GENDER AND TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION: TRACING THE IMPACTS 'HOME'

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Abstract/Résumé:
Women's increased participation in the paid labour force and the stall in the gender revolution associated with a lack of expansion of the roles of males to include nurturing have resulted in a care deficit in the global North, which is increasingly being met by migrant women from the global South. This paper uses gendered and transnational lenses to assess the impacts of such movements on the men and women engaged in long distance parenting and the children they leave behind in their countries of origin. Based on qualitative field work and interviews performed with Filipino mothers and fathers working in the Middle East, this paper explores three tentative findings from the study: a lack of major differences between long distance mothering and fathering; the additional effort, monitoring and carework involved in long distance parenting; and the potential benefits to the children of transnational migrant parents that parallel the risks.

Keywords/Mots-clefs:

"International and national migration cannot be fully understood until women become visible both in terms of statistics and as major actors in the migration process" (Zlotnik, cited in Sweetman, 1998, p. 2). This statement sums up the sentiments of many theorists who have baulked at the gender-blind examination of migration, which was the norm until the early 1990s (Bauer & Thompson, 2004; Gammage, 2004; Pessar & Mahler, 2003). In fact, women experience the push and pull factors of migration differently than their male counterparts at all scales and stages of migration through familial expectations, labour market constraints, structural biases and "globalized social reproduction" (Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006, p. 17).

People of all genders and ethnicities are confronted with economic globalization; however, as Burn (2005) states, "global economic and trade policies are not gender neutral" (p. 166). This statement resonates on multiple levels. Women's over-representation among the world's poorest is exacerbated by Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in developing countries that force governments to cut vital social programs that provide assistance to families trying to meet their basic needs. It is overwhelmingly women who navigate these services (under increasing strain) as they are still primarily responsible -- whether there is a man in the situation or not -- for the reproduction and nourishment of families. The reality of the larger proportion of women relative to men living in poverty has been referred to as the 'feminization of poverty' (Burn, 2005) or the 'feminization of survival' (Sassen, 2000). Under the neo-liberal discourse of participation as 'self-help' and its concurrent withdrawal of state- supported social programs, demand for child care, elder care and other traditionally unpaid labour performed by women has exploded (Mayo, 2005), which in turn has led to what is being

termed the 'feminization of migration' as women relocate to perform these care tasks in

other countries (Kofman, 2004; Sassen, 2000).

This paper explores the implications of transnational migration in terms of the

parental care work that mothers and fathers perform at a distance. While responding to

gendered international, national and local forces, parents expose themselves and their

families to opportunities and risks, as well as entering into sites of potential

reconfiguration of gender roles. Twelve mothers and fathers of Filipino origin working

in Doha, Qatar, were interviewed in the summer of 2006. The small sample size

precludes firm conclusions, but the results cautiously indicate a lack of difference

between long distance mothering and fathering; the need for added effort and carework

by transnational parents; and potential benefits alongside the risks faced by the children

who are left behind. After a brief review of the literature on transnational parenting,

these tentative findings will be explored in turn, contributing to the body of knowledge

on the social implications of labour migration.

> From improved international communication systems to gender-based migration patterns, women
> are in the position of responding to and absorbing new demands created for carework and by the
> gaps in carework provision. (Litt & Zimmerman, 2003, p. 161)

The flow of care providers from the global South to the global North has been

termed alternatively 'global care chains' (Yeates, 2004) or the 'international division of

reproductive labour' (Parreñas, 2000). Both point to a three-tiered hierarchical system

involving paid and unpaid work through which individuals are connected across distance.

The sexual division of labour is strengthened through the commoditisation of care

(Pearson, 2000).

> A common care chain typically involves an older daughter from a poor family who cares for her
> siblings while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a migrating nanny who in
> turn cares for the child of a family in a rich country. (Hochschild cited in Yeates, 2004, p. 80)

Parreñas (2000) posits the chain as a structural configuration, which places the migrant, who is 'in the middle', in a contradictory position asthe migrant navigates her status as a maid in the 'host' country and as a madam in the 'home' country (also see Lan, 2003). Arlie Hochschild (2003) has taken the 'global care chain' analysis one step further and posited this phenomenon as a 'global care drain' through which individuals and families from the global South are deprived of the feeling and care that is redirected as a waged labour towards the global North.

> …since care is a precious resource, third world children are paying the price. In this sense, migration creates not a white man's burden but, through a series of invisible links, a dark child's burden. (Sorensen, 2005, p. 227)

The women who have left their own families and communities to fill the caregiving needs and high consumption habits of the more affluent are simultaneously engaged in "survival circuits" (Sassen, 2003) or "regimes of intimacy" (Chang & Ling, 2000) as they respond strategically to debt and poverty to support their families. These terms refer to the multiple and interlocking circuits of globalization: one is the privileged 'upper circuit' of highly educated professionals in largely specialized fields engaging in the global information economy, referred to by Chang and Ling (2000) as circuits of "techno-muscular capitalism", and the other is the behind the scenes circuit. which provides the physical support, service and maintenance to keep the infrastructure and people of the global cities running smoothly (Sassen, 2003). Clearly they are interdependent, and yet one is widely heralded with its innovations in information, communication, and mobility technologies, whereas the other is seldom discussed and more or less invisible unless one is looking for it.

The lack of novelty in the distances travelled and the numbers of women engaged in Chang and Ling's (2000) 'regimes of intimacy' (Sorensen, 2005; Yeates, 2004;

Hochschild, 2003) masks what some believe may be new about transnational carework and women's migration in the current context: the potentially empowering nature of such experiences in terms of an "escape from patriarchal control within their own family or wider society" (Sorensen, 2005, p. 227, also see Barber, 2002). This is a highly variable and contested terrain, as Bayes, Hawkesworth and Kelly (2001) state: "The impact of globalization on women throughout the world has been as negative and undemocratic as it has been positive and liberating." (p. 4).

The Transnational Perspective

> A transnational social field can be defined as an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks that extends across the borders of two or more nation-states and that incorporates its participants in the day-to- day activities of social reproduction in these various locations. (Fouron & Glick Schiller, 2001, p. 544)

In response to the claim that simple push and pull factors are no longer sufficient to understand the intricate webs and relationships that prompt, facilitate and mediate migration, the transnational perspective offers a frame for organizing and understanding activities and relationships that transcend the borders of nation-states and connect individuals and processes over various scales. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) argue the need to re-evaluate societal institutions such as citizenship, the family and the nation-state based on the transnational social fields that embed migrants and those in their lives in "multi-layered and multi-sited" webs (p.1003).

Fog Elwig (2005) posits that the transnational perspective now takes us beyond networks of relationships connecting people across multiple nations and has moved into "socio-cultural systems that transcend different nation-states" (p.190). These sophisticated conceptualizations are built on the foundations implied by transnationality: that ties and connections with the sending country are maintained; that in some way

'home' and 'host' nations are bound into a single arena for social actions; and that these cross border strategies are used to enhance livelihoods as a form of social capital (Dahinden, 2005). Numerous scholars have called for the gendering of transnational studies, recognizing that migration, settlement, and work force participation are all experiences profoundly shaped by gender (Georges, 1992; Ghazal-Read, 2004; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Mahler and Pessar, 2001).

There is a clear pattern identifying women as the main transnational actors when it comes to maintaining bonds between families and kin groups and providing carework (Al Sharmani, 2006; Alicea, 2000; Aranda, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 2000; Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005; Salaff, 2000; Schmalzbauer, 2004; Zontini, 2004). Paradoxically, this work can be intensely burdensome to women who are working overseas earning and saving money for personal, familial and extended kin needs, yet also gratifying and a source of great pleasure as they plan and execute large family gatherings and cater to the specific needs and preferences of their loved ones (Alicea, 2000).

Transnational Families: New Configurations, Old Values?

Neither a novel nor insignificant phenomenon, transnational parenting describes the condition of transnational migrants who choose or are forced to leave their children in their communities of origin while they live and work in a different country. Generally, transnational families can be taken as "families whose core members are located in at least two nation-states" (Parreñas, 2001, p. 80).

Among some immigrant populations, the incidence of transnational parenting is staggering. In her study of 153 women doing domestic work in Los Angeles,

Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) found that 82 percent of live-in caregivers had at least one child who remained in the country of origin, whereas for live-out caregivers and housecleaners, the proportions shrank to 42 and then 24 percent, respectively (p.50). Similarly, Parreñas (2001) found that 54 percent of her Filipina respondents in Rome and Los Angeles had children in their countries of origin (p.19).

While cases in which women are the primary agents have increased significantly, studies show that it is still more likely that men will engage in transnational parenting (Dreby, 2006). In the case of the Philippines, by 1994, over half of new departing overseas foreign workers (OFWs) were women (Barber, 2000), but no information is available either on the proportion of them who were mothers or on a corresponding figure for males. The lack of discussion and analysis of transnational fatherhood can potentially be explained by the different expectations placed on men's roles as parents, and the enduring notion of the 'monolithic family' -- a conception of the nuclear family with two parents of opposite sexes and enough resources to allow for the separation of wage earning and home and child carework along gendered lines, which fails to address the realities of many families (Baker, 2001).

Transnational mothering and fathering present the obvious break in terms of the ability to perform day-to-day physical tasks, but the ideological ease with which one accepts this distance and how one attempts to make up for it is potentially very different for mothers than for fathers.

> …compared to fathering, mothering involves not only more overall time commitment but more multi-tasking, more physical labour, a more rigid timetable, more time alone with children, and more overall responsibility for managing care. These gender differences in the quantity and nature of care apply even when mothers work full-time. (Craig, 2006, p. 259) (Does quote have a comma after "labour"?)

These findings from a largescale quantitative study in Australia indicate that the stall in the gender revolution described by Hochschild (1995) is still a reality. The question remains as to how these conditions are modified or adapted to by transnational mothers and fathers.

Dreby's (2006) study among Mexican parents finds that in practice, mothers' and fathers' transnational caregiving activities were very similar. Most participants in the study maintained contact with their children through weekly phone calls, and a similar range of topics was discussed. Differences registered in the ideological realm, which meant that men's and women's emotions concerning transnational fathering and mothering were at odds (Dreby, 2006). In this case, Dreby (2006) found that for the most part, the traditional Mexican gender ideologies of the virtuous, self-sacrificing mother and the honourable husband as the provider do remain intact. However, she does note that when

> …mothers deviate from the model of self sacrifice for their children, and demonstrate self-interest by leaving their husbands post migration, fathers feel more entitled to further nurturance relationships with their children in Mexico. (p. 53)

This indicates that when women break from traditional roles, it provides greater freedom for men to do the same. Women do still express much more guilt and pain as a result of living apart from their children, which has been confirmed in many studies from different cultural contexts (Dreby, 2006; Gamburd, 2000; Parreñas, 2005a (2005?) & 2001). Such emotions are prescribed according to Mexican gender ideologies, and in fact, if women do not profess to suffering, they are accused of abandonment (Dreby, 2006).

In the Philippines, the broadening of women's roles to include that of 'breadwinner' has generally not been met with a concurrent expansion of men's roles to

include nurturing their children (Parreñas, 2005 & 2001).   In fact, when the mother

migrates, the familial coping mechanisms tend to strengthen gender ideologies that

typecast women as nurturers and caregivers. This is performed through women's

attempts to 'mother intensively' from afar through daughters taking on housework

responsibilities to a greater extent than fathers and through female kin adding to their

own responsibilities to care for the children of their sisters and daughters when the

children's father shirks this role (Parreñas, 2005). Parreñas (2001) sums up this

phenomenon nicely, "the transnational family: a post-industrial household with pre-

industrial values" (p.80).

Women's attempts to 'mother intensively' from afar can include sending daily

text messages, audio and video messages, letters, packages of clothes, toiletries and

consumer goods, making weekly phone calls, and generally showing a level of control

exemplified by weekly dietary plans for theirchildren's meals (Parreñas, 2005). One

child in a transnational family referred to the wayher mother was able to maintain the

sense of constant care through frequent email messages; her description of "[her] nagging

mother" conveys the day-to-day involvement of her mother in her life despite having

infrequent physical contact (cited in Panagakos & Horst, 2006, p. 115).

An overwhelmingly common feature in the literature on transnational parenting is

the social expectation that mothers are responsible for the family and usually play the

central role in organizing and managing transnational households (Al-Sharmani, 2006;

Asis, Huang & Yeoh, 2004; Dreby, 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 2000; Parreñas,

2005). Children are seen as social capital, and women are expected to be the reproducers

of culture through the values, practices, and morals they pass on to the next generation; as

one of Al-Sharmani's (2006) interviewees stated, "I learned to be a Somali from my mother" (p. 70).

Female kin or 'other mothers' who pick up the slack created by the children's mothers being away sometimes feel overburdened and resentful that fathers do not take on more of the carework for their children (Fog Olwig, 1999; Parreñas, 2005; Schmalzbauer, 2004). Fathers do begin to perform caregiving activities in some cases butare a small minority. Interestingly, it has been suggested that fathers whose masculinity is affirmed in other ways (e.g., they have a profession with authority or have earned enough to build the family home) are more comfortable taking on work around the house and with the children (Parreñas, 2005).

In some respects, flexibility and fluidity are the hallmarks of transnational families; as Yeoh, Huang and Lam (2005) state, "the transnational family is quick to transmute in the face of changing social, economic, and political conditions" (p. 308). The unrelenting presence of structural realities prompts family members to relativise: "to consciously establish, maintain or curtail relational ties with one another, either through active pursuit or passive negligence" (Asis, Huang & Yeoh, 2004, p. 200). These individual responses mediate everyday realities through ideological lenses to formulate liveable familial configurations. Unfortunately, this process is more difficult for children than for adults.

Providing for children – particularly for their education – is often cited as one of the primary reasons for migration (Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrant and Itinerant People – CBCP / Apostleship of the Sea – Manila, Scalabrini Migration Centre (SMC), and Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA),

2004[1]; Parreñas, 2001; Zontini, 2004). Few have suggested that kids suffer physically

from either or both parents' transnational labour migration; in fact, the opposite appears

to be true. A recently released study on the children and families of overseas Filipino

workers (OFWs) reports a very clear advantage in the socio-economic status of families

with parents working overseas expressed in terms of home ownership, ownership of

durable goods (e.g., appliances), children's actual weight and height, and the children's

perceptions of their individual family's status (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004).

Furthermore, children of OFWs are less susceptible to illness than their

counterparts without migrant parents. When these results were broken down among

families of OFWs, it turns out that those in which the mother wasoverseas were the most

likely to get sick, whereas the children with both parents overseas were the least likely to

suffer from colds, coughs, headaches and stomach problems (Episcopal Commission et

al., 2004). Several theorists mention that children of migrant parents can end up being

materially spoiled as parents desperately try to show their love by purchasing anything

the children want, sometimes leaving children with unrealistic expectations about

material goods and building positive perceptions of the value of migration (Battistella &

Conaco, 1998; Parreñas, 2005; Nagasaka 1998; Zontini, 2004).

In terms of the educational impacts of transnational parenting, a survey from the

Philippines indicates that 35 percent of children whose fathers were working overseas

were ranked among the top ten children of their class in terms of grades, while the

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[1] Commissioned by the Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrant and Iterant People, CBCP / The Apostleship of the Sea, the Scalabrini Migration Centre, and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), this study was performed in seven areas of the Philippines (some known to be major areas of migration and some not) and involved an extensive survey of 1,443 children between the ages of 10-12, as well as focus group discussions with sons and daughters of OFWs (of different age groups), husbands and wives of OFWs and community and government support workers who work with OFW families. From this point on it will be referred to as the 'Hearts Apart study' (2004), reflecting the name of the book which emerged from it.

corresponding figure for children whose mothers were working overseas was 17 percent

Parreñas, 2005, p. 95). The finding that children of migrant mothers had lower grades

than other children of migrant parents and children in general was upheld by another

study performed in the Philippines in the late 1990s (Battistella & Conaco, 1998). The

most recent Hearts Apart study showed that in general, children of migrant parents

performed better academically, were more likely to be on the honour role, and

participated in more extra-curricular activities than children of non-migrant parents

(Episcopal Commission et al., 2004). This can partially be explained by greater socio-

economic status among families of OFWs and the fact that 40.9 percent of OFW children

were enrolled in private schools, whereas only 14.9 percent of children without migrant

parents attended private schools (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004, p. 12).

Kandel and Kao's (2001) study of Mexican youth confirms the greater scholastic

achievement of children of migrant parents; however, they also discovered that due to

their exposure to the fruits of migration, these children expressed lower aspirations to

further their studies, presumably because migrating for work had become an appealing

option for them and their labour prospects in the United States didnot require extensive

education.

When it came to the socialization of children, the Hearts Apart study determined

that "migration does not seem to matter" (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004, p. 51).

Children of OFWs were determined to spend slightly less time on chores than children of

non-migrant parents, and in general, other (mostly female) caregivers stepped in and

taught children very similar values to those taught by biological parents. The amount of

time spent on chores seems to contradict the findings of Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2003)

regarding the extra familial responsibilities of the children of migrants (particularly

females); however, with respect to socialization,

> In a survey of "solo-parents" and guardians, Paz Cruz also found that children tend to get along
>
> better with their siblings, still respect their parents and guardians, continue to practice their religion,
>
> and have not shown any health problems (for instance drastic change in energy level, weight and
>
> appetite). (Parreñas, 2001, p. 118)

The Hearts Apart study also showed consistent results between responses of children of

OFWs and those of non-migrant parents to questions about whether they are happy in

school and how important is it for them to be with their classmates (Episcopal

Commission et al., 2004).

The emotional impacts of transnational migration on the children left behind seem

to be the most significant and show the greatest variation depending on which parent

migrates. Gender ideologies and expectations are the most plausible explanatory factors.

Commonly described reactions to fathers' migration are feelings of unease, awkwardness

and a 'gap' between children and their fathers (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004;

Parreñas, 2005). Despite these awkward feelings, in some cases from the fathers'

perspective, relationships were seen to improve due to the migration of the father. As

one father stated, "...we value them more when we aren't there" (Dreby, 2006, p. 46).

One of the biggest factors affecting the nature of the relationships fathers are able

to maintain with their children across distance is the mediation of the children's mother

(Dreby, 2006; Parreñas, 2005). If there are good relations between the child's mother

and father, the mother may offer constant reinforcements of his love for them and

explanations of why he is away and generally impress on them that he is an important

person in their lives and is away working for the benefit of the family. Without these

reinforcements, children will feel more insecurity and ambivalence about their father's

absence and the reasons for it. As one Filipino child put it, "My dad is away, but so

what?" (Parreñas, 2001, p. 148). This ambivalence is questioned by Aguilera Guzman,

Salgado de Snyder, Romero and Medina-Mora's (2004) study of families of only paternal

migrants, which found that the children of migrant fathers strongly felt their absence and

were more vulnerable to psychosocial problems. This discrepancy may speak of cultural

differences, as the Aguilera-Guzman et al. (2004) study was carried out with Mexican

youth while the previous example was in the Philippine context, or it may highlight the

wide range of experiences of children in transnational families.

When it comes to the migration of mothers, women are harshly judged by their

peersand significantly by their children if they do not visibly demonstrate their grief

concerning their separation from their children (Dreby, 2006; Parreñas, 2005). Children

are reassured of their mother's love for them if they are made aware of how much pain

she suffers for not being able to be with them.

> Especially after my mother left, I became more motivated to study harder. I did because my mother was sacrificing a lot and I had to compensate for how hard it is to be away from your children and then crying a lot at night, not knowing what we are doing. She would tell us in voice tapes. She would send us voice tapes every month, twice a month, and we would hear her cry in these tapes. (Cited in Parreñas, 2005, p. 107)

It seems that it is overwhelmingly this depiction of the 'martyr mom' that makes mother

abroad transnational families acceptable (Dreby, 2006; Parreñas, 2005).

On the whole, there is considerable support for the claim that the impacts of

transnational migration on children who are left behind are not necessarily negative (Asis

et al., 2004; Episcopal Commission et al., 2004; Parreñas, 2005 & 2001). A study

performed by Cruz in 1987, which encompassed a survey of 212 Filipino high school and

university students with international migrant parents and 90 students with internal

migrant parents, revealed that "the great majority of the students in the sample (92.4 percent) have no special problem which has come to the attention of the guidance counsellor or other school officials" (cited in Parreñas, 2001, p. 117-8).   The Battistella and Conaco study of 1998 also came to the conclusion that

> …it [parental absence] does not necessarily become an occasion for laziness and unruliness…rather…the child may actually be spurred toward greater self-reliance and ambition, despite continued longings for family unity. (Cited in Parreñas 2003, p. 44)

The welcome possibility that the children in transnational families may be able to manage reasonably well is tempered by the persistence of the gender issue. Numerous studies find that potential negative impacts are the most pervasive in families where the mother has migrated (Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Dreby, 2006; Episcopal Commission et al,. 2004; Parreñas, 2005).

> Children of migrant mothers suffer more than those of migrant fathers because child rearing is 'a role that women are more adept at, are better prepared for, and pay more attention to'. (Battistella & Conaco, cited in Parreñas, 2003, p. 52)

The Current Study

The sample group for this study consisted of six Filipino mothers and six fathers; they ranged in age from 26 to 48 years old and were working in Doha as welders, live-in caregivers, beauticians, service advisors, lifeguards, architects and masseuses. Seven of the twelve participants had some form of education beyond the high school level (university, college, vocational college); some were employed in their field of training and some were not. There was wide variation in earnings among the group (from the equivalent of $ 2,200 Canadian to just over $ 26,000), which is explained by the length of time each person had been working in Doha and his/her profession. Those earning very little had just arrived so had yet to find their niche and in some cases were reporting what they had earned the year before in the Philippines. A great deal of data was collected, but

as mentioned, this paper will focus on the tentative suggestion that there are limited differences between long distance mothering and fathering; the extra monitoring and carework involved in transnational parenting; and the potential benefits to children living in transnational families that parallel the challenges and risks.

Gendered differences in mothering and fathering

Surprisingly, this study found few differences between transnational mothering and fathering in terms of the frequency and nature of the contact parents had with their children. Almost all respondents (irrespective of gender) said they spoke to their children at least once a week, often built into their routine at a set time on their one day off. This is consistent with Dreby's (2006) study of Mexican transnational mothers and fathers but contradicts Parreñas' (2005) work in the Philippines, which maintains that "migrant fathers rarely communicate with their children" (p.69). In the current study, internet phone was preferred due to the cost (although it was more difficult to access), but some spoke on their mobile phones, while others used them mostly for text messaging, which sometimes put them in contact with loved ones multiple times over the course of a day.

> Sometimes now I speak for 6 minutes, it depends, sometimes I speak for 20 minutes, 30 minutes, if I'm using the internet phone….from mobile to mobile it's too expensive.   - Raphael

> I call twice a week, and they send me a picture on the computer, that's how I communicate with them.   - Marjorie

> Every Friday I call them in the Philippines, or use the internet, I can see my wife and my child…it's a little complicated [Laughs].   - Rey

Similarly, the nature of the conversations described by the respondents showed little difference topically across gender lines – either of the parent or the child. General themes discussed were health, well-being, activities, schoolwork and other family members.

[We talk about]…their behaviour, they have to be good, nice to their mother, grandmother and aunties, what are they doing, mostly what are they playing and also of course their studies….it's important.   - Bart

'How's your day?', 'are you okay there?', and 'I miss you', 'study hard' I say to my son, and 'take care of your sister'   - Marjorie

Then I ask, 'how about your studies?', then he asks me 'daddy, I need a game boy, I need this, I need that [laughs]' he's always asking for toys. And sometimes he asks me, 'why can't you come back home?' I say, 'because I'm busy, because I'm working here, but soon I will go home' he tells me okay, where's the ticket, I'll go to Doha…sometimes he jokes.   - Rey

The lack of variation in transnational mothering and fathering – in terms of frequency and nature of contact – exhibited in this study supports Dreby's (2006) work with Mexican parents living in the United States. Given the enduring strength of traditional gendered roles within families (Brewer, 2001; Craig, 2006; Hochschild, 1990), the seeming lack of gender differences in transnational parenting found in this study merits further investigation. Possible explanations for this finding lie in rarities of the sample, bias in the methods of data collection, and the breaking down of gender differences in parenting with distance, perhaps in practice without corresponding changes in the ideologies of mothering and fathering.

The non-random sampling and small sample size of this study prohibit generalizations based on the data obtained. Potential rarities in the sample that may have affected the lack of differences in mothering and fathering are the presence of two fathers who grew up in mother-headed households, both of whom discussed how difficult this had been, potentially influencing their own parenting behaviour, and the lack of construction workers among the fathers in the sample (which is the most common type of employment for men in the Middle East), implying that the men in this group may break from the norm in other ways as well, potentially including the amount of energy invested in fathering.

Another possible explanation for the lack of gendered differences in parenting lies with the interviewing schedule and style adopted. This study was carried out over a relatively short period of time, allowing little time to re-visit questions that arose or to allow the space for informal and potentially more detailed sharing about the true nature of the relationships people maintained with their children. The suggestion here is that with greater depth, differences in the ways that the participant's mother and father interacted-- and the types of relationships they share-- with their children would have emerged.

There is some indication that this may be the case. The children of transnational fathers in this study ranged in age between less than a year and nine years old: they were generally younger than the children of the women, who spanned an age range from under one year to 29 years old. Perhaps the younger average age of the children of the fathers precludes somewhat generic and stock conversations with their children, and the study technique failed to detect the variation in the relationships between the mothers and their children. With the greater age of their children, one or two of the mothers describe receiving advice from their children or discussing more complicated issues in their lives.

> She understands [that her mother is away to earn money for her studies], but sometimes she also wants to give me advice. She's also my advisor [laughs]. …hold on…there's two texts I have here in my mobile…'don't be sad, you have to show the children what is right, stumble to persevere, heart to be strong, falter is human, lose to try harder, pray to overcome them all' … that's the message to me.   - Meggy

The final explanation for the lack of variance in transnational mothering and fathering considers the real possibility of change in parenting roles at a distance or, more specifically, the potential that those changes are more practical in nature than ideological. It can be postulated that while women generally work hard at providing care for their children irrespective of distance, in the transnational context, men are pushed to put more effort into these relationships than they otherwise might. Parreñas (2005) explains that in

her study, during visits home to the Philippines fathers engaged in more cooking, cleaning, and childcare work than would normally be the case for a Filipino male. They were attentive to their children's needs, which was noted and appreciated by their children. Male respondents in the current study alluded to similar efforts on their parts. There is a tentative suggestion that more instantaneous communication technologies are allowing Filipino fathers to extend the 'extra parenting' they engage in when they are visiting (which will be discussed in the following section) and provide more care than they normally would at a distance as well, precisely because they are physically distant and are trying to make up for that in some way.

> He would call about 20 times in one month. It's because he said that he did not want to write anymore. We did not have a phone before, but now that we do, he just calls all the time. He reasoned that instead of just spending his money on material things, he would just use the money to call us. Whenever he calls, he just asks us how we are doing and has us tell him what is going on in our lives. (Efren, Filipino child cited in Parreñas, 2005, p. 81)

This possible change in gendered parenting roles can be nuanced by the prospect that in transnational nuclear families, fathers who are abroad perform the same actions as their female counterparts, but ideologically, it is easier for them as they internalize less guilt or pain in the situation based on their adherence to gender- prescribed roles than the women, who are shirking the traditional mothering tasks. It is a purely subjective enterprise to evaluate the pain or guilt of one person compared to that of another, but based on the language used by respondents, the general feeling of the interviews conducted, and other indications of the presence of traditionally gendered ideologies by participants, this gap between practical and ideological change cannot be ruled out. Literature does support the claim that women feel more guilt than men because of living apart from their children (Parreñas, 2001).

Mediating long distance parenting

Both literature and the interviews conducted in this study suggest that the unique circumstances of transnational parenting necessitate extra carework and energy both by parents and their stand-in caregivers to mitigate the risks involved. Parreñas (2005) identifies several key factors that can mediate the impacts of transnational migration on children, including clearly communicating to the children the reasons for migration, monitoring the situation, and engaging in large, visible family projects with remittance money to display the reasons for the absence of a parent. Parents in this study clearly engaged in these and other special parenting activities in an attempt to 'make up' for their physical absence.

Parents in this study all attempted to communicate the reasons for their absence to their children; however, the ages of the children mediated the effectiveness of this strategy. The survey completed for the Hearts Apart study found that on average, mothers left to work overseas when their children were between five and nine years old, and fathers left when their children were slightly younger (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004, p. 16). In the current study, the average age of the children of migrant mothers (on departure) was five years old (which was bumped up significantly by one mother who did not depart until three of her five children were over 17 years old, making the mean much lower), while children's average age was two years old when their fathers departed .

> When I left the first time my eldest was one year and three months, then I delivered my second baby away. My third daughter was 2 years old when I left. So the last one is 15 years later…I left when she was two months old. - Meggy

> He was only eight months when I left the first time. It's very very hard to go on the plane. My wife is in the airport, and she is crying and I am crying. - Raphael

> He was one and a half years old when I left, so I haven't seen him since then. [Her son is now 4 years old.] - Nora

In her study of Honduran transnational families, Schmalzbauer (2004) identifies that transnational parenting is the most difficult when the children are younger and cannot understand where their parents are; it is especially difficult when there is so little contact that the parents are forgotten entirely[2]. Given that the ages of the children when their parent first left are slightly lower than what the literature would lead us to expect in this study, there is potentially a greater risk of children feeling an emotional gap from their parents involved in this study and perhaps more negative impacts will be suffered by these children.

Most mothers and fathers in the study regularly explained to their children (irrespective of age) the reasons for their absence, in addition to asking their partners and / or other caregivers to clarify the reasons for the situation to their children whenever possible.

> My wife explains to my daughters that I am here for our people, to support our family, to support the study of my brothers, some other expenses to support, all for my family. It's the most important, that's why I'm here. We have to explain it all to my daughter; even she's five years old, so that she can understand that her father is away for the family.   - Pedro

> My daughter understands why I'm away, but my son, not really. He's so young…you know…and when I left coming here he's only more than a year old. When I left the first time my daughter was 10 months old.   - Angela

> As far as now he doesn't understand why I'm here. But I always speak to him, and try to talk to him like this…why I am far from him.   - Raphael

> I told her already when she had grown up…I told her what is happening, what happened, because before we don't have contact with her, because we don't have telephone before. She knew me only when she was five years old, that I am her mom, when we see each other. Even my son now, I try to explain to him. Because he is always asking 'when will you go home?' why don't you go home?' 'Come now, come now' and then I explain to him why I cannot go home because we are waiting for two years for my work, so we can go home. That we are working here to make money for you.   - Nelly

> I'm not sure if they understand why I am working overseas, but their mother, she is explaining everything to them, about why I'm here. But I don't know what they think about it, they ask always for toys…always toys.   - Bart

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[2] Also see Asis, 2002.

Despite the recurring theme in the literature of the importance of making it clear to children in transnational nuclear families why their parents are working overseas, the Hearts Apart study found that only 51 percent of children in these households said that their families had discussed why their parent was gone (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004, p. 18). This surprising finding does not seem to be reflected in the data gathered for the current study; however, perhaps it again indicates the difficulty of communicating in a deep, meaningful way to a young person why one of the most important people in that child's life might be absent.

Parents in the study attempted to reinforce the reasons for their absence and monitor the activities and well-being of their children by communicating regularly both with their children themselves and with their caregivers. For all six men in the study, it was their wives (fiancée in one case) who provided the day-to-day carework for their children, whereas all the women in the study except one were separated from the fathers of their children, and it was overwhelmingly other women – mothers and sisters – who took care of their children in their absence. Generally, all respondents had weekly contact and received weekly reports about their children's activities from the women who cared for their children. The importance of this extra monitoring is discussed by Dreby (2006) and Parreñas (2005).

Of the twelve-person sample, seven people had been able to construct their own homes. This is significant due to the impact of large-scale, tangible, family projects on children's ability to understand and appreciate the reasons they must sacrifice without their parent. Two more of the respondents were in the process of buying or renovating, and those who had not begun the process were the participants who had spent the least

time working overseas. Slightly more females than males already had their own homes, which can be explained by their greater age, greater number of years working overseas and higher salaries.

Aranda (2003) discussed the extra 'emotion work' required to reconcile ideological expectations with the realities of transnational parenting: these include creating care-networks, sending remittances, maintaining contact with 'home' care-networks, and returning to visit whenever possible. All respondents in the current study identified their economic remittances as one way they showed their care and support for their children. Travel home was difficult but undertaken whenever possible based on finances and permission from employers, the latter often being more difficult to get than one might expect.   Nevertheless, most participants visited the Philippines every two years. The contact parents maintained with children and caregivers at 'home' as been discussed, and from this study there was also evidence of chain migration (several participants already had family members working with them in Doha) and the reliance on new friends and neighbours, facilitating the re-creation of care-networks in the Middle East. As the literature suggests, along with this final point emerged gendered differences in the sample, with women appearing to make more use of transnational networks to provide and receive support.

> Before when I was working at the Sheraton there was one lady who came here being told she was going to work as a private tutor for this child, she's a teacher back in the Philippines. And when she got here she's not, she's a housemaid. And she lives in one room without a lock, without light, without air-conditioning. So I wanted to help her, my friend also helped her to come, but she didn't know that her situation would be like that. So what she did, she pulled her out from [the home of] the sponsor and put her in my room, for awhile. And she's always crying because the sponsor wants to get her back. So nobody….they hadn't done her visa and if the visa is not done then you should leave the country in about week, but the sponsor didn't give her any money, so how can she go home? So I did some fundraising with some other Filipinos, to help her get home.   - Angela

Some theorists discuss attempts by mothers to 'mother intensively' – to be involved in every aspect of their child's life, some kind of a super mom – even at a distance (Parreñas, 2005). While some mothers were in daily contact with their children through text messages, there was nothing as extreme as preparing diet plans for their child's weekly meals to maintain presence and influence in a child's day-to-day life. All parents in the study did perform extra emotional carework, including monitoring their children from afar, to minimize the risks of neglect and the 'emotional gap' that can form between migrant parents and the children they must leave behind.

Impacts on the children left behind

Public perception of the impacts on the children left behind by migrant parents in the Philippines is not positive. The emotional, social, physical and educational impacts on the children in this study can only be gauged by the parents' knowledge and impressions of their child's day-to-day life and, as such, is limited in some circumstances where the parents are not in close contact. Due to the range of ages of the children involved, some were too young to identify characteristics or lasting traits. The varying abilities of children to understand and cope with living in transnational families are highly dependent on their developmental stages (Schmalzbauer, 2004).

In terms of the physical wellness of their children living in the Philippines, most parents reported that they were very healthy.

> Everybody is healthy [all my 4 kids], everyday they are in school, every Saturday and Sunday they have time off.   - Meggy

> Health is very good, they are well.   - Bart

The Hearts Apart study not only supports the finding that the children of OFWs are generally healthy, it actually reports that they tend to be taller and heavier than the

children of non-migrants and less susceptible to illness than those who do not have either

parent working abroad (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004). This can logically be

associated with increased consumption and access to health care associated with the

greater incomes generated working outside of the Philippines (Chimhowu, Piesse &

Pinder, 2005; Episcopal Commission et al., 2004; Kandel & Kao, 2001; Vertovec, 2001).

While there was no indication of this in the current case study, the literature indicates that

among the categories of children with parents working overseas (mother abroad, father

abroad, and both parents abroad), children with an absent mother were slightly more

susceptible to illness (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004 p.45), which may mark the

beginning of a trend in this direction.

With respect to scholastic performance, most respondents in this study indicated

that their children both enjoyed and were successful in school.

> During the year, they got some awards for school, and they're very active.   - Stan

> Actually my eldest daughter has a scholarship at the school. Yes, and the other one, the third one, she gets a privilege because at this school with the three sisters, one is free. So I have only one tuition fee for them, for my children. This college is semi-private.   - Meggy

> My last one he's not supposed to be allowed to go school, because he's just going to turn four, but he likes to go with his brothers. They all like school.   - Bart

In their study of elementary school-aged Filipino children, Battistella and Conaco

(1998) found that children of migrant parents generally got lower grades than their

classmates and that this finding was most pronounced in children with migrant mothers.

Several other more recent studies found the opposite (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004;

Kandel & Kao, 2001). In particular, the Hearts Apart study found that at the elementary

school age, the children of OFWs outperformed their peers; however, within the migrant

categories, once more the children with migrant mothers were less likely to achieve the

same academic success (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004). Generally, they found

many more children of migrant parents on the honour roll and involved in extra-curricular activities (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004), while Parreñas (2005) again found fewer children of migrant mothers on the honour roll than of migrant fathers. In the current study, it was not possible to distinguish any gendered differences between daughters and sons in their educational attainment or opportunities available to them.

In this study, children whose mothers and fathers were away equally shared a 50 percent likelihood of attending private schools. Some justified the choice based on proximity to their homes -- as the extra money to travel to a public school may make the nearer private school an economically equivalent option -- while others expressed the common perception that private schools are superior.

> My son started last year, for the kinder, now he's going into kinder 2. He's enjoying it, and the school is just at the back side of my house, he can go just by walk. That one is a private school, and my daughter she's at the public school. She decided to go to that school, I'd like her to go to the private school, but she likes it.   - Nelly

> Right now he's starting from public school, because the private school is very far away, and you spend big money on private, and public it's good also. He's only starting…but I think at grade one, if I have money, I will send him in a private school. Before I studied in a public school, that's why I wanted to send him in a private school…I think it's much better.   - Raphael

The Hearts Apart study found that in comparison with the children of non-migrants. a significantly higher proportion of the children of OFWs do attend private schools (40.9 percent compared to 14.9 percent) (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004).

These indications of the positive impacts of labour migration associated with increased socio-economic status mask the emotional and social impacts of migration, which are less convincingly optimistic and more difficult to assess.

> Children with parents away suffered in their social development and in their psychological and emotional wellbeing. This was particularly the case when the mother was abroad. (Hugo 2002, p. 36)

In reference to migration in Indonesia, this finding highlights widely held beliefs about the potential negative impacts of migration and the pattern of gender differences (Hugo, 2002).

Emotionally, it was difficult for many parents in the current study to gauge the general happiness or malaise experienced by their children. Of course for the parents of very young children, it was impossible to do a deep emotional analysis, but parents of older children also struggled to respond. This feeling is reflected in the number of parents who did not feel they could comment on the general happiness of their children.

> I don't know if they're happy, I cannot answer that now.   - Marjorie

> All of these things my sister knows what is happening, so it's not really me, you know.
>   - Angela

Many parents spoke of the emotional difficulties of adjusting to living in a transnational family, both for themselves and their children. As Meggie puts it, "I think they're happy, but, you know, sometimes kids need a mom, it's very difficult". Irrespective of gender, parents worried about and connected with the pain of separation experienced by their children.

> When I go, my son, the eldest, he cries...unlike the younger one. He wants to go with me in the airport, but when I go I just go alone, I don't want any of my family there with me…because it's very hard for me, very difficult for me to go.   - Stan

> I think they are happy…but sometimes you know children they need their mom. They feel also sad, because they need me. It's really different the children without parents, without mom. It's very different.   - Nelly

> Sometimes when I get back here my daughter worries about me, even on the way to the airport she's crying 'why is my papa going?' Even my wife she's crying, even I don't want to go.
>   - Pedro

Other family members providing care for the children of OFWs were instrumental in conveying values and social norms. Perhaps unsurprisingly, all parents, irrespective of gender, thought their children were well socialized. The Hearts Apart study found great

convergence in the values passed on to the children of migrants and non-migrants.

Overwhelmingly, kindness, generosity and sensitivity to other people; belief in God (with

the vast majority of the children identifying themselves as Roman Catholic), and the

importance of family emerged as the most important values for the elementary

schoolaged children (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004). The parents in the current

study described their children's good relationships with siblings, cousins and classmates.

> Only the children of the neighbouring house [are around my children]…because sometimes they are visiting the neighbouring house, going back to my house, because you know in the province people are very close, very friendly.   - Pedro

> She has many friends; they are always coming in my house [Laughs].   - Nelly

With sadness, some parents reported that they really could not comment on their

children's sense of wellness or lack thereof. This condition speaks to the limitations of

the best information and communication technologies as well as the potential existence of

an emotional gap between parents and children. However, given the limitations of

assessing the implications of migration on children through their parents and not directly,

it is impossible to comment on whether this lack of information truly indicates an

emotional gap between parents and children.

The findings from the current study, supported by the in-depth perspective of the

Hearts Apart study (and others), seem to show that children of overseas parents need not

suffer due to lack of guidance. It is very possible for them to be healthy, happy, well-

adjusted children. This statement must be tempered by the fact that several of the studies

this work relies on were completed with children in the 10-12 age range, and there is

some reason to believe that as children move into adolescence, very different emotional

issues with respect to the absence of a parent may arise (Episcopal Commission et al., 2004).

Conclusions

  The three findings presented in this paper suggest that transnational migration offers both sites for the expansion and continuity of gendered parenting roles. The lack of practical variation between mothering and fathering from a distance very cautiously suggests that the unique conditions involved in transnational parenting present some break from practical (if not ideological) gendered roles. The tentative suggestion is that the extreme situation of parenting from a distance actually places more of the spotlight on parenting, and that when one parent physically lives with his/her children (under difficult economic conditions), less time and energy are invested in them. Aranda (2003) claims in fact that "migration actually heightens the meanings of kinship and family that may have been taken for granted before migration" (p. 623).

  Both the added carework and monitoring required to mitigate the challenges of transnational parenting and the increased risk of difficulties for children of migrant mothers support a reinforcement of traditional gender roles through transnational migration. Parents of both genders in the current study performed the extra work to minimize the risk of an emotional gap between themselves and their children; however, women seemed to engage with and rely more on transnational networks than men. This result is documented by substantial literature on transnational migration and carework

(see Al Sharmani, 2006; Alicea, 2000; Aranda, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 2000; Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005; Salaff, 2000; Schmalzbauer, 2004; Zontini, 2004).

It is noteworthy that both the current study and numerous others suggest there are potential benefits physically and scholastically to the children left behind in transnational families and that with careful monitoring and extra carework, the social and emotional impacts of growing up without one or both parents physically present need not be too damaging. Once again, the gendered nature of the process of migration is highlighted by the increased risk and challenges faced by the children of migrant mothers (Aranda, 2003; Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Episcopal Commission et al., 2004; Hugo, 2002; Parreñas 2005). From their study with elementary schoolaged children in the Philippines, Battistella and Conaco (1998) determine that

> …the single most important finding in the survey is that the absence of the mother has the most disruptive effect in the life of the children. (p. 237)

Due to the complications of the wide range of ages of the children in this study, the lack of access to the children themselves, and the parents' lack of certainty about the experience and feelings of their children, the current study cannot support these claims.

Based on the literature, the greater susceptibility of children of migrant mothers to the negative effects of migration seems to be tied to the persistent gendered constructions of familial roles and responsibilities that while it is now more acceptable for women to be breadwinners, society still expects them to manage the home and do the carework as well. As one participant in this study (Stan) told his wife, "it's your responsibility, you should be there, it [the problems the family is having] won't happen if you're there". The distance between the expectation of a widely held societal norm and the realities of local and global demands for income and labour is particularly difficult for children to

mentally reconcile, and this may result in more pain of separation for the children of migrant mothers. Meggie, a mother of four who has been migrating to work both within the Philippines and overseas for almost 20 years, voices her traditional notions of the role of motherhood as compared to that of fatherhood: "kids need a mom". These ideas seem to lead to more pain for both the mother and the children in families where women are deemed to have greater opportunities for overseas work than men – an increasingly common phenomenon in the Philippines today.

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AMC Working Papers Series - Guidelines

• What are the AMC Working Papers?
The AMC's Working Papers Series is related to the broad mandate of the Metropolis Project. The Working Papers produced by the Atlantic Metropolis Centre are designed to: (1) speed up the dissemination of research results relevant to the interests and concerns of Metropolis researchers, policy-makers, NGOs; (2) allow for an avenue where Metropolis researchers in the Atlantic region can disseminate research and information specific to immigration, migration, integration and diversity in Atlantic Canada.

• Will these be considered "official" publications?
The inclusion of a manuscript in the Working Papers Series does not preclude, nor is it a substitute for its subsequent publication in a peer reviewed journal. In fact, we would encourage authors to submit such manuscripts for publication in professional journals (or edited books) as well.

• What subject content is acceptable?
The Working Paper Series welcomes research reports and theoretical discussions relevant to the mandate of the Metropolis Project, providing insight into the policy concerns not only of immigration and integration, but also ethnocultural diversity.
Examples of areas of research include: economic, political, cultural, and educational integration of immigrants, migrants and refugees; language; transnationalism; gender and/or immigrant women; ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity; multiculturalism; social and family networks; social discourses, attitudes and values; youth; identity; citizenship; temporary migration; justice and security; settlement programs and policy; health and well-being; and human rights.

• Who may submit papers?
Paper submissions derived from AMC research grants (pilot or strategic grant) projects, unpublished articles and conference papers are open to Metropolis researchers, policy-makers and service providers. Submissions from non-affiliates will be examined on a case-by-case basis.

• How do I submit a paper?
All submissions **must** include an electronic copy of the paper.
By post please send a hard copy of your paper and an electronic copy on disk or via email to:
Atlantic Metropolis Centre - ATTN: Robert Nathan
5670 Spring Garden Road, Suite 509
Halifax NS   B3J 1H6
By email please send to: nathan.metropolis@ns.aliantzinc.ca with a subject heading of:
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• Copyright
Copyright for papers accepted as AMC Working Papers remain with the author(s) who are free to publish their papers at any time. It is the responsibility of the authors to inform the AMC's Working Paper series Editors of any change in publication status.
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AMC researchers reserve the right to publish working papers in the language of their choice.

• What happens when I submit a paper?
The Atlantic Metropolis Centre will acknowledge receipt of the paper via email within 10 working days. The series editors (Lachlan Barber and the AMC Co-Directors) will review your submission to ensure that it falls within the mandate of the Atlantic Metropolis Centre's research mission and that it is properly referenced and documented. If these standards are met, the paper will then be referred to the appropriate Domain Leader for review and advice.
Once the review is completed the author will be contacted with the results.

**PLEASE refer to the AMC's website (http://atlantic.metropolis.net) for submission details and to obtain PDF copies of our Working Papers.

Centre Métropolis Atlantique - Série de documents de recherche
Protocoles de sélection et de présentation

• En quoi consiste la *Série de documents de recherche* du Centre Métropolis Atlantique?
La publication de la *Série de documents de recherche* répond en fait aux objectifs généraux du Centre Métropolis Atlantique, en ce qu'elle favorise (1) la dissémination rapide de la recherche pertinente aux intérêts et aux besoins des intervenants académiques, gouvernementaux et communautaires affiliés au Centre, (2) et la création d'un espace de diffusion où les chercheurs rattachés au projet en Atlantique peuvent faire connaître leurs travaux et tout autre information pertinente à l'immigration et à la diversité culturelle en Atlantique.

• Ces textes peuvent-ils considérés comme une publication finale et officielle?
L'inclusion d'un manuscrit dans la *Série de documents de recherche* ne remplace, ni n'exclue la publication d'une version finale de ce même manuscrit dans une revue à comité de lecture. D'ailleurs, la direction du Centre encourage tous les auteurs à soumettre les résultats de leurs recherches à des revues scientifiques, ou bien à les publier sous forme de monographie.

• Quels sont les problématiques et les types de recherche correspondant au profil de cette série?
La soumission de manuscrits pour la *Série de documents de recherche* s'adresse à tous les chercheurs dont les rapports de recherche et les réflexions théoriques portent sur les questions d'immigration, d'intégration et de diversité culturelle, conformément aux objectifs généraux du Projet Métropolis.

Parmi les domaines de recherche, soulignons entre autres: l'intégration économique, politique, culturelle et formative (éducation) des immigrants; les diverses problématiques migrantes; la question des réfugiés; celle de la langue et du transnationalisme; les problématiques touchant les genres et plus particulièrement les questions concernant la condition des femmes immigrantes; la diversité ethnique, culturelle, religieuse, le multiculturalisme; les réseaux sociaux et familiaux; les discours, les valeurs et les attitudes à l'égard des immigrants; les rapports entre la jeunesse, l'identité, la citoyenneté, la justice et l'immigration; les politiques et les programmes affectant l'intégration des immigrants, leur santé, leur bien-être, ainsi que leurs droits fondamentaux.

• Qui peut soumettre un manuscrit?
Quiconque ayant reçu une subvention de recherche Métropolis, (qu'il s'agisse d'une subvention de départ ou d'une subvention stratégique); les auteurs dont les articles n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'une publication ou bien qui veulent soumettre les textes de communications, qu'elle aient été présentées par des collaborateurs académiques, communautaires ou gouvernementaux rattachés au Projet Métropolis. Les textes soumis par des chercheurs ou des intervenants non-affiliés seront examinés sur une base individuelle, au cas par cas.

• Comment soumettre un manuscrit?
Toutes les soumissions **doivent** inclure une version électronique du texte. Si vous envoyez le manuscrit par la poste, veuillez joindre une copie papier, ainsi qu'une version électronique gravée sur disque. Vous pouvez également soumettre vos manuscrits par courrier électronique.
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En ce qui a trait aux droits portant sur les textes soumis et acceptés, ils demeurent la propriété des auteurs qui sont donc libres de publier sous tout autre forme et selon leur discrétion les manuscrits qui auront fait l'objet d'une première publication dans cette série. Il revient cependant aux auteurs d'avertir le Centre Métropolis Atlantique de tout changement ayant trait au statut de publication de ces textes.

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Le Centre Métropolis Atlantique accusera réception de tout envoi, par le biais d'un courriel, dans un délai pouvant aller jusqu'à 10 jours ouvrables.

Les éditeurs de la série (Lachlan Barber et les co-directeurs du Centre) étudieront ensuite les demandes de publication afin de s'assurer que leurs propos correspondent aux objectifs de recherche du CMA; qu'elles sont correctement documentées et que les sources bibliographiques y soient complètes et clairement indiquées. Si le texte soumis répond alors aux normes de la série, l'article sera envoyé pour évaluation au directeur du domaine de recherche correspondant.

Le résultat de ce processus d'évaluation sera communiqué aux auteurs de manuscrits. Il est alors possible que certains articles soient acceptés avec revision seulement, en quel cas, les auteurs devront soumettre une version finale du manuscrit au CMA, encore une fois sous format papier et électronique.

***Pour toute question relative à la *Série de documents de recherche*, vous êtes priés de vous adresser à:
Robert Nathan, nathan.metropolis@ns.aliantzinc.ca
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