thanks for your time and help!

Appendix I
Ethics Consent Form for Photovoice Participants

Participant's Name: _____

In this photovoice project, you and other participants will take pictures and share stories about the experiences of male adolescents in Tobago whose fathers have migrated.

Use of data
The primary use of data will be for a thesis project but participants will be involved in all other decisions around dissemination of findings.
By signing this ethics form you also agree to follow the ethics of photovoice. Please read the following statements and put your initials next to each statement to confirm that you have read guiding principle of photovoice.

_____ I will not intrude into an individual's personal space both publicly and privately.

_____ I will not disclose embarrassing facts about individuals unless they have given me permission to do so.

_____ I will not deliberately use my photographs to misrepresent individuals

_____ I will respect the confidentiality of the stories that are discussed during the photovoice reflection sessions.

_____ I will obtain the signature of all individuals represented in my photographs.

Please note that, where intended reporting of photographed images includes public display, the researchers will have no control over any future use by others who may copy the images and repost them in different formats or contexts, including online.

Signing this ethics consent form means that you have read, understood and will respect the ethics and privacy concerns involved in this photovoice project. If you fail to follow these principles you may be asked to leave the project.

_____ _____
Print Your Name Here Date of Birth

_____ __ _____
Sign Your Name Here Today's Date

Appendix J
Photographer's Photo Release Form

Researcher: Mrs. Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary.
Please contact at _____.

Supervisor: Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary.
Title: The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers have Migrated.

_____ Yes, you may use ANY of the photographs I took during this study to promote the purpose of this photovoice project conducted by Mrs. Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary.

_____ Yes, you may use SOME of the photographs I took during this study to promote the purpose of this photovoice project conducted by Mrs. Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary.

(In the space below, please enter the code of each photograph that you do NOT want to be used)

_____ No, you may not use any of the photographs I took during this study to promote the purpose of this photovoice project conducted by Mrs. Mona Dillon, PhD Candidate, University of Calgary.

_____
Print Your Name Here

_____
Sign Your Name Here

_____
Today's Date

Appendix K
Confidentiality Form for Co Facilitators

Title: The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers Have Migrated.

In this photovoice project, you and other co-facilitators will be assisting with recruiting participants, working collaboratively in facilitating activities, and identifying appropriate ways to implement the findings of the study.

Before participating in this project you must agree to:

- Keep all identifying information of participants confidential.
- Maintain confidentiality regarding any information shared in the group and not discuss or share any information in any form or format with persons not authorized by the group.
- Avoid retaining or storing any data from the project.

_____
PRINT NAME

_____
SIGNATURE

_____
DATE

Appendix L
Letter to Stakeholders

.

Senior Officer (s),
Student Support Services,

Dear Sir/Madam,

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

The Division of Education has assisted in the recruitment of participants for the research titled: "The Experiences of Adolescent Boys in Tobago Whose Fathers Have Migrated". The results of this study are invaluable regarding managing issues that impact the lives of these young men in Tobago. Further, the information is particularly useful in light of the current concerns of how father absence affect the lives of young men and how adults in different spheres of society can make positive differences in the lives of these young people. It is the only such study that has been conducted in the Caribbean.

The participants, who are boys from different secondary schools in Tobago, will present the findings of this study to key people/stakeholders in Tobago and invite feedback on the outcomes. The comments from specific stakeholders are significant because the central role of these individuals in particular organizations and institutions suggest some degree of influence on the formation of policy. The boys are eager to talk, for the first time, about this life experience and yearn for meaningful responses from relevant adults in Tobago.

Accordingly, as a key person in society, you are invited to be part of this process.

Date: Wednesday 16th January, 2013.
Time: 10.00 am to 12.00 noon.
Venue: _____
Address: _____
Hoping that you will attend,

_____
Mona Dillon, PhD(c)
Contact_____.

Appendix M
Letter to Permanent Secretary

Permanent Secretary,

_____

_____

Dear Madam

Use of Conference Room

I am a PhD candidate conducting research which focuses on: "Adolescent boys in Tobago whose fathers have migrated". This study is important in within the context of the lack of information on the effects of migration on the males in Caribbean and suggestions that the impact may not always be positive. Though my studies have been partly funded by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, I bear all the costs for this research. Besides attempting to reduce the cost associated with this study, the group discussions in this research necessitates a space that facilitates, audio/visual presentations, privacy and confidentiality. As such, I request the use of your conference room for the execution of group discussions related to this study. In this regard, the following Saturdays in the Months of October, November, and December.

OCTOBER 2012

	Saturday	Time
Session 2	13th	9.30am – 11.30am
Session 3	20th	9.30am – 11.30am
Session 4	27th	9.30am – 11.30am
	NOVEMBER 2012	
	Saturday	Time
Sessions 5 + 6	**3rd**	9.30 am – 2.30pm
Session 7	**10th**	9.30 am – 2.30pm
Session 8	17th	9.30am – 11.30am
Session 9	24th	9.30am – 2pm
	DECEMBER 2012	
Debriefing Session	14th	9.30am – 11.30 am

Appendix N
Parents' Letter Concerning Presentation

Dear parent/guardian,

The participants will present the results of the research place next week. The boys who feel comfortable talking in such a forum will be allowed to make verbal contributions. The other boys will be there to provide moral support.

Date: 16th January, 2013.
Time: 10.00am to 12.00 noon.
Venue: _____
Address: _____

The purpose of the presentation is to get comments and feedback from key people about the recommendations made by the boys.
Hoping to see you there,

_____
Mona Dillon, PhD(c)

Appendix O
Letter for Use of Venue for Presentation

Administrator,
Division of Education, Youth Affairs and Sport,

Ufs: Schools Supervisor 111,

Dear Madam,

Use of Conference Room

I previously solicited the assistance of your Division in recruiting participants for a research titled: "The Experiences of Adolescent Boys Whose Fathers Have Migrated". The project will end with the presentation of results to stakeholders which will include principals of secondary schools, parents of the participants and seven other key persons. To facilitate this process I hereby request the use of your conference room on Wednesday 16th January from 10.00 am to 12.00 noon.

Thanking you for your assistance,

Mona Dillon, PhD(c)

Appendix P
Newspaper Article

When Fathers Migrate.....

impact on boys and implications for education

Keino Baird

IN ground-breaking research for Tobago that was presented to the Division of the Education, Youth and Sports Affairs last Wednesday, researcher Mona Dillion presented her findings of a study she conducted with adolescent males whose fathers have migrated and left them behind. The qualitative analysis sought to hear the voices of a sampling of boys affected by the absences of their fathers who have gone beyond the shores of Tobago. The boys who participated in the study presented the findings and included a photo-voice project and explanations of what they go through when their fathers are gone.

The photo-voice presentation of the boys described feelings of anger, loneliness, and abandonment. Additionally, boys whose fathers migrate, experienced feelings of being trapped, while living up to the expectation of society that they should not cry. While they were grateful for the women in their lives, the absence of their fathers due to migration left the boys with a need for "more masculinity in their lives." "Everywhere you turn is a woman, even in this study," one the participants said.

The findings also noted that the boys understood that while their fathers who migrated are "trying to make lives better for us," the feelings remained. Coupled with the fact that the school environment and education sector is highly supported by female teachers and administrators, the implications of this study is far reaching and policy makers and school personnel should pay significant attention to the findings.

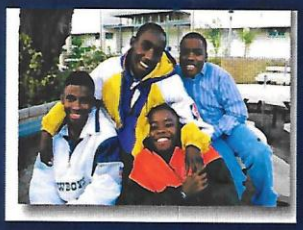
Among some of the conversations that took place after the findings were presented were the need for more male social workers in the educational system. Currently, there are five social workers and all are females in Tobago's educational system. Data collection that identifies but does not stigmatize students whose parents have migrated to provide the necessary support and interventions if needed was also discussed. The need for structured male mentoring programs and the challenges of finding men to provide such guidance not only for boys whose fathers have migrated but for boys in general; many of whom are growing up in homes where fathers are missing for a variety of reasons.

It is an undisputed fact that our girls fare much better off in our educational system than our boys. One special education teacher commented on the nature of the curriculum and its relevance to boys in our schools. The findings of this study, can be generalized in varying degrees to other boys and girls whose parents leave Tobago seeking opportunities educational or employment else where in the Caribbean, North America or Europe.

If not carefully addressed and policies, programmes, and interventions are not created and strategically implemented the forced migration from Tobago and missing fathers from homes for ever reason will continue to have a detrimental impact on the lives of these students and will be a strain to a lagging educational system.

Appendix Q
Recruitment Flyer

WHO?



Males aged 12-18 whose fathers have migrated

WHAT?

Photovoice: Express yourself through photography

HOW?

Session 1: Orientation to photovoice - a method that allows you to tell your story using photographs.

During the remaining sessions:

- Take pictures that show what it is like to be separated from your father when he migrates.
- Select and discuss the photos in a group with other young men with similar experiences of being separated from their fathers because of migration.
- Discuss how this information can be used to make life better for boys in Tobago whose fathers migrate.
- Present the photos and the information to the public using a method that the group decides.
- Meet for group debriefing and reflection at the end of public presentations.

WHEN?

12 sessions once per week from August to November 2012

INTERESTED?

If you are interested in being part of this project, contact Mona Dillon at:

Participants will receive a voucher valued at 25 Canadian dollars, and a digital camera loaned for photo assignments.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board and the Ethics Committee, Ministry of Health, Trinidad and Tobago, have approved this project.