SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF CHILDHOOD AND MIGRATION:

What does it mean for child participation in NGO programming in Guatemala?

By

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A Major Research Paper
presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in the Program of
Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2015

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Abstract

This MRP uses a children's rights theoretical perspective to explore the connection between child participation and the surge in unaccompanied child migration to the United States. It argues that children's rights in the Northern Triangle have been missing from the discourse, with a focus on the lack of participation and empowerment of Guatemalan children and youth, in the creation of policies and programs that directly affect their livelihoods. Therefore, development interventions must include both children and youth in participatory planning processes in order to work towards a future of a more empowered generation that can create sustainable alternatives to migration. This MRP analyzes social constructions of childhood and migration extracted from interviews and observations, as well as YouTube videos on the influx of child migration to the United States, in order to understand how these conceptualizations inform the role that child participation plays in NGO programs in Guatemala.

Key Words: Unaccompanied minors, migration, child participation, Guatemala, NGO programs.

Acknowledgements

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Guatemala is considered one of the worst countries in the world to be a child (Sheen, 2015; UNICEF, 2015). The lasting effects from the civil war have created a society in which violence has become normalised, where disappearances have become a common part of daily life for many (Yu-Hsi Lee, 2014; Save the Children, 2014), and gender-based violence has become an epidemic (WRC, 2012; International Commission against Impunity, 2012; Jonas, 2013). Guatemala has the second highest child murder rate in the world (UNICEF, 2014; UNODC, 2013) where every 17 hours a child or teen dies from gun violence, and every two hours a child younger than five years of age dies of preventable causes (Guatemala Human Rights Commission, 2014). Thus despite Guatemala's ratification of the Convention of the Rights of the Child in 1990, designed to protect and promote children's rights and best interests, "violence [continues to] permeate all aspects of society, and it seems there are few places where it is safe to be a child" (Sheen, 2015; UNICEF, 2015). According to Kennedy (2014), minors in Guatemala are disproportionately affected by violence and poverty based on their vulnerability, lack of opportunities, education, access to recreational spaces and activities, as well as high levels of family disintegration.

In response to these rights violations, children and youth are migrating, many unaccompanied, to the United States (US), in order to escape extreme violence and poverty and to improve their livelihoods (IABD, 2014; McKibben, 2015; Kennedy, 2014; Yu-Hsi Lee, 2014; UNHCR, 2014; Council on Foreign Relations, 2014; Cantor, 2014; USCCB/MRS, 2012; Renwick, 2014; Congressional Research Service, 2014; Olson, 2014; WOLA, 2015; WRC, 2012). These numbers have been on the rise since 2011, reaching their peak in 2014, with a total

of 67,339 unaccompanied minors apprehended at the US-Mexico border from countries in the Northern Triangle (WOLA, 2015; US CBP, 2015).

The influx of minors overwhelmed the United States immigration system, and caused the Obama administration to revaluate their immigration tactics and international agreements with sending nations, as well as to increase border security (Congressional Research Service, 2014; Terrio, 2015; Carlsen, 2014).  Newly formed agreements with Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, such as the Plan of Alliance for Prosperity, allocated $3 billion in loans towards a range of development projects to promote economic, social and institutional development (IADB, 2014) in order to decrease the migration flows. Whether or not these strategies will actually address the root causes as to why children are migrating, or include the participation of children in the development of these programs, remains the primary concern of this MRP.

It is argued that using these investments towards social programs (McKibben, 2015) to promote and protect children's rights would be beneficial for sending nations, as well as the United States, in order to create sustainable alternatives to migration. This is due to the fact that many sources have stated how discourses on children's rights in Guatemalan society are severely lacking (Save the Children Guatemala, 2008; Save the Children, 2014; CRIN, 2014; SIDA, 2011; Yasunga, 2012).

Thus this MRP uses a children's rights theoretical perspective in order to analyze the recent influx of unaccompanied minors from Guatemala, with a focus on the participatory stipulations of the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), particularly Articles 12 and 13 (respect for the views of the child and freedom of expression). This is because child participation is a fundamental right interrelated with all other rights in the CRC, and UNICEF (2005) declares: "Participation rights are ends in themselves as well as means for realising other rights… [they

are] the tools that enable and empower children to demand their rights and to contribute to their own survival, protection, development and participation" (Yasunga, 2012, p. 6).

Child participation and child migration are linked together by arguing that the lack of participation and empowerment of children and youth in Guatemala means that their voices are left out of the process of creating policies and programs that directly affect their lives. The failure of an adult-led or top-down approach to meet the distinct needs of children is highlighted by Skelton (2007) who argues that the majority of the world's children are in marginalized positions not of their own making, but of the making of adults (p. 178). As it is now universally acknowledged that the risks associated with poverty and vulnerability fall disproportionately on children (Wessells, 2009, p. 8), advances in the field of international development increasingly highlight the need for innovative perspectives and solutions to the issues that directly affect child wellbeing. Thus creating meaningful contributions to social development policies must include the participation of children. By giving children's voices due weight in the dialogue, child-sensitive policies can be generated, opening up the possibilities to meet children's needs as they themselves define them.

Therefore, as children and youth make up over 65% of the Guatemalan population (SIDA, 2011), development interventions must include children's voices in participatory planning processes in order to work towards a future of a more empowered generation that can create sustainable alternatives to migration.

This MRP analyzes social constructions of childhood and migration extracted from interviews and observations, as well as YouTube videos on the influx of child migration to the United States, in order to understand how these conceptualizations inform the role that child participation plays in NGO programs in Guatemala.

However, before moving into the second chapter, it is first necessary to define the crucial terms used throughout the MRP. This is to ensure that the reader will have an understanding of the intention of the author regarding how certain terms are used for the purposes of this paper.

The term unaccompanied children or minors (UAC) is used extensively throughout this MRP and is defined as: individuals under age 18 who lack lawful immigration status in the United States, and who are without a parent or legal guardian when apprehended at the US-Mexico border (Congressional Research Service, 2014). Throughout this report, unaccompanied "child", "youth" and "minor" will be used interchangeably to refer to those under the age of 18.

The term Northern Triangle is also used widely throughout this MRP, and refers to the Central American countries of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, with the focus being on the latter. These nations are also referred to as sending countries, meaning that for the purposes of this paper, they are the regions from which high numbers of unaccompanied minors are migrating. This is contrasted with receiving countries, focusing specifically in this particular paper on the United States. These terms are also similar to push and pull factors that are referred to in this report in order to explain the potential reasons for migration. Push factors refer to forces that originate in migrant origin countries that encourage children to immigrate internationally. Pull factors then refer to elements that originate in the United States and encourage children to migrate to this specific country (Congressional Research Service, 2014, p.1). Also, the term "Americanized" is used to signify the influence of the United States (US) on Central American countries and individuals, as well as perspectives from US government and media sources.

The terms social construction as well as conceptualization are used interchangeably across the chapters, and refer to an idea or notion that appears to be natural and obvious to

people who accept it, but may or may not represent a universal reality. Social constructions are based on the social facts that surround social conventions, and often exist because of certain sets of conventional rules that are dependent on the social structures of a given society (Hacking, 1999). For the purposes of this MRP, childhood and migration are analyzed through this lens, depicting that they can be viewed in a multitude of ways, however this paper analyzes constructions representing the Guatemalan NGO perspective, as well as YouTube social media perspectives.

Finally, the term intersection, or intersectional approach, is used to explain how the data gathered regarding these constructions is analyzed. This MRP does not view the data collected independently, but must include how it interacts with, and reinforces the other data, in terms of the connections between various perspectives and their social contexts. Thus in order to analyze the connections between child migration and child participation in Guatemalan NGO programs, it is argued that the intersection between constructs of childhood and migration within the contexts previously explained, must be considered.

This MRP will be organized and divided into a number of chapters, each addressing a different question regarding the subject. The following chapter provides a thorough investigation into the recent literature surrounding unaccompanied child migration from the Northern Triangle to the United States, in terms of the various debates and limitations that exist within these works. The literature review will also include relevant participatory rights-based research in order to highlight the importance of including child participation in decision-making processes and program development, in addition to the common obstacles found in realizing this practice.

The third chapter describes the methodology and the three stages of data collection namely: semi-structured in-depth interviews, structured observations and the YouTube content

analysis, it also outlines the ethical considerations, and positionality of the researcher in relation to the responsibilities associated with this type of research.

In the findings chapter, the data is presented from the content analysis, the observations and interviews. These results are analyzed in the discussion chapter, which connects and analyzes the data through the use of common themes, and how they relate to the MRP hypothesis. Lastly, the final chapter will make suggestions for future investigation.

In conclusion, the MRP as a whole argues that if the US and Guatemalan governments are committed to reducing the number of unaccompanied minors migrating across the US border, they need to provide reasons for children and youth to stay in their home country. The goal is that the reader will understand that given Guatemala's history, deeply rooted in violence and mistrust, interventions cannot manifest themselves in a militarized fashion, but must be orchestrated through investments in social programs and opportunities for children and youth to be involved in their communities and to improve their prospects. There is a need to create a more empowered generation; one that may more willingly use Guatemala's democratic structure to challenge injustices, and change the fundamental structures in which Guatemalan inequalities are rooted (Save the Children, 2014).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The intention of this literature review is to identify both commonalties and gaps that exist within the works on child migration and participation relevant to this investigation, as well as to provide context for the reader. This chapter analyzes the discussions surrounding the surge of unaccompanied minors, and argues that as the US has dominated discourses on push and pull factors, the literature tends to focus on criminal violence and poverty and what continues to be missing, is a dialogue on children's rights from sending countries. It is also argued that using an intersectional approach is necessary when looking these factors, because the literature shows how each migration experience is different and unique to the individual migrant. Viewing these factors through a critical child rights perspective requires the acknowledgment of power dynamics that exist between both adults and children, as well as the US and Guatemala. This is in addition to the transnational consequences of these dynamics when planning and implementing preventive measures to deter children and youth from making the trip to the US. Finally, this chapter identifies how incorporating child participation into development initiatives can help to create sustainable responses to the root causes of child migration.

Using both Google scholar and the Ryerson library as search engines, a total of 45 articles were reviewed for this chapter. Search terms included combinations of: child migration, Northern Triangle, Guatemala, unaccompanied minors, US immigration crisis, child rights, and child participation. Articles reviewed on the child migrant influx, as well as on themes of Guatemalan statistics, were dated no earlier than 2012 to ensure the data was current. However, Moran-Taylor's (2003, 2008) work was included as it provided an excellent broad context on Guatemalan migration patterns and political-economic history. Child participation articles did

not have a specific cut-off date, but primarily articles published within the past decade were used again to ensure current information.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first section provides a thorough investigation into the recent literature surrounding unaccompanied child migration from the Northern Triangle to the United States, in terms of the dominant discourses, as well as debates and limitations that exist within these works. The second part includes an investigation of relevant participatory rights-based literature in order to highlight the importance of including child participation in decision making processes and program development, in addition to the common obstacles found in realizing this practice.

**Unaccompanied Child Migration to the US**

In 2014 the United States experienced what the Obama administration called a humanitarian crisis (Carlsen, 2015; Renwick, 2014), consisting of a mass surge of unaccompanied child migrants (UACs) from the Central American countries of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, crossing predominantly through the Rio Grande Valley sector of the US-Mexico border. From these three countries, apprehensions of UACs reached their peak in fiscal year (FY) 2014 at 51,705, or a total of 67,339 including unaccompanied minors from Mexico (Washington Office on Latin America, 2015; US Customs and Border Patrol, 2015). According to various sources (Kennedy, 2013; Women's Refugee Commission, 2012; Congressional Research Service, 2014), this trend has not been an overnight phenomenon, as the flow had been climbing steadily since 2011, with a dramatic increase occurring within the first six months of 2014 (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). According to US Customs and Border Patrol (2015), apprehensions of unaccompanied children increased from 16,067 in fiscal year (FY) 2011 to 24,481 in FY 2012 and 38,833 in FY 2013.

The Center for American Progress (2014) states that prior to FY 2011 there were an average of 8,000 unaccompanied minors (UACs) detained by US Immigration Officers per year, with the majority coming from Mexico. This shifted in 2011 when "three times more children from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador arrived at the U.S border, with the majority coming from Guatemala. The following year, their numbers doubled again" (Center for American Progress, 2014, p.1), and outweighed the number of UACs from Mexico for the first time. 98% of unaccompanied minors arriving at the border during the height of the crisis were from Central American countries, with the second highest influx coming from Guatemala, representing 24% of total UACs detained by Customs and Border Patrol (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). However, it is important to note that statistics on the number of UACs apprehended at the border vary depending on the source, and throughout the paper, they are only to be taken as an estimate. This is especially crucial in regards to source country determination, as many children migrate without documentation and thus their claims to a certain nationality may be strategic, and not necessarily a legitimate representation of where they are actually from. For the purposes of this MRP these statistics were extracted from US Customs and Border Patrol, The Washington Office on Latin America and The Migration Policy Institute, as they all confirmed the same numbers.

Much of the literature and media attention focused on common factors regarding both the root causes, or push and pull factors, and solutions to the influx (IABD, 2014; McKibben, 2015; Kennedy, 2013 & 2014; Yu-Hsi Lee, 2014; UNHCR, 2013 & 2014; Council on Foreign Relations, 2014; Cantor, 2014; USCCB/MRS, 2012; Renwick, 2014; Congressional Research Service, 2014; Olson, 2014; WOLA, 2015; WRC, 2012). These can be divided into themes such as criminal violence, poverty, family reunification, and changes in US immigration policy, which are discussed below in turn. Then, this section describes the solutions most commonly discussed

in the literature and media sources can be divided into themes on immigration policy and border security.

**Criminal violence**

According to the Inter-American Development Bank (2014), the leading cause of child migration from the Northern Triangle to the United States can be attributed to the increase in organized criminal activity. The homicide rate in 2012 was 39.9 per 100,000 remaining among the highest in the world (Yu-Hsi Lee, 2014). "On average, more than 5,000 people have been killed yearly [since the civil war ended in] 1996, putting Guatemala among the most violent countries in Latin America" (Save the Children, 2014, p.1). Organized crime in this part of the world consists mainly of local criminal markets such as the *Mara Salvatrucha* (MS13) and *Barrio 18* gangs, in addition to the Mexican Zeta cartels, which infiltrate parts of Guatemala, and other groups associated primarily with drug trafficking (Yu-Hsi Lee, 2014; Kennedy, 2014; Cantor, 2014). These groups are responsible for spreading fear and insecurity both amongst urban and rural populations across the Northern Triangle, as children described their everyday challenges of evading extortion, witnessing murders, and navigating threats to themselves and their families, friends and neighbours (Kennedy, 2013). According to Jonas (2013), since 2000, Guatemala has had one of the world's highest rates of femicide (assassinations specifically targeted against women, often accompanied by rape, torture, and bodily mutilation) with more than 6,500 reported cases between 2000 and 2011. "Children who had not yet been victims of violence spoke of their own fears and their families' fear with the same inevitability. The girls shared their fears of sexual violence" (UNHCR, 2014, p. 9).

Current patterns of violence can be linked to the country's recent history, as Jonas (2013) explains how the ruthless violence against Guatemala's civilian population during the 36 year

civil war created a country of fear, mistrust and insecurity which has not been remedied to this day. Most notably, the period of the war which took place in the early 80's, commonly known as the "scorched-earth campaign" included acts of genocide against Mayan groups, with an estimated 200,000 people either killed or declared missing throughout the entirety of the war (GHRC, 2014, p.1). Given that the rate of violence in Guatemala is still extremely high, Kennedy (2014) explains that, "until [civilians] are not afraid for their lives, until they aren't afraid to go out on the street, people are going to keep migrating because it is human instinct to want to survive" (p. 9).

**Poverty and inequality**

The Inter-American Development Bank (2014) states that economic opportunities are the second most common reason for minors to migrate to the United States. This is because the Northern Triangle suffers some of the highest rates of poverty in Latin America, largely due to the effects of the structural adjustment polices of the 1980s. For instance, "in Honduras, 52% of the population lives on less than $4 per day, and in Guatemala and El Salvador, those figures are 53.5 % and 42.7%, respectively" (Council on Foreign Relations, 2014, p.1). The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (2013) reports that around half of the national income in this region is shared between the top 10% of the population, whereas less than 3% is distributed within the bottom 20% of the population (McKibben, 2015).

In Guatemala for instance, poverty can be directly related to unequal land distribution due to the persistent effects of Spanish colonialism when large land plots were given to colonizers (Yu-Hsi Lee, 2014). The war also directly affected the economy in Guatemala; between the loss of human capital from high death and outward migration rates, and the disruption of commercial trade patterns, the economic situation across the country was in a crisis. According to Jonas

(2013), "the Guatemalan economy also suffered by being virtually cut off from international economic assistance" (p. 2). Poverty increased as neoliberal policies such as the signing of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) in 2002 endangered the livelihoods of many Guatemalans through "the elimination of credit sources for small producers, the privatization of former government-run services, and demands for land reform." (Moran-Taylor 2008, p.91). The World Bank reported that "only 2.5 % of Guatemala's farms control 65% of the agricultural land, while 88% of the farms control only 16% of the land" (Moran-Taylor 2008, p.91).

The Inter-American Development Bank (2014) explains that the surge of migrants stems from a context which for many years the state has failed to provide people with the economic and social opportunities that would allow them to prosper and aspire to a better life. The lack of well-paying jobs, the absence of educational and employment opportunities for young people, high rates of malnutrition, as well as extreme poverty and inequality have thus forced people to migrate north to improve their livelihoods (IABD, 2014; McKibben, 2015; Kennedy, 2013 & 2014; Yu-Hsi Lee, 2014; UNHCR, 2013 & 2014; Council on Foreign Relations, 2014; Cantor, 2014; USCCB/MRS, 2012; Renwick, 2014; Congressional Research Service, 2014; WRC, 2012).

While looking at the influx in child migrants in terms of these dominant push factors help to outline the context of the countries from which children are leaving, organized crime and poverty are not the only reasons children are migrating. Within these broad categories exists a myriad of other factors, for instance child rights abuses that must also be included in the discussion. The Congressional Research Service (2014) also argues that domestic abuse is a factor in migrating to the US, claimed by 20% of children interviewed. Kennedy (2014) notes that rates of family disintegration are high in the Northern Triangle and disproportionately affect

children and youth. With the exception of these two sources, there is little discussion in the literature about the connection between child migration and intra-family violence, which warrants more attention in future research. This example helps to illustrate how every child's migration experience is different, and that there are a range of variables from push and pull factors, to family dynamics, as well as one's ethnic and class background, and en-route experiences that make each case unique.

What continues to be missing from the literature on unaccompanied minors is a dialogue on children's rights from sending countries. Children's rights are brought into the discussion primarily in regards to the treatment of unaccompanied minors once they reach the United States, particularly in terms of how they are cared for in the immigration system, and their access to legal representation and deportations (Tierro, 2015; Congressional Research Service, 2014). For instance, Stillman (2015) states that 85% of kids who face immigration proceedings without a lawyer are ordered to be deported, compared with just under 30% of those who have representation.

It is possible that children's rights from sending countries have not been included in the dialogue because of the focus on other survival concerns. Also, the literature on human rights in Guatemala (Save the Children Guatemala, 2014; SIDA, 2011; Yasunga, 2012; GHRC, 2014) has discussed extensively how there is a lack of state priority and implementation of children's rights, thus suggesting that there are few resources allocated towards this subject matter.

### Family reunification

Family reunification as a theme was also common in much of the literature (Kennedy, 2014; UNHCR, 2014; Carlsen, 2014; WRC, 2012) as a dominant pull factor for child migration, 84% of Guatemalan children, and 80% of Honduran children discussed family reunification or helping their families as a reason for coming to the U.S (UNHCR, 2014).

The International Organization for Migration (2010) estimated that there were approximately 1.5 million Guatemalan migrants living permanently in the US. More recent figures from the Inter-American Development Bank (2014) estimate that nearly 9% of Guatemala's population has resettled in the US, resulting in a major loss of human capital. The majority of Guatemalans settle in Los Angeles, Chicago, Phoenix and Las Vegas, but there are also large concentrations in Houston and New Jersey (Moran-Taylor, 2003 & 2008). Recently, because of strict U.S immigration laws on family reunification and the legalization of illegal statuses in certain cases, many more parents are sending for their children, occasionally accompanied by close kin, through illegal means (employing a *coyote* or human smuggler). Generally, in situations where children are left behind for brief periods, estrangements last two to three years (Moran-Taylor, 2008). Alternatively, parents may consider it less expensive to have their children live with them in the United States than to send U.S dollars for their maintenance in Guatemala (Bakewell, 2010).

Thus, over 90% of the children interviewed by Kennedy (2014) have at least one family member in the US, and over 50% having one or both parents there. Carlsen (2014) argues that these children are the last link in a "chain of desperation", as once their parents, and often older brothers and sisters are settled in the US, it is natural that they would send for the children (p.2). Carlsen (2014) critiques immigration policies that keep families apart, stating that it creates familial scars for generations, and argues that this issue is seldom included in the debate on child migration. According to the United Nations (UN) Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989), Article 9 (Separation from parents) states that "children have the right to live with their parent(s), unless it is bad for them" (1), in addition to Article 10 (Family reunification) which states that, "families whose members live in different countries should be allowed to move between those

countries so that parents and children can stay in contact, or get back together as a family" (UN, 1989). While the US is not yet a state party to the CRC, the Convention guides all states about appropriate and respectful policies to support children and their human rights.

Carlsen (2014) makes an excellent argument because the effects of migration on family dynamics are missing from the discussion on unaccompanied minors, and indicate another topic for future investigation. It is possible that there is little research regarding transnational effects on the family, because of the heavy role US immigration politics has played in the discourses surrounding this topic, in terms of the focus being on how to reduce the number of children migrating. This may also be because US Customs and Border Patrol is looking for answers, and as Guatemalans have been migrating to the US in large numbers for decades, viewing migration solely from the lens of family reunification fails to explain the rapid increase in unaccompanied minors between 2011 and 2014 (Delechat, 2002).

**Immigration policy**

Added to the debate on family reunification is the issue of immigration policy as a pull factor for child migration, which in the literature reviewed for the MRP this theme was less prioritized, and only appeared in some of the works (Congressional Research Service, 2014; Tierro, 2015; Carlsen, 2014; WOLA, 2015; WRC, 2012; IADB, 2014; McKibben, 2015; Stillman, 2015). Perhaps because there is such an overemphasis on immigration policy in the media that the literature on child migration appears to be critical of this fact, and designed to fill in the gaps.

Highly debated, recent changes to certain US immigration policies may have influenced child migrants to try and enter the US illegally, such as humanitarian policies for asylum, relief for trafficking victims, the DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) program, and

special immigrant status for juveniles (Congressional Research Service, 2014). The rumors of backlogs in the immigration system and the potential for being reunited with family—even if temporarily—reportedly have reached sending communities in the Northern Triangle (Congressional Research Service, 2014; Tierro, 2015; Carlsen, 2014; WOLA, 2015; WRC, 2012; IADB, 2014; McKibben, 2015). However, despite these rumors, in Tierro's (2015) investigation into the US immigration system, none of the young people interviewed in "government custody said that they left home because they expected to win protective status. In fact, most of them [made the journey even though they] knew nothing about US immigration law and were unaware that they could petition for asylum or apply for a visa" (p.15). This is interesting as it contradicts the discourses which blame so called lenient immigration policies for the influx in unaccompanied minors.

**Solutions**

Literature reviewed regarding proposed solutions to the migration influx is discussed in this section in order to demonstrate the priorities of both the US, and governments of the Northern Triangle. Despite Tierro's (2015) findings discussed above, which suggest that immigration policy does not play such a strong role in children's decision to migrate, this factor continues to dominate the focus of most of the solutions proposed by the Obama administration. For instance, US government-sponsored media campaigns aimed at spreading knowledge about misconceptions of US immigration policy and the dangers of the journey, were part of the plan to reduce the number of child migrants. These campaigns are problematic because this media propaganda presents the decision to migrate as though it were a mere whim, and does not take the region's context into account (Carlsen, 2014).

The importance of understanding Guatemala's turbulent political and economic history and its diverse ethnic composition is a principle theme throughout this MRP since this comprehension is a crucial component when looking for ways to reduce the number of children migrating to the US. It is argued that ignoring these facts creates uniformed policies and programs which do not accurately address the complexities of Guatemalan society.

Carlsen (2014) also critiques an additional US strategy aimed at heightened border security in the US, Mexico and the Northern Triangle. Carlsen (2014) argues that the majority of the funds from the Plan of Alliance for Prosperity (IADB, 2014) were spent on security concerns rather than social services, highlighting that the US is clearly more concerned with control over their territory than with social welfare. McKibben (2015) adds to this argument by stating that the Plan of Alliance will not be successful without substantial reforms to the countries involved. After careful revision of the literature, these critiques appear valid, and as related to the hypothesis of this MRP, it is argued that these programs must also include a child rights focus in their reforms in order for change to take hold.

**Border security**

Finally, border security is the remaining theme that dominated media and literature sources in reference to solutions to the US immigration crisis (Congressional Research Service, 2014; Carlsen, 2014; WRC, 2012; Kennedy, 2014; Stillman, 2015). For instance, the Congressional Research Service (2014) states that the US has provided support to the Mexican government in 2013 to implement stricter enforcement along their southern border. In response to the US focus on border security, Carlsen (2014) presents an interesting perspective, that the flow of undocumented children is actually a result of border control that is too strict, not too lenient, because tighter U.S border security measures have made it nearly impossible for

migrants to cross without hiring *coyotes* (smugglers). While this may or may not be true, The Women's Refugee Commission (2012) argues that the surge in unaccompanied Central American children is not a short-term anomaly that will be resolved with short-term solutions, and thus requires long term plans that address the deeply rooted structural inequalities within these countries.

Based on the literature (IABD, 2014; McKibben, 2015; Kennedy, 2013 & 2014; Yu-Hsi Lee, 2014; UNHCR, 2013 & 2014; Council on Foreign Relations, 2014; Cantor, 2014; USCCB/MRS, 2012; Renwick, 2014; Congressional Research Service, 2014; WRC, 2012), most of the children migrating express a necessity to leave their homes (Kennedy, 2013 & 2014), which indicates more of a push than a pull factor for their decisions to migrate. With so much attention on the US immigration system and debates over national security, as mentioned earlier, what continues to be missing from the discussion on unaccompanied minors is a dialogue on children's rights *from* sending countries. The only places in the literature where the issue of child rights is directly discussed, is in relation to once they reach the U.S and what the system should do with them (Congressional Research Service, 2014; Tierro, 2015; Carlsen, 2014; WOLA, 2015; WRC, 2012; IADB, 2014; McKibben, 2015; Stillman, 2015). Thus, missing from the literature is a discussion surrounding child rights in reference to why they are migrating, or what can be done to discourage further migration, and there is most certainly a lack of discussion surrounding the role of child participation, in any dialogue regarding proposed solutions or strategies. This reflects a definite gap in the literature, and is problematic as children are the principle actors and receivers of the effects of these solutions, thus their suggestions and perspectives should be included in the dialogue.

**Child Participation**

Throughout child rights literature, it has been repeated time and time again that creating meaningful contributions to social development policies must include the participation of children (Skelton, 2007; Wessells, 2009; Matthews, 2003; Guyot, 2007; Polack, 2010; Grover, 2004; UNICEF, 2009). By admitting children's voices into the dialogue, child-sensitive policies can be generated, opening up the possibilities to meet children's needs as they themselves define them. The main themes found in this literature that relate to the situation in Guatemala reflect obstacles to child participation such as the gap between policy and practice, the need for more enforcement of CRC guidelines, patronizing adult-centered ideologies of children, and how child participation is interrelated and inseparable from all other child rights.

The gap between policy and practice, and the need for more enforcement and monitoring of Convention guidelines (Ruiz-Casares, 2010; Santos-Pais, 1997; Shier, 2001; Skelton, 2007) is evident in regards to Guatemala, since despite Guatemala's efforts to bring its legislation in line with the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), it has been criticized with insufficient application of the laws that are in place (CRIN, 2015). SIDA (2011) states that the lack of implementation of child rights in practice, including the lack of adequate evaluation, is due to institutional weakness and limited allocation of resources for these causes. CRIN (2015) also adds the lack of coordination between the different institutions, legal bodies and with NGOs, to the reasons for this disconnect. Thus, according to SIDA (2011), the overall level of implementation and enforcement of the rights of children and young people in Guatemala remains extremely low, and few organizations are dedicated to working on childhood issues (Yasunga, 2012; Save the Children Guatemala, 2014).

These arguments reflect similar findings in the data gathered through interviews and observations with staff members of various NGO programs in Guatemala. For instance, Hall-

Clifford (2015) explains how there are over 10,000 NGOs in Guatemala, many competing for the same funding sources, thus there is a very competitive environment between organizations, and sparse resources left over to be allocated towards evaluations. This is coupled with criticisms of government corruption and the fact that Guatemala also continues to be one of the lowest spenders on social programs of any country in Central America (GHRC, 2014). Data from the interviews also reflect an interest in child rights issues from various NGOs, but a lack of follow-through as described by SIDA (2011). This is based on what will be elaborated further in the discussion section, as a lack of governmental and societal priority on childhood, due to the slow recovery from Guatemala's violent past, and a country-wide focus on survival priorities.

Another significant challenge to achieving child participation in Guatemalan development projects is based upon what SIDA (2011) discusses as a patronising attitude towards children and the militarised policing of youth gangs. Save the Children Guatemala (2008) shares this argument by stating that children's opinions are not taken into account and that they are considered unable persons. Matthews (2003) challenges these preconceived notions of young children as inferior beings, incapable of communicating complex feelings and thoughts, and argues that much can be gained from new perspectives of children in terms of their resiliency, adaptability, resourcefulness, as well as the strength signified within their coping mechanisms and endurance. Graue & Walsh (1998) draw attention to the importance of understanding the ways children display their power, through inventing and developing competencies in ways that are often invisible to adults.

When relating this literature to unaccompanied minors and preventive measures to migration, it becomes increasingly problematic how children are so often viewed as passive victims or problems, instead of being seen as survivors and active participants in creating

solutions (UNICEF, 2009). Adult-centric conceptualizations of children in this manner greatly impede the potential for children's valuable contributions to society. By allowing adult theories and methods to dominate the planning and implementation of development projects aimed to address children's realities, both the child and the program suffer, as adults have a tendency to have tunnel vision surrounding child wellbeing (Grover, 2004; Polack, 2010). Grover (2004) elaborates on this point by stating that children, on the other hand, tend to bring up much wider variety of issues, are frequently more enthusiastic and ready to make change than adults who are often confined by traditional ways of doing things. This literature directly relates to the main argument of this MRP in terms of the ways in which children's participation can lead to sustainable solutions which benefit children themselves, especially in relation to a society like Guatemala that is in desperate need for dramatic changes.

As stated earlier, in Guatemala, survival rights of children are given priority above all other rights. This is elaborated upon by UNICEF (2011) who declares that urgent challenges such as overcoming chronic child malnutrition, and ending violence and impunity for crimes committed against children, are issues that lack necessary funding and action. Thus, given this context, participation rights are not viewed as important. However, if children's rights are to be fully respected and protected, Naker, Mann and Rajani (2007) believe that they need to be fully informed of both the purpose and the process of participation. Curry and Heykoop (2012) for instance, view child protection systems as a "web of interconnected elements consisting of laws, policies and community based mechanisms, health, education, social change, bridging government services, and the participation of children; that create layers of safety nets to prevent violence, exploitation and abuse" (p. 14).

While some organizations in Guatemala who work with children and youth share these ideals, SIDA (2011) points out that child participation is still a new concept, and is in the process of finding its bearings. Given that within the country, both the government and most importantly its citizens, are still trying to recover from the damage of civil war, organizations working with this premise need to gather clout before the genuine participation of children and young people can be realized in decision-making processes.

The literature provides important perspectives to keep in mind when developing and implementing development policies and programs within Guatemala aimed at reducing the number of unaccompanied minors migrating to the US. While academic works on child rights promote the dire need for participation, and highlight the many contributions their inclusion can generate; the Guatemalan context calls for a much more gradual process, grounded in an understanding of the deeply rooted structures and cultural beliefs that shape the various roles children are ascribed in Guatemala.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research design used for this investigation in order to show how all of the major parts of the project work together to address the central research questions in the study. To reiterate, the focus of this MRP is how development interventions in Guatemala must include both children and youth in participatory planning processes in order to work towards a future of a more empowered generation that can create sustainable alternatives to migration. In order to achieve this, critical child rights theory is used to analyze both YouTube social media, and Guatemalan social constructions of childhood and migration through, semi-structured in-depth interviews, structured observations and content analysis with NGO staff and migration experts in Guatemala. These methods provide valuable data about how the intersection of these constructions inform the role that child participation plays in NGO interventions aimed at reducing the number of unaccompanied minors migrating to the United States.

This chapter begins by discussing the reasoning behind using a qualitative research method and location of the study, followed by a detailed description of three stages of data collection techniques and processes: semi-structured in-depth interviews, structured observations and YouTube content analysis. These sections also discuss the sampling of each of these chosen methods, followed by the process of data analysis. Finally, ethical considerations, and positionality of the researcher conclude this chapter in order to discuss the responsibilities associated with this type of research.

**Qualitative research approach**

A qualitative approach was chosen as the most appropriate methodology because this study involves research collected in the field at the site where participants experience the

situation being studied (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative analysis is a method used primarily for research that emphasizes the quality or details of its findings (Archer & Berdahl, 2011, p.125) which applies directly to this MRP, as the objective is to learn and extract meaning from the participants themselves, through an inductive process of building patterns and themes from the bottom up (Creswell, 2009). This approach allows the researcher to draw explanations from the data they have collected, as well as identify any theory that emerges from the findings (Archer & Berdahl, 2011, p.129). Using a qualitative approach gives the researcher flexibility to address the research question, as well as a more in depth analysis of the experiences of the participants. Data was gathered through talking directly with people and seeing them behave and act within their own context (Creswell, 2009), with the objective to gather a holistic view of the phenomenon of child migration and participation within a sample of Guatemalan NGO programs.

Neither quantitative nor mixed methods approaches were appropriate for this particular study because this MRP does not follow a positivist approach to social science. Meaning that the data analysis for this study does not involve the measuring of variables, or testing of hypotheses to generate a causal explanation (Neuman & Robson, 2012). Quantitative analysis understands the research through a study of large cases, numbers or quantity (Archer & Berdahl, 2011, p.125), whereas this qualitative study emphasizes the quality or details of its findings. In addition, quantitative research narrows the topic into a focused question, which was not the case for this study, as it instead follows a nonlinear path and emphasizes the details of a particular cultural-historical context (Neuman & Robson, 2012).

This qualitative study involved multiple sources of data that were used to create themes that cut across all sources, and that reinforced one another to produce a stronger result. This was to ensure both the validity of the data, as well as a more holistic gathering of information, by

comparing and contrasting results across various sources. Thus, research for this study was conducted in three stages: the first stage involved semi-structured in-depth interviews, the second stage had structured observations, and the third stage focused on YouTube content analysis.

**Research location**

Stages one and two of data collection took place in Antigua, Guatemala from June 1-26, 2015 where I participated in an anthropological field-school called NAPA-OT. (National Association of the Practice of Anthropology and Occupational Therapy). The city of Antigua provided a secure and central setting from which to conduct the investigation. Ethics approval was granted for all participating student researchers in the field school in order to collect data with human subjects through the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Agnes Scott College. I then received additional approval through the Ryerson Research Ethics Board (REB), as well as from the NAPA-OT director Rachel Hall-Clifford, to use the data gathered from my contributions in the program for my MRP. This was granted on the assurance that I give due credit to my research team, that was also involved in the gathering and analyzing of the data from human participants. Thus all of the data collected throughout stage one is a product of a graduate level research team on child migration, involving the contributions of one supervisor and five research students, including myself. Stage two involving the observational data was collected during my participation in the NAPA-OT program, and was also covered by the Agnes Scott College IRB approval. However, this data is based on my own original observations and is thus not part of the research team's collective data set.

I chose this particular program to conduct my research as it presented an opportunity to collaborate with other academics for support in order to make contacts in a country where I had no previous experience. As Guatemala is one of the most violent countries in the world, with

high rates of corruption and extortion, it was important that I had a strong in-country support system, as well as access to valuable, reliable, and knowledgeable community sources from which to extract data. The NAPA-OT program offered an excellent solution to this problem, in terms of gaining access to gatekeepers within the NGO community, as the program has operated in Antigua for seven years and has established excellent contacts in the area. The director of the program Dr. Hall-Clifford has also worked in Guatemala for well over a decade and has a strong foundation of networks and knowledge about the country which was very useful for the purposes of my research. Also, as our interviews were conducted in Spanish, which is not my first language, it was valuable to work with a research team from a variety of cultural backgrounds, including those who are native Spanish speakers.

The research goals of the NAPA-OT group differ from the objectives of my MRP in that the research team was focused on investigating root causes of child migration to the US from a Guatemalan NGO perspective, using an occupational lens. While this perspective is useful in my investigation in terms of providing necessary context, my research objectives differ in that they are concerned with conceptualizations of childhood and child migration and how it relates to child participation in NGO programs.

**Data Collection**

The data sources for this MRP were conducted in three stages: the first stage being through semi-structured in-depth interviews, the second stage through structured observations, and the third through directed content analysis. The following section will describe the process of data collection in this order.

**Semi-structured in-depth interviews**

Interviewing was used for the current project to generate rich data, using the voice of participants in order to gain insight into their perspectives and values, and to glean contextual and relational aspects to interpret the data. More specifically, a semi-structured in depth interview format was chosen as a means of invoking conversation and discussion, to discover in what ways the participants voice either confirms or denies the research team's prior assumptions. Limitations which exist within this particular method of data collection revolve around potential threats to the validity of the data, such as through the use of "leading questions or the researcher's preconceived ideas influencing what is and is not worth discussing" (Newton, 2010, p. 4). There also exists a considerable level of subjectivity in terms of the participant's interpretation of the questions, as well as how they themselves may perceive and respond to the interviewer, which could alter their answers. While these are all concerns within this type of method, Newton (2010) explains how "this same vulnerability and complexity produces a richness and depth to data worth many of the risks" (p. 5).

Thus despite these limitations, semi-structured interviewing is consistent with participatory and emancipatory models (Newton, 2010), which support the objectives of this investigation. Newton (2010) also states that the researcher choosing to interview face-to-face recognises the potential significance of context in the investigation, and is appropriate where depth of meaning is important and the research is primarily focused in gaining insight and understanding (Gillham 2000; Ritchie & Lewis 2003, Newton, 2010, p.4). Jones (1985) summarises this purpose by stating that, "in order to understand another persons' constructions of reality, we would do well to ask them…and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms (rather than those imposed rigidly and a priori by ourselves) and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of the meanings" (Newton, 2010, p. 4).

The interview instrument for this investigation was designed and translated from English to Spanish by the NAPA-OT research team and later crossed check by the team supervisor. (Please see Appendix A). As discussed earlier in this chapter, ethics approval for data collection with human subjects was granted by the IRB at Agnes Scott College.

The instrument contained 16 key questions, most with subsections, and questions were asked based on their relevance during the interview and the flow of the conversation. Questions were asked in such a way as to provoke dialogue, however, considering "the 'live' nature of face-to-face interviewing and the complexity of language in use it is not easy to avoid the influence of the researcher in the responses" (Newton, 2010, p.4).

Each member of the team rotated in taking the role of interviewer, while other team members were also involved in asking questions as relevant to the conversation. The interviewer was also responsible for informing the participant of their right to withdraw from the interview at any time, or to skip questions they prefer not to answer. Participants were not required to release their name during the process. All participants were required to sign a consent form before beginning the interview, and were informed that they would be provided with a final copy of the report upon completion. Team members also rotated on taking the role of note taker, either hand written or typed, performed during the interview.

Based on the permission of the informant, all interviews were audio-recorded using the NAPA-OT tape recorder, and shared by the team supervisor using Google Drive with all team members the following day. The recording of the interviews was to ensure that each interview was accurately transcribed during the analysis section.

A total of 16 semi-structured in depth-interviews were conducted by the child migration research team, and divided equally amongst us. I personally conducted and transcribed four

interviews. Participants included a total of four local NGOs, comprised of five social workers, and two psychologists, two transnational NGOs, one lawyer, and one local anthropologist specializing in migration. All interviews were conducted in the native language of the participant; 14 in Spanish and 2 in English. Most of the interviews were conducted from Antigua, either in the NAPA-OT office or on location at the participant NGO. As a team, we also travelled to the nearby town of Jocotenango, and Guatemala City to conduct interviews with specific organizations.

Transcriptions of the interviews from Spanish to English, and also from rough notes to the final draft were evenly divided between team members, and transcribed within the week they were conducted. All copies of notes, audio files and transcriptions were shared only between group members on a password-protected Google Drive.

### *Sampling*

Subjects for interviews were selected by the NAPA-OT director and the child migration research team supervisor, based on the criteria that the organization works with children and youth, and or that they are familiar with, or work directly with issues relating to migration. Upon initial contact with the interviewee, reference was made to the intentions of the interview when they arranged the meeting, in hopes that their willingness to be interviewed indicated an interest in the topic. Also, geography was a factor in choosing participants, as only organizations that operated within a close proximity to Antigua were possible given the time restrictions of this investigation. Sampling intended to attain a variety of perspectives from individuals working in positions relevant to our investigation.

A clear limitation to this section of the study is the imbalance in the sample of interview participants. Half of the interviews (eight of the sixteen) were conducted with employees of the

same NGO, severely altering the degree of representation in the data. Although the participants occupied various positions in the organizations, they were all clearly shaped by a shared mission statement. It is noted however that my role as part of the research team did not involve selecting interview participants. This limitation poses a potential problem regarding the end results as the organization that was overrepresented also did not incorporate child participation in its programming. Thus, the data relies more heavily on a lack of child participation than perhaps would be the case if there were a greater variety of programs interviewed. However, most other NGO programs involved in the research process reflected a similar trend, in which case this data is consistent with the results from the majority of the sample.

As discussed above, being part of the NAPA-OT team provided many advantages and allowed me the opportunity to conduct my research on this specific topic, in this particular location. However, as the research team had different objectives to my own, during the interview section of data collection our questions were greatly shaped by the group's objectives and IRB allowances. Any specific questions I would have liked to ask that pertained only to my own research were not permitted within of the prescribed IRB clearance. In order to extract the data I needed within these confines, I proposed the following two questions to be included in our interview instrument, and they were accepted collectively based on their relevance in the shared literature reviewed for the investigation.

1) What is the role of children and youth in the planning of programs and decision making?

2) Do you perceive a problem with the self-esteem of children here in Guatemala?

Also, it is important to note that the sample size of NGOs and other participants interviewed is relatively small, does not represent all organizations working with children and

youth and or on themes of migration in Guatemala. As there are over 10,000 NGOs currently operating in Guatemala, (Hall-Clifford, 2015) it was outside of the time and capacity of this particular project to interview a wider sample. Few of the organizations interviewed in our sample worked directly with migration, but were still relevant for the purposes of this study as their mission statements indicate that they are committed to improving opportunities for children and youth in Guatemala.

Given the time restrictions of the NAPA-OT project, and communication within Guatemala, there were several organizations that we were unable interview, because we did not hear back from them, or because we were unable to arrange a convenient meeting time, within the parameters of our investigation.

Finally, missing from this data sample are more interviews with organizations who work directly on migration issues, perhaps along the border region with Mexico, in addition to specific development initiatives financed through the Inter-American Development Bank (The Plan of Alliance for Prosperity) who would have greatly enhanced the data retrieved during this investigation. However, within the time and safety confines of the NAPA-OT program this was not possible, perhaps more of these projects can be included in similar investigations in the future.

**Structured observations**

Structured observations were conducted by the NAPA-OT research team with the intention of observing child occupations in public spaces. The purpose of this research was to add to existing data gathered on conceptualizations of childhood in Guatemala in terms of the various roles children play in their day-to-day lives, and how this intersects with the types of services NGOs are offering.

Participant observation can be defined as "the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and or participating in those activities. It provides the context for development" of the investigation and further data collection (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002, p.9). Schensul, Schensul, & Lecompte (1999) also define participant observation as "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting" (p. 91).

Participant observation was chosen as a method for this study in order to check how much time children spend on non-educational activities during school hours, and to observe situations informants have described in interviews, in order to fill in the gaps and double check information gathered from informants. The main purpose of this method is to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study, to increase the validity of the data, and to provide context. (Schensul, Schensul, and Lecompte, 1999). Dewalt & Dewalt, (2002) also state that that it "improves the quality of data collection and interpretation and facilitates the development of new research questions or hypotheses" (p.8).

Observations were conducted by team members on an individual basis, therefore I will only be using my own observations for this report. I chose my location in the Central Park (*Parque Central*) based on the fact that it is a busy sector of town with a lot of activities happening, and from previous visits there I noticed a lot of children without adult supervision. Also in the center there are numerous convenient points from which to observe activities without looking too conspicuous. I observed from 9:00 a.m.-9:30 a.m., a time when children and youth in Antigua would otherwise be in class. One of limitations of this method of observation are evident in the short period of time allocated for such observations. As they were done as scheduled by

the NAPA-OT program and this was not the focus of the program, few observations were completed and thus little data was gathered. The data that was collected will be included in this report as although it is sparse, it helps to provide context to conceptualizations of childhood in Guatemala.

I sat on a bench diagonally positioned away from the fountain, situated in the middle of the plaza. I took notes on both physical description such as estimated age, ethnicity, social class, based on markers such as clothing and height. I also took notes on activities, and proximity to other children and or adults, in addition to the amount of time spent doing such activities, and subjective assumptions based on the purpose of such actions and interactions. I took note of the time every 5 minutes, and changed my observations to a different group or individual accordingly. This allowed me to view a wide variety of activities in detail during the half hour period. The notebook allocated for field notes was securely stored in a locked desk in my room, and the contents of the observations were only shared with research team members. Due to IRB protocol, observations were only permitted to be from a distance, and no actual interaction with children was permitted. This is likely due to the vulnerability of children without adult supervision, and the fact that impromptu interactions with a Caucasian female may have social implications for the children involved. Especially considering many of them were working during these observations, and interacting with me would likely have been an inappropriate distraction for them. Despite these reasons, this was a limitation to this section of data collection, as data could have unveiled a more holistic picture had I been able to physically participate with the subjects.

Other limitations can be found in the fact that although this MRP is centered on child participation in NGO programming, no actual observations were done of such programs. The

reason for this is due to the structure of the NAPA-OT schedule, and that there was no time allotted for such observations while visiting the organizations to conduct interviews with the staff. Many interviews were also conducted in the NAPA-OT office, as well as on Skype (in one instance), instead of on sight.

### *Processes of data analysis*

Data gathered through all interviews and structured observations was combined for purposes of analysis. The process began with transcription, as detailed above, moving to reading through all of the data to gain a general sense of the overall meaning, followed by interpretations of notes and thoughts that were recorded during this process. Next, coding began, which is defined as "the process of organizing material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information. It involves labelling these chunks with terms based on the actual language of the participants" (Creswell, 2009, p. 186). After reviewing all the transcripts, the research team decided upon parent-codes as a group, based on what the data was communicating. Then, each team member was assigned an equal number of parent-codes, and began the process of combing through all the transcripts to pull out the themes relevant to the codes they were assigned. Each member also was responsible for creating sub-codes or child-codes as they deemed necessary during analysis, and then created a brief write up based on these specific findings. Throughout the process, some of the codes were eliminated or combined with others, as well as the establishment of some new parent-codes. All work throughout the coding process was constantly discussed and confirmed with all group members before decisions were final.

### Directed content analysis

The method known as directed content analysis was used to analyze YouTube videos on themes of child migration from the Northern Triangle to the United States. The purpose of this

particular method was to add the social media perspective to the discussion surrounding the surge in child migrants. As the goal of a directed content analysis approach is to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), this method is used to fill in the gaps from previous data extracted during the stage one interview process. Data collection during stage three was conducted separately from the NAPA-OT program, over a three-week period following the field research component. Content analysis of YouTube videos does not require IRB approval as it is public domain, and does not contain any personal information regarding individuals.

YouTube was chosen as the medium of investigation because of its increasing importance in today's society, as a means of accessing, and sharing information, particularity among adolescents and parents (Sampson, et.al 2013; Fox & Jones, 2009; Moore, 2011), as it provides effective forums for consumer-to-consumer knowledge exchange. Launched on December 2005, YouTube accounts for 60% of videos watched online, and the number of new YouTube viewers per month is estimated at 136 million (Harrison et al, 2014). As many of our interviews revealed the heavy influence of US culture and media on Guatemalan children and youth, I decided that an analysis of YouTube videos on themes of conceptualizations of child migrants, particularly referring to the surge in unaccompanied minors from the Northern Triangle, would offer a unique insight into this phenomenon. By analyzing YouTube videos, I was able to access media representations of the crisis and child migrants, in order to compare these perspectives with the information gathered through interviews. It also provided a means to understand the types of information the public is accessing online about this subject matter, and what is considered popular amongst viewers.

*Searches*

Search criteria consisted of browsing directly using the YouTube site (www.youtube.com) both in English and Spanish. No YouTube account was used for this investigation, as the intention was to access and analyze public files only. The purpose of conducting a search of videos in both languages was to analyze whether or not the surge in child migration and conceptualizations of child migrants were represented differently between United States, and Latin American dominated social media sources, in addition to the connection between these media constructions and those of Guatemalan NGOs.

The search terms used were: Guatemalan child migration (*Guatemala migración infantil*) and Central American migration of adolescents (*Centroamérica migración de jóvenes*). The interchangeable terms; children (*niños, infantil*), youth (*jóvenes*), adolescents (*adolescentes*), minors (*menores de edad*), as well as Guatemala and Central America, were used also during searches. These terms were chosen based on their direct applicability to the subject matter, and with the intention of being inclusive to all videos that met my particular criteria.

The data recorded included; the total number of hits per search term, the link, the date it was posted and accessed, the title of the source (publisher), the total number of views, as well as likes and dislikes. This information was recorded in a spreadsheet to keep track of videos, and the order in which they were found as Sampson et al. (2013) states that video sharing services such as YouTube are dynamic, meaning that "videos can be added or removed at any time by their publishers (or by the host, for violations of copyright or community guidelines), and the order of material in search results may change from day to day" (p. 3).

*Inclusion criteria*

Recognizing that I would not be able to capture and study all YouTube videos ever posted on this topic, the design was to include the first 100 videos for each topic in both English and Spanish. However, throughout the investigation, this number appeared unrealistic within the parameters of the project. It also became evident that by using such a large search, the quality and quantity of the videos after roughly 25, began to decrease significantly, and many became intermixed with completely unrelated videos. I instead decided to alter the design slightly and chose to include the first 25 videos relevant to the topic for each individual search, in both English and Spanish for a total of 50 videos systematically reviewed. Thus in total this study analyzed 28 YouTube videos in English, and 22 in Spanish.

Limitations that should be acknowledged include the bias that can exist within the content displayed by certain publishers, for instance, as YouTube is a public forum, misinformation can also been shared here (Sampson et al., 2013). In order to compensate for this issue, a wide variety of videos and publishers were selected in order to accommodate potential bias. Within the methodology of directed content analysis, there also exists the potential of researcher bias, meaning that the researcher might be more likely to find evidence that is supportive rather than non-supportive of their theory. Also, "an overemphasis on the theory can blind researchers to contextual aspects of the phenomenon" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.1283). In order to compensate for these limitations and add validity to the study, the research methods used are designed to triangulate various data sources, as described above, to build a coherent justification for themes based on the convergence of these perspectives. This is in addition to acknowledging the potential for some subjectivity regarding analysis based on researcher

positionality. This study merely aims to present one series of perspectives, and welcomes a variety of others on the same subject, to add to a holistic understanding of this issue.

Selection criteria included only videos under 10 minutes in length, to avoid lengthy documentaries, and only videos that were posted from April 2014 to June 2015. This was to ensure that the videos reviewed were current, and to capture those that were posted during the surge, as well as the aftermath. Only videos that were unique clips, were included, thus excluding those that were repetitive, and had already been viewed, even if they were just short clips taken from longer videos. Videos with subtitles were also counted as the language of the narrator. Another common issue experienced during this investigation was the repetition of the same media sources dominating this theme. As the intention was to compile a vast sample, some videos were discarded if more than three from the same publisher were found in a row. This was to make sure the videos were not dominated by a small sample of publishers.

Limitations also exist within the selection criteria, as there are a great deal of variables to consider when reviewing YouTube videos. The search revealed that not all videos posted on YouTube are of good quality, or content, despite relevant titles. As there are no pre-set standards for rigor or quality of this site, some of the videos were discarded based on these issues.  Also, many videos were merely shorter clips of longer videos reviewed throughout the process, and therefore were discarded. Not watching videos over 10 minutes in length perhaps could be seen as a limitation, as these longer sources included documentary films and television specials on the theme that would have potentially provided deeper context. However, for the purpose of this study and time restrictions, reviewing lengthy videos was not plausible.

*Processes of data analysis*

The method of directed content analysis was used to analyze the YouTube videos, which means that a deductive approach was used based on the following predetermined coding schemes, and the relationships between them, gained from previous data analysis from the interview process. (Please see Appendix C for chart). These codes included US perspectives such as immigration policy, humanitarian responsibility, border security, false rumours, child rights, and immigration system overwhelmed. Sending country perspectives included violence, poverty, and family reunification, as well as development programs. These codes were chosen for their relevance to both the literature review as well as the interview data. Finally, new codes were created for conceptualizations of child migrants such as UACs interviewed, UACs empowered, UACs as a problem, and UACs as vulnerable or victimized. Thus, the strategy involved coding with these codes, and data that could not be coded was identified and analyzed later in order to determine if they represented a new category or a subcategory of an existing code (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The coding noted the frequency of codes in order to determine how often certain codes appeared in the videos. As media sources have an influence on its audiences' impression of the world, the purpose of frequency analysis was to understand both types and the regularity of certain messages being communicated by social media to viewers, regarding unaccompanied minors migrating to the US. The findings from this directed content analysis offered supporting and non-supporting evidence for the conclusions acquired from the interview and observational data.

**Ethical Considerations**

In addition to the aforementioned ethics approvals from Ryerson and the College, there were additional ethical considerations in this investigation. Primarily, the use of interviews with human subjects about themes of migrant children could potentially be a sensitive subject for certain individuals. "The method of semi-structured interviews allow individuals to disclose thoughts and feelings which are clearly private. It relies on the inter-personal skills of the interviewer, and one's ability to establish relationship and rapport. These qualities are valuable but ethically very sensitive" (Newton, 2010, p. 7). Thus this investigation acknowledges the importance of maintaining trust, respect, professionalism and confidentiality throughout the entire process, as well as providing participants with a copy of the finished report upon completion. With this in mind, all interview questions went through a rigorous process before being confirmed, and were designed to be as informative and objective as possible, without being overly intrusive or personal. As discussed earlier, informed consent was required from all participants. They were given a copy of the consent form (please see Appendix C), as well as contact information, and any requests for anonymity, or exemptions from certain questions, and from audio recordings were respected. Based on IRB approval, only adult participants working in NGOs, or on migration issues, were interviewed for this investigation, therefore no minors under the age of 18, or actual migrants were interviewed, in order to avoid ethical complications. This extends to the observational data gathered as well, which was merely taken from a distance, in a public area, and thus, was in no way invasive to the children observed.

**Positionality**

Bourke (2014) explains that during the research process it is reasonable to expect that the researcher's own beliefs, cultural background, gender, class, race, political perspectives,

educational background, life experiences, and so on, are all variables in how the research is framed. "Just as the participants' experiences are framed in social-cultural contexts, so too are those of the researcher (Bourke, 2014, p. 1). As "research is a process, not just a product" (England, 1994, p. 82), our identities effect our perceptions, not only of others, but also in the ways in which others perceive us, as researchers. Thus, the researcher's bias shapes the entire process, and by recognizing this fact we can gain insight into ourselves and how we might approach a situation (Bourke, 2014). In this manner, reflexivity defined as, the self-conscious awareness of the relationship between the researcher and the participant, is a crucial part of the research process.

In the field, as well as during data analysis, I was aware of the privilege associated with my position in society as a middle-class female who has completed an honours degree in Anthropology and International Development Studies with a minor is Spanish from a Canadian university. My unique identity, shaped by the combination of my life experiences gives me a distinctive position in my research. For instance, my study abroad experience in Ecuador in 2011-2012 and 2013-2014 enhanced my conversational Spanish abilities to an advanced level, and taught me the importance of being adaptable and flexible in new environments, in addition to providing me with a great appreciation for cultural diversity. During my undergraduate degree I conducted research in Spanish, with different cultural groups, some of indigenous heritage, in various settings, both formal and informal. I am thus confident in my Spanish language abilities as well as my cross-cultural competencies, in terms of how these skills were applied in the field in Guatemala. It is important to note that I am aware my Spanish accent or way of speaking the language may have influenced the way I was received and interpreted by the participants in this

study. However, as my research team consisted of Spanish speakers from a variety of countries with different dialects, I do not believe my accent had any unique effect on the data.

My worldviews are shaped by the fact that I was raised in a small town, free from crime, with a traditional Christian-based family structure, in a liberal multicultural society. Growing up I was infused with a strong sense of pride, justice and dependability in our local democratic government, in addition to being heavily influenced by westernized ideals of capitalism and consumeristic culture.  In terms of how I may be perceived in the field, as a Caucasian female from Canada, I am aware of my 'foreign' appearance while abroad and the assumptions that are associated with my identity. Therefore I made sure to conduct myself in a modest and professional manner while abroad to reduce any cultural stereotypes that may surround my presence. I am aware of the various challenges that can arise while living and working abroad. Throughout the entire research process I was aware of the importance of maintaining an open-mind, and a cultural relativistic perspective, which included continually reminding myself that I am abroad to collect the local Guatemalan perspective, regardless of how it may have differed from my own.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown how the research design for this MRP connects all of the major parts of the research project together in order to address how social constructions of childhood and migration inform the role that child participation plays in Guatemalan NGO interventions. Consequently, the following chapter will present the data from the interviews, observations and content analysis to in order to draw out common themes across all sources.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The findings in this chapter illustrate the opinions of participants from various NGOs and migration related fields, in addition to an analysis of YouTube content on the child migration influx. These perspectives represent social constructions of childhood and migration from both Guatemalan professionals, and social media points of view, and seeks to understand the ways in which these various conceptualizations intersect to inform the role that child participation plays in Guatemalan NGO programs.

The data collected from each of the three stages is presented, beginning with data gathered from the interviews and observations combined, and followed by the content analysis. The purpose of this section is to communicate the most dominate themes that were extracted across all data sources in terms of how they can be compared and contrasted as relevant to the key questions and research statement for this MRP.

**Interview and Observational Data Results**

Interviews with various NGOs in Guatemala, both local, foreign-run, and international, expose a multitude of conceptualizations of childhood, deeply-rooted in the country's history of civil war and colonialism. They reveal valuable insights by highlighting the challenges in effective programmatic responses to child migration.

In this section, parent-codes and sub-codes were extracted from the data, based on their relevance to the goals of this MRP, from both the interviews as well as the observations combined. In accordance with ethics protocol, no direct names or titles of organizations are displayed, and the names of individuals have been changed to protect their identity. This first section begins with codes relating to constructions of childhood and migration, which is then followed by themes on NGO programs, where the data on child participation is incorporated.

**Constructions of childhood and migration**

As constructions of childhood and migration are the main focal points of this MRP, the data extracted from Guatemalan NGO staff members and assorted migration professionals on this topic is divided into various themes. These include conceptualizations of childhood and migration in terms of: communal obligations, and childhood and child migration as a non-priority, which is divided into such sub-codes as desensitization of children's suffering, the eradication of hope and lack of self-esteem, the culture of silence, and deeply rooted subservient expectations. This is then followed by themes such as: the lack of opportunities, spaces for children and youth, and "child migration is not new".

*Communal obligations*

Much of the data reveals how childhood and migration can be viewed as a communal series of obligations and responsibilities towards the family. This perspective is most common amongst indigenous populations, as well as those living in conditions of poverty, which may include those who do not identify as indigenous. A child's earning capacity for instance is discussed as a major theme in the data. For instance, an informant discusses how in Guatemala:

> The acceptance of child labour as something normal. Maybe it's something cultural right?
> Its ok that they work in the fields, it's ok that they work hard. It is part of our social view,
> or landscape to see a child carrying a lot of wood, oh how pretty the picture in the lake
> with the child with their wood. So this part of the society facilitates it a lot because there
> is no fight for these children. (Psychologist, personal communication, Interview 7, 2015)

One participant who works with children expressed this dilemma between different conceptualizations of childhood by stating that, "if we view [child labour] as professionals, we perceive it badly because of course children shouldn't work, while families see it as the child going to work and provide" (Social worker, personal communication, Interview 3, 2015).

The indigenous perspective was brought into this discussion on various conceptualizations of childhood by one of the Mayan informants who shed further light on this divide in Guatemalan society. She states that:

In the Mayan world, it is not the age that establishes an adult, the moment a child stops being a child is when they get married. Indigenous people do not see children the same as the western world. We don't see children working as exploitation, we see this as teaching for life. That he learns is a right. Exploitation is if I take money from a child to maintain myself as an adult. However, with human rights comes responsibility, and so there are some very risky jobs that children should not do, but planting the land, learning how to farm, learning how to cook and keep house, and provide for the family, this is not exploitation. (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 12, 2015)

As the majority of Guatemala's population identifies as indigenous consisting of a total of 23 linguistically different groups, mainly of Mayan descent, understanding the cultural context of what childhood means becomes crucial when looking at the diverse reasons children migrate. Migration from the Mayan perspective is explained as:

When a child chooses to leave and migrate they want to go in order to help their parents, at 10, 11, or 12 years old, they are saying, Papa, I want to go because I want to help you. I am talking about what I have heard from children I have interviewed. They leave because they cannot get work, they leave with the dream of helping their family. There is not an obligation or imposition. They are leaving with a very mature sense of the needs their families have. (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 12, 2015)

This example outlines how the choice to migrate can be an autonomous decision made by young children out of a sense of communal responsibility. "The gringo culture, is very individualistic—

on the other hand our culture is more collective. We are always looking out for each other"

(NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 1, 2015). Thus, children are seen, and see

themselves as being inseparable from the family and community unit, and they leave for the

United States with the idea of helping their parents. Therefore some of the interviews reveal that

indigeneity signifies an important component of the migration experience, which can contribute

to a unique set of factors unrepresented in the common discourses surrounding child migration.

In reference to migration flows, interviewees state that the shift in the motives for

migration which reflect more agency from the child coincide with the surge discussed in US

media narratives and literature. A source who works with migrant children, states how this

migration trend is on the rise in Guatemala, amongst both indigenous and non-indigenous

minors, she explains that:

> What we see is how in a person of 16-17 years old has the responsibility of providing
>
> for the family, because he's strong, young, has more energy or has studied and can
>
> make the trip.  So he does not go to buy a car or anything, he knows he has to help pay
>
> the debt, pay for the sibling's education, pay for construction of a new house, help
>
> provide for the family. He goes, and never went to university himself, but is thinking
>
> that he has to pay for university for his siblings who are 5 and 6 years old. (NGO actor,
>
> personal communication, Interview 16, 2015)

This quote provides an example of a push/pull factor that does not fit neatly into the root

causes for migration discussed in literature or media discourses. This is perhaps because it

positions child migrants as autonomous providers, which does not coincide with

mainstream North American conceptualizations of childhood.

*Childhood and child migration as a non-priority*

The aftermath of both the civil war and the patron relationship of the colonial era plays a direct role in how both migration and children's rights are viewed in society, and perpetuates various issues which reflect the theme of childhood and migration as a non-priority. The sub-codes in this section include: the desensitization of children's suffering, the culture of silence, the lack of self-esteem, and intra-family violence, all connected through deeply rooted subservient expectations.

The narratives received through the interviews greatly center around the fact that childhood or children's rights in Guatemala is not given priority for a variety of reasons. First, one informant explains how children in Guatemalan society are not generally treated with any greater care than the average adult.

Kids just…kids aren't um, How do I explain it? We don't have children's menu's, and children's seats, kids are just part of life here, they see the life the death, they are at funerals, they are at everything, But I don't see it in the general population the same sort of horror, because kids get on buses and go to Guatemala City.  I mean it's dangerous, they want to get out of it, but you send your kid out for tortillas or on the bus to Guatemala City even though it's dangerous. (NGO director, personal communication, Interview 6, 2015)

In regards to migration under this theme for instance, one informant who works directly with child migrants states that:

I think that overall, there was a visibility of this migration and its consequences but the society itself has not been very sympathetic to that situation. It's the same speech. I do not see a change of discourse regarding migration of children because the government has not changed the discourse and also in society, children are given little sensitivity.

My sense is the state is doing nothing but there is a recommendation that should be

done. (Anthropologist, personal communication, Interview 9, 2015)

Another source states that, "I am sure that the majority of the population is not even interested in how many children are leaving, and those who leave are associated with poverty. *Pobrecito.* He had to go. One, left, and another one is going to die, and yeah" (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 11, 2015).

These quotes draw attention to how due to the socio-political and economic landscape in Guatemala, there was a lot of discussion surrounding how Guatemalan society, in general, has become desensitized to the distinct needs of children, in light of survival priorities for themselves and their families. This represents a deeply-rooted issue which is evident across various cultural, and class divisions. A participant expanded on this by saying:

I think that the average person is very desensitized, that children risk so much. The urban

regions are full of children asking to work in the street, and the average Guatemalan is

very desensitized to these small children. So sadly, I do not see that the country is very

worried about child rights. (Psychologist, personal communication, Interview 7, 2015)

This desensitization explained in many interviews is linked to the deep inequalities experienced across the country, where poverty has become normalized. For instance, another informant states that:

Government people work to buy a Ferrari, but on the corner is a child cleaning shoes, and

he is just little and poor. It's a lie. So there needs to be a lot of investment in education,

because these things have been normalized, like daily. A child died on the border, oh

poor him. But no one asks who he or she was, what did they do, where is their family, the

majority of Guatemalans will not ask those questions. He or she is just another number, nothing more. (Lawyer, personal communication, Interview 11, 2015)

The damage left over from the civil war is still very active in the lives of many Guatemalans, throughout many of the interviews participants spoke about the mistrust between citizens as well as towards the government, and the perpetuation of what participants called a "culture of silence". The civil war forced many to learn to live "under the radar", and although the war has been over for nearly 20 years, this belief system is greatly affecting the new generations as well.

This is not a culture where people are invited to express opinions, this is very deeply rooted in the entire culture. I grew up being told not to express my opinion, then I went to college in the US and was told to talk, so exact opposite instruction. I went home with my mom, to American school, homeschool, and was told to debate, and went to school every morning, Guatemalan school, and was told to shut-up, and was put in detention when I expressed an opinion. (NGO director, personal communication, Interview 6, 2015)

When this culture of silence is applied to children's rights, a participant explains that "people don't talk about it very much, and when they do, they do so in hiding, not so openly" (Social worker, personal communication, Interview 8, 2015).

When asked, how these specific aspects of Guatemalan society facilitate child migration, there was a lot of discussion surrounding the concept of hope and self-esteem in young people.

Children here grow up with very little hope, and so it's like ok why should I teacher? For what should I study, it's better to work? They are not ready either, there is a lot of beliefs that they are not worth it, or that they themselves are worthless. I think they get this from

their parents, because they also received the same, no? (Psychologist, personal

communication, Interview 7, 2015)

As some of the first interviewees unveiled this trend, we decided to ask directly whether

participants perceived a problem in general, with the self-esteem of children in Guatemala.

Almost all of the NGOs interviewed responded that this was in fact a major issue. One

participant expanded on this by saying:

> Here we work very hard [with children and] the belief in themselves, because they
>
> think that they are stupid because their mothers tell them so. You can't do it, you're
>
> never going to learn, etc… There are a lot of negative messages given to the children.
>
> You're never going to be anything. There's a lot of experience with delinquency as
>
> well, it's very common to be brought home by the police. And all of these beliefs keep
>
> starting, the violence etc., all affects their self-esteem. (Social worker, personal
>
> communication, Interview 3, 2015)

This combination of a culture of silence, the lack of hope and self-esteem, as well as expected

subservience to adults, influences the way children have been raised and their constructions of

the world around them, and makes it very difficult for children to be given a space they can trust,

where they feel safe and comfortable participating.

In line with this issue, a few NGOs also brought the issue of intra-family violence into

this discussion as a severe problem in many Guatemalan households. "Sadly in the area where I

am, you see the machismo very much and the violence between the partners (Social worker,

personal communication Interview 2, 2015). This is notably a topic that was missing from the

literature and media discourses on child migration. One informant delves deeper into this issue

by stating that:

The violence that occurs on a family level that culturally is hard to erase. Guatemala has

high rates of family violence. But it is dealt with individually and privately. [Children

have reported] that they were fleeing their step-father who was abusing them, so you

realize that there is a lot of systematic violence. There is a lot of sexual violence a lot of

girls are fleeing, they leave and are impregnated by their fathers, their uncles, their

grandfathers. (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 16, 2015)

According to the stories of the interviewees in this study, domestic violence seems to be one of

the main push factors that contributes to young girls' migration, including experience of abuse

within the family, alcoholism and abandonment. These stories also highlight a variety of other

issues related to gender and power differentials within the household that girls and women

confront every day.

This section has discussed the various constructions that demonstrate why childhood and

migration are not considered a priority in Guatemalan society according to informants. The

previous themes: desensitization of children's suffering, the culture of silence, the lack of self-

esteem, and intra-family violence discussed above, are largely due to the aftermath of both the

civil war and the patron relationship of the colonial era, and play a direct role in how children's

rights are viewed in Guatemala.

### *Lack of opportunities*

When asked what specific aspects of Guatemalan society facilitate child migration, in

contrast to the dominant media discourses surrounding violence, poverty, family reunification

and immigration policy, the majority of respondents in Guatemala brought up more specific

themes surrounding lack of opportunities, and lack of hope. For instance, one informant stated

how:

The youth in Guatemala don't have the opportunities that they need in order to be

involved. Nor the spaces to be and express themselves freely. But the institutions that

are here, don't have the financing. And the NGOs, who have the financing, focus on

other aspects and forget about the expression of youth and children (*la expresion*

*juvenil*). (Psychologist, personal communication, Interview 5, 2015)

One organization makes this issue its dominant focus by stating that:

Our mission is to give children hope, to realize that there are problems but realize that

they can resolve problems and make a better place. To give boys and girls the

opportunity to dream, create, and develop, to give them hope and tell them that it is

possible, that they can do it, so those kids realize that problems exist, but that it is on

them to resolve their own problems and to also construct a better municipality. (NGO

actor, personal communication, Interview 10, 2015).

These quotes help to illustrate some of the obstacles to child participation that exist within

Guatemalan NGOs, as well as the need for more participatory models to address these issues

of  lack of hope and lack of opportunities for children and youth.

### *Spaces for children and youth*

In order to expand more on the NGO perspective regarding the root causes of the increase

in unaccompanied minors leaving for the States and what can be done locally, we asked

participants what they think the Guatemalan government or NGOs should be doing about child

migration that is currently lacking. The dominant theme that came out of the responses was that

children and youth need more safe recreational spaces. Thus, many of the organizations are

working on these types of initiatives. Participants talked extensively about how youth are the

future of the nation, and repeated that what they need most are sports, study, and outlets for fun,

since this would hopefully prevent them from seeking illicit activities. Thus, many incorporate these spaces with educational efforts. One organization explains this further by stating that:

Right now we have a lot of children on the street working, children that are homeless there are so many things, why are children in this condition?  It's because the parents are unemployed, or because they just live with their mom.  It's important to focus on providing employment, education, and spaces like this one, yeah we need to open up more spaces for children's recreation. If only the government would be doing their job. How many children are on the street, not doing anything, involved in gangs, there need to be spaces for interventions so we can tell the child this is what you can do, this is how you channel your energy.  We need this urgently, or alcoholism will never end.  (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 10, 2015).

Another participant adds to this by explaining that:

We provide healthy fun on Saturdays so [children] can distract themselves. Not only do they come to play but they also come to talks about dating, drugs, sex, etc., motivational talks on things that they are interested in- we link them to education. We tell their parents that they can send their children here and they will be safe and be supervised by an adult instead of being on the street.  Once they are on the street we cannot know or be responsible, there are a lot of risks. (Social worker, personal communication, Interview 8, 2015)

Linked to the previous section on a lack of hope and opportunities for children and youth in Guatemala, this section also outlines how many minors experience an inability to express themselves freely in society because they are not given the safe spaces to do so.

The fact that this is such an issue in Guatemala indicates the need for child rights awareness and participatory programs to enhance these spaces and break the cycle.

### *Child migration is not new*

An interesting theme that came out of the interviews which offers another alternate perspective to the narratives dominating US media, suggests that child migration to the United States is not new, and thus is not of particular concern. Interviewees claim that NGOs have made migration more visible as an issue, but it has not made an impact in society, and there has not been a change in migration discourse, in response to the "crisis" in the US. One interviewee explains that:

> Migration of children and adolescents is not anything new. We have had millions of people who were displaced by armed conflicts, many of whom are the "Dreamers"[1] today in the US, many of them who left when they were very little, or undocumented adults with documented children etc. But why are they just now saying that they are too many? (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 13, 2015)

Another source states that in her opinion, "kids have always been going, I don't believe the numbers that there's a difference. I believe that it has always been happening. This so called crisis, it somehow plays into US politics, doesn't it? What is different about this?" (NGO actor personal communication, Interview 16, 2015). While other informants suggest that migration to the US was higher during the civil war than it is now, and therefore it is not an issue for Guatemala.

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[1] This term refers to undocumented youth who were brought to the United States as children, have lived and attended school in the US for at least five years, and thus under specific circumstances are eligible for deferred action and or legal status based on The Dream Act (Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act).

The migration has always been there, I would consider that 70% of the population leaves,

and some come back,  maybe it's more known now, as in we know a little bit more about

the statistics, than in the past, but there was probably more migration earlier as opposed

to now, because we have a bit more security. (NGO actor, personal communication,

Interview 10, 2015)

 Some participants also explain that it is not that child migration is new, it's just that US

priorities have changed. "I believe that migration, and migration of underage children has always

been strong, but that it became more known in the public eye once the US entered into an

economic crisis, they thought that oh, there is too much migration" (Anthropologist, personal

communication, Interview 9, 2015).

This sense that "migration is not new" is also related to the history of indigenous groups

who make up the majority of the Guatemalan population. For instance, one participant explains

that:

Before colonization, people used to move around without borders.  Mayans used to travel

to the southern part of Mexico, they did it to trade and exchange, to exchange products

from warm and cold environments, and were treated like honored guests when they

arrived there, they were given a *posada*, everyone was welcomed, you did not need

"papers". (NGO actor, Interview 12, 2015)

However, the most dominant themes coming out of the data surround the fact that many

informants think Guatemala has too many problems as a country to be concerned with child

migration. This coincides with the data already presented on how the Guatemalan government

and society in general, does not place children and youth very high on their list of priorities. For

example, one participant says, "I honestly do not think that there is much interest, migration is

not a new issue for us, it's just that internally we have so many things to worry about that one more" [it does not matter] (Anthropologist, personal communication, Interview 9, 2015).

### NGO services in Guatemala

The service provision data from the interviews was divided into two parent codes: migrant services, and preventive migration efforts. This second category included organizations that do not work directly with migrants, but they do work with children on a variety of development initiatives, that would increase their opportunities in Guatemala, and thus decrease their likelihood of migrating unaccompanied. Based on the data retrieved from these questions, the child codes that were discovered under this theme include: education, mental and physical health, family support, basic needs, repatriation, youth empowerment and or participation, migration consciousness, NGO dependency, and child protection.

### Migrant services

The organizations that work directly in migrant services tend to focus on supplying basic necessities for migrants, well as repatriation services. As mentioned by one of the participants: "Foremost we aim to deliver the most basic provisions: food, housing, hygiene, and psychological, legal and communication assistance so that deportees are able to contact their family members and ask for help so that they can get to their destination" (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 13, 2015).

These organizations also bring into the discussion that Guatemala is a transit country, with migrants from other parts of the Northern Triangle passing through to get to Mexico or the United States, who also require assistance. One NGO in particular, focused specifically on policy and advocacy work, saying that they aim "to strengthen the safety net for the children by building alliances between public institutions, NGO's, churches, and the police in Guatemala"

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(NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 16, 2015). Other organizations interviewed that worked directly with migrants focused on sexual and gender based violence themes, as well as ensuring legal counsel to unaccompanied children in the United States.

**Preventive services**

The majority of the organizations interviewed did not work directly with migration issues, but instead aimed at an assortment of other development initiatives in order to improve quality of life, as well as opportunities for young people and families in Guatemala. They are divided in sub themes such as: education, mental and physical health, family support, basic needs, repatriation, youth empowerment and or participation, migration consciousness, NGO dependency, and child protection.

*Education*

Education was by far the leading priority in the majority of the organizations categorized under preventive services. This was followed by health and family support. It is important to keep in mind that one NGO in specific represents 50% of the sample, however, despite this imbalance, many of the other NGOs also had similar priorities. Education was often mentioned as a means for upward mobility and personal development, and as a factor that could be a deterrent to migration.  Education was also referenced in the context of unmet needs of the population, and the importance of services provided by NGOs particularly when the state has failed to provide access to essential services. Throughout the interviews there was also a lot of frustration expressed with the Guatemalan education system. One participant said for example:

They don't finish school because the education system rejects children that do not meet

their conditions. This is barbaric. Not everyone learns in the same way. So if there is no

educational reform in Guatemala, there will be deception in the schools, and therefore,

there will be no opportunities for work. (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview

11, 2015)

Research also shows that students in Guatemala tend to drop out of school during pre-adolescence and adolescence because they say "they do not want to study". An interview with a mayor of a small rural agricultural community confirms this, by explaining that:

Children of the community typically only have access to primary level education

from ages 6 to 12, and because of the extra cost, very few go on to study secondary

education in the nearby town, reachable by car in about a half an hour. Most children

he says, once they reach age 13, help their parents in the fields. (Mayor, personal

communication, June 5, 2015)

There was also some discussion with the mayor around rural families, and the idea that there are some parents and grandparents that don't send their children to school because they believe it makes them lazier. In relation to migration, several interviewees expressed that some youth feel that it's not worth it to complete their education in Guatemala because they are still unlikely to obtain a job, whereas if they migrate to the US they know they will get paid. One of the informants stated that children are told:

 Study, study, study, or don't study and go to the United States and you will have

money. But [many believe] why bother studying? If you're going to go to the United

States, and they are going to pay you 15 times more than what you could earn here.

It's something that the schools here facilitate… there are many children that don't

even finish sixth grade. And their dream is to leave for the United States at 12 or 13

years old. (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 11, 2015)

Thus, not all NGOs believe that the answer to keep children here in Guatemala is as simple as education. One of the organizations explains that:

Here, we give hope, and open up their eyes that leaving the country is not going to solve all of their problems. So here it may be more problems than there, but the organizations that organize themselves on the consequences of migration are few, very few. But people don't understand. Personally, I have spoken to friends that feel that there is no point in educating because they are not going to be able to find a job, they say they can find a job another way, without having to study. It's hard to get them to understand that doing something different is possible. It's difficult. (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 11, 2015)

In order to explore the connection between NGOs in sending countries and the US immigration "crisis", participants were asked if their programs changed at all in response to the surge of unaccompanied minors. One organization responded with "No, not exactly. We had a ton of donors who wanted to know exactly what was going on and why was this happening all of the sudden, so [ in response] we did a huge education effort" (NGO director, personal communication, Interview 6, 2015). This source also stated that:

Everyone was asking, "Oh what can we do to make sure these poor kids are helped?" Good reaction; good humanitarian reaction. Well in my mind, the best thing that you can do is to help support your kids, and find more people to support education in Guatemala because then we can keep them here and help them build a safer place. (NGO director, personal communication, Interview 6, 2015)

*Migration Consciousness*

While many of these NGOs do not work directly in the field of migration, they do claim that some of their clients have been indirectly affected by migration emotionally, through a friend or family member.

> [Here some of our clients] are affected emotionally, because they are their friends, people who they grew up with and they also sometimes think that [migration] is the best way to achieve their goals. But that's when we intervene. And so that's when we support them with all of our programs that we have here and we create a consciousness that it is not necessary to risk your life to go to another country and achieve goals, because the foundation is here to help them with that. (Social worker, personal communication, Interview 1, 2015)

This "migration consciousness" is an indirect service given to clients as a means of educating them on the risks of the journey, the effects on family members, as well as breaking down misconceptions about the "American dream", or false beliefs about lenient immigration policies in the US. For instance, one informant explains:

> We social workers have more direct contact with the families. So we let them know what could happen if they go to another country, so most of the time there is no need to involve them in another program. But if it is an extreme case our first support system is educational support. Then we do a follow up and the majority of the time we don't have anyone migrating. (Social worker, personal communication, Interview 2, 2015)

Another participant expresses that: "I have a lot of faith in the initiatives like this one, like NGOs, I have a lot of faith that they can create consciousness about other opportunities and

less risks than migrating" (Psychologist, personal communication, Interview 7, 2015).

Multiple sources also discussed how they used media sources to communicate information on the migration experience with their clients.

> We tell the families these stories, and we share with them the news so that they understand that its real, so they don't think it's so easy to leave. Because we don't want them to leave, we talk about it. We also have testimonies of people which helps us a lot with information about the trafficking of people. People who have suffered or their family member has suffered. So we support them. (Social worker, personal communication, Interview 3, 2015)

Another perspective offered by a different organization:

> We have had strategies that build consciousness that leaving, asking them why they leave, and that leaving has consequences, that they would be leaving their families behind and that they can work here as long as they are creative, but practically that has been one of our struggles, making the children realize that in their country they can do things, that they don't need to leave to do those things. And also realizing that money provides a lot of things, but there are plenty of things that are more important than money. We have achieved, I don't know if its 100% but, we have reduced the intention or the dream to leave for the United States. (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 10, 2015).

As the objective of some of these programs is that their clients graduate from high school, migration is viewed as a deterrent from their mission.

> Our goal is to graduate kids from high school with critical thinking skills, with give-back potential and capacity, and with the ability to help the community and have self-esteem. We have a whole set of affiliation policies, one of those policies allows for a positive discrimination for young girls. We don't have a gender based program, but

after a study from the University of Wisconsin we realized that our dropout rates for

girls were higher, and we decided to get more girls into the pipeline point of entry.

(NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 4, 2015)

While some organizations admit they do not work directly on migration themes, they often offer

various sources of support to deal with associated issues. One of our informants comments that:

"we don't have a specific program, the only thing we do related to the issue of child migration is

referring people to legal help. We also have some services to help teach the rights of the child,

and can refer them to additional services" (Psychologist, personal communication, Interview 5,

2015). Another participant states that:

No, we don't have a specific department for [migration], because it is not a theme or

a priority. Really, we don't have a space for this. We have themes in some of our

chats or workshops about migration. What we have achieved here is that many youth

have fallen in love with what we are doing here. They are invincible doing what they

are doing here. They can live, have money, make art, and live well. They live with

dignity" (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 11, 2015).

Guatemala's turbulent political past, may be blamed for why some NGOs interviewed preferred

to remain "under the radar" and avoid including any sort of political theme or stance in their

service provision. When asked what the organizations think the government should be doing

about child migrants, one NGO responded, "we in fact are very non- political, the organization

itself has stayed out of it. The entire reason we exist I wouldn't say is to keep [children from]

going to the US, but it is to help them live productive lives in this nation" (NGO director,

personal communication, Interview 6, 2015). Organizations work to attain this goal through a

variety of initiatives, one NGO in particular states that: "Our mission is to form children leaders

and to provide hope and opportunity in Guatemala to children, families and communities who desire to improve their lives" (Social worker, personal communication, Interview 3, 2015).

### *Child participation*

In order to understand how and if child participation is incorporated into the programs offered by the NGOs interviewed, participants were asked what the role children and youth are given in the planning of programs and decision making. Only one of the organizations had a participatory methodology as a principle component of their service provision. They explained that:

The youth help to plan the classes that the children are given. Depending on their abilities, they propose things. And we as directors, in terms of direction, we can't know what they are going to do, because what we are looking for is the artistic ability inside each person. And they go organizing and deciding what they are going to do. They propose things, so we work based on the propositions of all the youth mutually. The children, many of the activities that they are doing, the teacher has to listen to them. Because they come from a system that is very sad, so when they come here what they want is to liberate themselves. So the teacher much of the time is more like a guide, and the children go proposing and deciding what to do, in a community consciousness. The same youth who participated in the organization years earlier were now leading programs for younger children, and teaching formal classes. (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 11, 2015)

This same organization also relies on the children for the publicity of their programs. They explain how a child will tell his or her friend, or neighbour or someone they know on their street, or in their community "they say, listen in [this organization] they don't scold us. We are not

sitting for five hours, they give us food, they give us a friendly hug, we do theater etc. So it's the communication between the local children that creates the publicity that draws people to us" (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 11, 2015).

Another NGO describes how children are involved in organizing crafts and other social activities in order to keep other children hooked on coming (NGO actor, personal communication, Interview 8, 2015). However, what was most common was organizations stating that do not currently have participation initiatives incorporated in their programming, but they claim they would like to in the future. Many site budgetary obstacles, while others blame the history of civil war saying, that it is difficult to get children to participate due to societal constructs of fear of authority and a "culture of silence". This interview explains that ideologies left over from the civil war make it difficult to move forward. "So the kids are doing it, they express opinions—last month a vision team came in, and a kid just walked up to him, and started interviewing him, so it is happening. So that's a huge thing, a wall that's coming down. But it's still taking time" (NGO director, personal communication, Interview 6, 2015).

Thus throughout many interviews, there is an expression that NGOs are ready for a change, they are interested and see the value in child and youth participation. Despite the country's violent past, it is important to note that:

> There is a whole young generation that doesn't remember the war. That post-traumatic stress is real, it impacted us. But I think parents are more under that, and do not get the support they need. I think young people… might be a good thing for this country. (NGO director, personal communication, Interview 6, 2015).

In conclusion, these interviews shed light on the types of programs NGOs working with children in Guatemala tend to focus on in regards to social development. The data reveals

interesting themes that provide a much more detailed perspective into the causes and potential solutions to why unaccompanied minors are migrating, than what media sources are communicating to the public. Discussing these issues with professionals who work with children in vulnerable situations delivers a more holistic message very much tied to Guatemala's historic roots, and suggests that there is no "quick fix" to why children are leaving. Organizations claim to be doing the best that they can, given both financial and political constraints of trying to operate within a state that has demonstrated that they do not place a priority on children and youth.

**YouTube Content Analysis**

The data for this section is based on the codes formulated from the dominant themes of this research study. The data is presented in the order of the following codes: the US perspectives about immigration policy, humanitarian responsibility, border security, false rumours, child rights, and the overwhelmed immigration system; then, sending country perspectives included violence, poverty, and family reunification, as well as development programs; then lastly, codes related to conceptualizations of child migrants such as UACs interviewed, UACs empowered, UACs as a problem, and UACs as vulnerable or victimized.

*US perspectives*

As discussed in the methodology chapter a total of 50 YouTube videos were systematically reviewed and analyzed to extract themes relevant to those uncovered from the interviews and observations. However, an analysis of the findings indicates a very different set of data than was recovered from the interviews. Despite the fact that 44% of the videos were in Spanish and represented Latin American media sources, the overwhelming majority of the dialogue represented across all videos was focused on themes surrounding US immigration

policy, such as the debate between humanitarian responsibility and border security, otherwise

known as the "border battle". More specifically, out of all videos reviewed, 78% were dominated

by US perspectives divided into; 56% focusing on immigration policy, 34% on humanitarian

responsibility, and 28% on border security. With titles such as "Child migrant crisis: Texas

Governor calls in the National Guard to stop influx from Central America" (Tomo News US,

2014, July 22), and "America is not a dumping ground for illegal immigrant children" (You Hot

News, 2014, June 17), it is evident that US discourses on unaccompanied minors are more

concerned with politics, than with understanding the causes of the migration flow. This is further

demonstrated in the argument regarding "lenient" immigration policies being the pull for

unaccompanied minors to the United States, as it was by far the most common theme throughout

the videos. A deeper discussion into this argument in terms of the idea that "false rumours" on

such policies spread to Central American families, were discussed in 12% of videos. For

instance, a smuggler interviewed in a video entitled "The Hispanic Child Migrants: Desperate to

reach America" (Channel 4 News, 2015, April 30), stated that he deceitfully tells families and

children that, "if you're under 18 and have family in the US, you won't be deported; because

well, it's good for business". Another video called "Guatemalan children risking their lives to get

to the USA" (Sky News, 2014, July 10), discussed how a student took this message to his school,

and over half the class wanted to migrate to the US. The videos reviewed for this investigation

were rich with this kind of dialogue, indicating why US funds have been so heavily allocated to

disproving these rumours and tightening border security.

The other fierce debate that dominated the videos was in regards to humanitarian

responsibility towards unaccompanied minors once they reach the United States, which was

directly related to the US immigration system and issues of child rights. During the peak of the

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surge, a US border patrol official is quoted saying that, "we are struggling to deal with children humanely" (CNN, 2014, July 8). Child rights was a leading theme in 32% of all videos, with most discussions surrounding the treatment of children in detention centers, their right to an immigration hearing, as well as controversy around deportations, and access to legal counsel. For instance, a video by the Miami Herald (2014, July 13), states that immigration lawyers in Miami were seeing a minimum of 40 children per week, during the peak of the surge. Imagery in the majority of the videos focusing on child rights issues depicts crowds of children in warehouse-type facilities, sleeping on concrete floors, and wrapped in aluminum Red Cross blankets. Dominant criticisms reflect the conditions of these holding areas, and the fact that detaining children is highly controversial, and legally must only be a measure of last resort, for the shortest appropriate period of time.

Related to these issues, 32% of videos discussed how the immigration system was overwhelmed and unprepared for the number of children detained. Videos on this theme discussed how the border states of Texas and Arizona claimed they did not have the resources to handle all the children, and Arizona threatened to sue the federal government (ABC15 Arizona, 2014, June 10; Tomo News US, 2014, July 22).

The opposing side argues that the United States should in fact "close its' borders", with 18% of videos discussing how much money illegal immigration is costing the American taxpayer. In a video by Univison Noticias (2014, Oct 1), 71% of respondents indicated that they were opposed to unaccompanied minors from Central America having benefits in the USA. Videos such as "US immigration crisis as tens of thousands of children flee Central America" (Euronews, 2014, July 2), show images in California of American citizens protesting and blocking roads with buses filled with unaccompanied minors being moved to detention centers. It

was suggested in this video that "the US should halt foreign aid to Central America until they act to hold back the flow of migrants" (Euronews, 2014, July 2). Thus themes from a US perspective regarding immigration policy, humanitarian responsibility, border security, false rumours, child rights controversy and the immigration system being overwhelmed, were the most prominent themes across all YouTube media clips.

### *Sending country perspectives*

In contrast to the US perspectives discussed above, the dominant themes extracted from a sending country perspectives include: violence, poverty, family reunification, and social development programs. Out of the 50 videos reviewed, 22% offered an alternative view to the dominant US discourses, providing a focus on the sending country perspective. This number does not correspond with videos in Spanish, as 80% of these videos perpetuated US perspectives, versus 76% of English videos. For instance, in the video by CB 24 (2014, June 28), the need to respect children's rights is emphasized, by offering a critique of the Guatemalan government's response to the surge. It states that, "instead of worrying about deportations and migrants leaving, the government should be taking care of the needs of its population" (CB 24, 2014, June 28). The narrator argues that the Guatemalan government does nothing for its people, and that it is their responsibility to make sure people don't have to leave. This video offers a refreshing Central American focus to the issues affecting unaccompanied minors, missing from the majority of YouTube media narratives.

Other factors such as family reunification as a pull factor, for instance, were only dominant in 18% of the videos, and violence was displayed as the most evident push factor, as a main theme in 42% of the videos. Notably, none of the videos suggested solutions to the problem of violence despite it being considered one of the leading causes for migration.

In terms of videos on migration-centered development programming in sending countries, only 6% of all videos concentrated on this theme. This was equally divided and dispersed between programs that were funded by the US, programs that appeared to encourage youth empowerment, and programs designed to repatriate minors in their countries of origin. However, it is important to note that just because these programs were discussed in the videos, does not necessarily mean that they are sustainable.

In "Deported and Desperate for Hope in Guatemala" (Vice News, 2015, May 1), government training programs for deported children are the focus, discussing newly launched English, computer, tourism and jewellery-making classes. The initiative called "*Quedate*" (stay), began in 2014, and is funded by the Secretariat for Social Welfare of the Presidency. Also, in the PBS News Hour video (2014, October 9) "Can the US decrease child migration by sponsoring programs?" USAID funded community centers across the Northern Triangle are the focus, which offer computer literacy, sports and skills training. However, these programs are fiercely critiqued for their lack of long term funding and thus lack of sustainability, in addition to their placement in dangerous urban gang territories, where children often risk their lives to reach the centers. These programs are also faulted because they do not offer services for those associated with gangs, which is problematic, as many of these children and youth are in dire need of assistance and hope.

### *Conceptualizations of child migrants*

As the main focus of this study is to investigate conceptualizations of childhood and child migrants and how this relates to their participation in development projects, analyzing how unaccompanied minors were presented in YouTube videos, was a crucial part of this MRP. The main themes extracted under this code were the number of unaccompanied children (UACs)

interviewed, UACs empowered, UACs presented as a problem, and UACs presented as vulnerable or victimized. While assessing how children are presented in these videos is highly subjective, it can provide useful insights into dominant paradigms surrounding this population, in terms of the influence social media has on the average consumer, and the types of messages perpetuated through this form of communication.

Child migrants were interviewed about their experiences at least once in 26% of all videos, however this does not necessarily mean they were presented in an autonomous fashion, as in some cases these interviews were clearly edited to evoke sympathy from the audience and make the child appear more vulnerable.

In my assessment, unaccompanied minors were presented in an empowered manner in only 10% of the 50 videos. For example, in the video entitled, "Illegal Immigrants Face Dangerous Mexican/US Border" (Al Jazeera America, 2014, April 8), the focus of the video is on telling the story of a boy named Omar who passed away in the Arizona desert on route to reunite with his mother in the United States. While, the story is tragic, it is framed in a way that displays Omar with a sense of agency in his decision to migrate, calling his journey "courageous", and stating that he represents a new trend on the border, of minors making the autonomous decision to migrate. Another video by ABC15 Arizona (2014, June 10) states that: "the young ones want an education and the older ones want to make a living, knowing that the journey is difficult, and that they are willing to make it to get to the US, proves how badly they want better lives, and … they should be respected for that."

Unaccompanied minors from the Northern Triangle were presented as a "problem", in 26% of all videos, including videos from Latin American media sources. For example, in a video entitled, "Immigration Free for all at the Rio Grande" (Michigan Editor, 2014, July 23), the

narrator argues that "supporting unaccompanied minors would break the US financially, because they are poor, with little education, they don't speak English, and have few skills".  Children from the Northern Triangle were also depicted as "carriers of diseases" in a video by Univison Noticias (2014, August 26), where it is said they can bring contagious diseases like tuberculosis and parasites into the United States. These types of conceptualizations of child migrants are also related to depictions of children as 'vulnerable' or 'victims', apparent in 26% of all videos. This was assessed primarily through imagery, but also through the language used, which detracted from their individual agency. This was evident in numerous depictions of children helplessly fleeing violent situations in their countries of origin, in addition to clips from videos such as: *"Brindan apoyo legal a menores migrantes*" (Providing legal support for migrant children) (Univison Noticias, 2014, August 15). In this video, unaccompanied minors are depicted as voice-less and abandoned within an overloaded immigration system, as well as positioned as charity cases, desperately awaiting their turn to access a pro-bono lawyer to defend them.

It is also important to note that missing from the videos reviewed was a discussion, or even a recognition of, the ethnic diversity of unaccompanied minors from various countries in the Northern Triangle. Media representations of child migrants from this area of the world should not be presented as a homogenous group. In ignoring the diversity of migrants, the media not only paints an inaccurate picture of the phenomenon, but also creates a dangerous platform for which the distinct needs and experiences of indigenous children, who make up the majority of migrants from Guatemala, are not recognized thus becoming invisible in practice.

In summary, the imagery and narratives discussed in each video greatly represent the specific positionality of each publisher in deciding the content. As most of the videos were from news broadcasts they tended to show an exaggerated version of the surge, and presented it in a

way that promotes current government objectives on immigration policy etc. to support political reforms. Other videos that came from NGO publishers tended to have a more humanitarian or critical perspective, for instance in the video "Central American Conditions Force Migration", the narrator states that "the media tends to blow things out of proportion, when the real story should be what's happening in the Northern Triangle, why people are coming, and what the US can do to welcome them" (D, Gilman, video file, June 20, 2014). Other sources, such as PBS News represented a much more neutral position on the issue, in contrast with certain publishers who aggressively presented panic, and anti-immigration sentiments throughout their videos.

However, after analyzing all of the videos, the findings display a clear message that stands out:  There is a lot of media communication about where kids are going, but not as much about where they are coming from. This reflects similar concerns found in the literature review chapter where sending country perspectives on child rights are lacking in the dialogue.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

As the purpose of this MRP is to investigate how social constructions of childhood and migration inform the role that child participation plays in Guatemalan NGO programs, this chapter will discuss in detail the ways in which these concepts are interrelated, as well as the significance of these findings in regards to children's rights. By doing so, the challenges of children's participation in effective programmatic responses to child migration will be highlighted, creating a platform from which to work towards a future of a more empowered generation of Guatemalan children and youth, that can create sustainable alternatives to migration.

**Conceptualizations of childhood and migration**

Constructions of childhood and migration showed a diverse range of perspectives in the data, which varied depending on the positionality of the source. YouTube media narratives for example, had a tendency to portray unaccompanied minors as problematic, in terms of the stress they put on the immigration system, as well as a tendency to victimize them due to their age and immigration status. Conceptualizations of child migrants in this manner greatly contradicts a participatory framework, and highlights the role of adults in creating hierarchized perceptions of children as incompetent or lesser beings.

Constructions of children in this manner relate directly to the role of child participation in NGO programs in Guatemala in terms of how many programs, like media discourses, have a tendency to treat children in a patronizing way, by dictating what children need, without actually giving their opinions due weight in the discussion. For instance, during interviews with unaccompanied minors displayed in various YouTube videos, there was a clear adult-centric political motive to the testimonies that were strategically chosen to be presented. These motives

again varied based on the positionality of the source, but had a tendency to reflect an overrepresentation of content focused on US immigration policy and border security concerns, rather than social welfare. The problematization, victimization, and criminalization of unaccompanied minors across the majority of YouTube sources is highly concerning, as these forms of social media are a central means of accessing information for many people, in particular the younger generations. YouTube media has a great deal of power in influencing public opinion about current events, and it is distressing how clearly influenced these messages are by political agendas.

As children were not commonly presented in an autonomous or empowered manner, and there was little discussion regarding social development programs across the videos, it appears that the concept of child participation is not at all incorporated into social media discourses surrounding the migration influx. These videos also reflect government priorities in terms of the proposed solution to manage the flow of children, and demonstrate how social welfare of those in sending nations is not high on the list of their concerns. The data thus indicates a need for a change in the variety of information the public should have access to on social media, and stresses the need for more child-centered, and social development-centered video content.

Social constructions of childhood and migration gathered from the interviews reflect a similarly daunting discussion as presented in the YouTube content, displaying a lack of attention given to the distinct needs of children. The desensitization of children's suffering for instance was a major theme which reveals the lasting psycho-social effects of the civil war and the colonial period. This is coupled with how children's needs are glazed over in the media by political debates regarding national security.

A deeper look into children's rights is illuminated in the data regarding conceptualizations of childhood, socially constructed in response to Guatemala's turbulent history. For instance, major concerns for children's wellbeing such as the eradication of hope and lack of self-esteem, the culture of silence, and deeply rooted subservient expectations, in addition to the lack of opportunities, and spaces for children and youth, intersect to create a climate where it is evident that the distinct needs of children are not given priority.

These concerns communicate a much more complicated and in-depth array of societal push and pull factors that are missing from the discourse on child migration. The overall theme that has emerged across all sources is that there is no quick and easy solution to why children are leaving. This contrasts sharply with US media campaigns and border security initiatives that create merely temporary solutions, not likely to curb the need for undocumented migrants to make the journey.

The interviews also deliver a unique contribution to the discourse on child migration by incorporating indigeneity into the discussion. The Mayan perspective reveals a key message that stands out across the interviews: the complicated nature of the plurality of childhood. Collective ideologies of family obligation and responsibilities illustrate alternative conceptualizations of childhood, which create an additional dynamic when looking at the motives and experiences of unaccompanied minors. These notions of familial indebtedness or social obligation are viewed as a form of relationality and belonging, which binds migrant children and youth to a wider community (Heidbrink, 2014). From this perspective, migration can also be viewed as a "rite of passage" and a means of elevating one's status in some indigenous groups (Heidbrink, 2014, p.5), and this discussion is largely missing from the discourse. Also, "the fact that indigenous groups disproportionately experience poverty and displacement means that their migration is in

some ways more complex due to language barriers and the increased possibility that they will be deported" (Heidbrink, 2014, p.5). By ignoring the diversity of child migrants, the media not only paints an inaccurate picture of the phenomenon, but also creates a dangerous platform for which the distinct needs of indigenous children, who make up the majority of migrants from Guatemala, are simply not addressed. Indigeneity thus produces yet another series of dynamics within push and pull factors for Guatemalan child migrants, which must be taken into account when designing programs to meet their needs.

Other unique contributions to this discussion on the root causes of child migration are found in the stories of the interviewees regarding domestic violence, and how according to them, it seems to be one of the main factors that contributes to young girls' migration, including experience of abuse within the family, alcoholism and abandonment.

Constructions of migration also reveal a contrast between US dominated media discourses and Guatemalan NGO perspectives in terms of what constitutes a migration crisis. By incorporating the Guatemalan context into this discussion, migration of children to the United States was frequently viewed as "not new", and not a concern for the sending nation. Thus the panic and desperation depicted across YouTube media, appears to be very much constructed by the United States to meet certain political objectives. Clearly, the social, economic and political conditions in Guatemala have been at a crisis level for decades, and thus migration is seen as a means of relief or escape and not as problematic to most of the Guatemalans interviewed.

This relates directly to NGO programs on migration reduction in terms of the fact that despite the US hysteria, there are actually few programs directly working on this theme in Guatemala. Social development initiatives that promote education make up the majority of the

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programming, however, many sources noted that even with education, if there are no jobs there is no future for the next generation in Guatemala.

**Child participation in NGO programming**

In regards to the data collected on NGO programs and child participation, most organizations recognize the importance of involving children in more decision making positions within their programs, and claim to be doing the best that they can, given both the financial, and political constraints of trying to operate within a state that is dominated by social constructions that do not place a priority on children and youth. Although, local NGOs are beginning to work towards trying to "*concientizar*" the population, by raising consciousness about migration and child rights issues, it appears that in reference to the majority of organizations included in this investigation, it is far from being critical or participative. Thus, the overall level of implementation and enforcement of the participation rights of children and young people in Guatemala appears extremely low, and few organizations are dedicated to working on childhood issues (Yasunga, 2012; Save the Children Guatemala, 2014; SIDA, 2011). While investments towards social programs to promote and protect children's rights would be beneficial for Guatemala, as well as the United States (McKibben, 2015), an adult-centered or top-down approach which permeates Guatemalan society, continues to fail to meet the distinct needs of children and youth. Incorporating child participation in social programs could help to create sustainable solutions to the root causes of child migration in that they could develop child sensitive policies, as well as a country wide awareness of children's rights needed to "enable and empower children to demand their rights and to contribute to their own survival, protection, development and participation" (Yasunga, 2012, p. 6). However, given the data extracted through this investigation, incorporating children's voices into the dialogue must take

Guatemala's social, political and economic history into account, as well as its' diverse cultural landscape.

The findings relate to the research statement of this MRP in that they have demonstrated how social constructions of childhood and migration can create obstacles to incorporating child participation in social development programming in Guatemala. When looking at the reasons why child participation is not more commonly or openly practiced, the main themes uncovered from the interviews are complex and interwoven. Social constructions such as the culture of silence and subservience to authority figures, in addition to societal wide issues of intra-familial violence and lack of self-esteem, all conflict sharply with participatory methodologies. While these concerns reflect an urgent need for empowerment-centered development programs, it also becomes clear through the data, that these types of models may not be immediately applicable given the context of the country.

In conclusion, the data gathered from this research provides a perfect example of the difficulties associated with enforcing universal policies in countries that are still struggling to meet the basic survival needs of their population. Thus, although this paper originally argued that the implementation of development programs aimed at reducing the number of child migrants to the United States, must include the participation of children in decision-making, the data reveals that achieving this goal will likely be a slow and complex process. It will require the advocacy of rights-based approaches in order transform societal constructions which do not prioritize the distinct needs of children. Despite the fact there are many children in Guatemala who do not fit the typical North American idea of childhood, these "rights-based approaches remain highly relevant within the Guatemalan context of a weakly instituted democracy wrought with high inequalities, in order to strengthen civil society engagement, thereby fomenting democratic

culture and practices that are absolutely necessary if Guatemala is to overcome its root

problems" (Save the Children, 2014, p.24).

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes by arguing that while the obstacles to child participation discussed in detail in previous chapters are real, this does not mean that Guatemala cannot work towards the promotion and realization of child rights. In order to address this statement, chapter six will make suggestions for future investigations in child participation within this context.

The area of child rights has made improvements in Guatemala over the past decade such as the ratification of optional protocols regarding the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, and the involvement of children in armed conflict (SIDA, 2011). Although in practice, child rights are still predominantly being brought in 'through the back door' (SIDA, 2011, p.3), organizations like Save the Children Guatemala and the Alliance for Communitarian Youth Development (ADEJUC) "are promoting the rights of the child with citizen participation through programs such as 'Re-Writing the Future' and the 'Program for the Rights of Children', which aim to strengthen the Ministry of Education and to improve the quality of the educational system (SIDA, 2011, p.3).

Ideas for future research on this subject could work to assist the local partners in enhancing the visibility of child rights, as well as designing and producing participatory teaching materials for children and young people (SIDA, 2011). Also, a more thorough investigation of child participation practices in Guatemalan NGOs, as well as collecting children's testimonies regarding the issue and how it relates to child migration, would likely make a significant impact in uncovering new development strategies . It would also be interesting to evaluate some of the recent United States funded social programs geared at reducing child migration in terms of the role child participation plays in the programming. In addition to following up with children and youth resettled in the United States, in terms of their perceptions of their experiences once

established legally within US society. As there are many interviews with children regarding their migration experiences, it would also be valuable to conduct interviews with children about their opinions on ways to reduce the need to migrate, in terms of what kind of future Guatemalan children would like to inherit, and how to begin the process. It is important to note here that children were not included as research participants during this particular MRP because of certain IRB restrictions under the NAPA-OT field school program, in addition to its focus on NGO and migration professional perspectives. This was largely due to the fact that this was the first year the program began research in the area of child migration, and given the vulnerability and sensitivity of the issue, it was not deemed possible to include children's participation in the project. However in future research on this subject, the inclusion of children in the research process would be a very valuable addition as a way to move forward a gain new perspectives (Save the Children, 2014).

In conclusion, this MRP has shown how social constructions of childhood and migration intersect across class and ethnic barriers, and create obstacles for Guatemalan children and youth to be able to contribute to their society in meaningful and participatory ways. If the US and Guatemalan governments are committed to reducing the number of unaccompanied minors migrating across the US border, they will stop hiding behind immigration politics, and contribute to social development programs that address the needs of children and youth, as they themselves define them. There is a need in Guatemala to create a more empowered generation; one that may more willingly use Guatemala's democratic structure to challenge injustices, and change the fundamental structures in which Guatemalan inequalities are rooted (Save the Children, 2014). Despite the damages left over from their violent history, the best way to create change is by giving children's voices due weight in the dialogue, so that child-sensitive policies can be

generated, and children are given the possibility to break the cycle of poverty and injustice that

has consumed Guatemala for far too long.

APPENDIX A

NAPA-OT Child Migration Research Team Interview Instrument



NAPA-OT Field School,
NGO networks and child migration 2015

| Informed consent has been given: | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|
| If informed consent has not been obtained, the interview cannot be completed. | | |

1. Name of the organization:

2. Year founded:

3. Mission of the organization
    a. Objectives
    b. Population served
        i. Geographic region
        ii. Demographic group
            1. Socio-economic status of the population served
            2. Languages of the population served
            3. Gender and age
        iii. Numbers involved in programming
    c. Source(s) of funding
    d. Affiliations with (religious, governmental, and other national and or international groups).
4. Role of the interviewee in the organization
    a. Position/official title
    b. How long have you worked for this organization?
    c. What activities are you in charge of?

5. Describe the programs offered by your organization– for each one, note:
    a. Type of service, activity, or programs
    b. Number of participations or population that receives services
        i. The role of the children and youth in the planning of programs and decision making
    c. Number of persons or volunteers involved
        i. Change/ Permanency of staff (short and long term volunteers and staff)
        ii. Linguistic abilities of staff

6. Do you interact with other NGOs or other governmental agencies?
    a. For what purposes?
    b. How would you describe the interactions between these organizations in Guatemala?

7. What are the unmet needs of the population that receives services in your organization?
    a. Do you think that those needs are related to the causes of child migration?
    b. How so?

8. How much does child migration effect the population served in your organization?
    a. Does your organization have any specific services to address child migration?

For the interviewees of the organizations that work directly with migration, complete questions 9-10. For the others complete proceed to question 11.

9. How do your programs confront the issue of child migration?
    a. What have been the most influential strategies/programs on the theme of migration?
    b. Do you receive any governmental of international assistance for these programs?

10. Have you been contacted by the government or any international agencies in the last 12 months regarding the increase in child migration?

11. What do you think are the primary causes of child migration?
    a. What has influence these beliefs?
    b. How have these primary causes effected the ways in which your organization provides assistance to this population?
12. How do you think Guatemalans in general view child migration to the United States?

13. What specific aspects of Guatemalan society facilitate or prevent child migration?
    a. What Guatemalan laws or policies exist relevant to migration?
    b. Do you perceive a problem in general with the self-esteem of children in Guatemala?
14. What, if it exists, should the Guatemalan government or NGOs do about child migration that they are not currently doing?

15. Are there any other important players that you think we should talk to about child migration?

16. Is there anything else about child migration or NGO cooperation that you would like to tell us?

Thank you for your participation! Your organization will receive a copy of the report based on this study.

Agnes Scott College Informed Consent Form

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE

This research is intended to investigate Guatemalan perspectives on child migration. The NAPA-OT Field School research team, supervised by Agnes Scott College Professor Rachel Hall-Clifford, is attempting to learn more about Guatemalan attitudes and approaches to child migration to the United States.

This study will take place during the period of June 1-26, 2015. The researchers request your consent to be one of approximately 20 individuals interviewed regarding child migration and NGO/government services. If you agree, the researchers will interview you, take notes during the discussion, and make an audio recording of your conversation. Interviews will last approximately one hour.

There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this study.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to take part in the research. You are free to decline to answer any particular question you do not wish to answer for any reason. If you become uncomfortable with discussing any issues raised during the interview, you may end the interview at any time.

You will receive no direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, your responses may help us learn more about child migration and relevant services and policies.

The participants' identities will remain confidential, known only to the researchers.  All research notes and audio recordings will remain in the possession of the researchers and will not be shared with anyone. No names or identifying information will be included in any publications or presentations based on your responses.

If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or that your rights as a participant in research have not been honored during the course of this project, or you have any questions, concerns, or complaints that you wish to address to someone other than the investigator, you may contact the Agnes Scott College Institutional Review Board at 141 E. College Avenue, Decatur, GA, or email irb@agnesscott.edu.

By signing this consent form you agree that:

I understand the information provided to me above.  I also understand this study involves research and I may make inquiries concerning this procedure by contacting Dr. Rachel Hall-Clifford, Department of Anthropology and Public Health, Agnes Scott College, Atlanta, GA 30030 via rhallclifford@agnesscott.edu or by local Guatemalan phone at (+502)5522-2342.

I understand that neither Agnes Scott College nor the investigators have made provisions for payments of costs associated with any injury resulting from participation in this study, and that reports of injury should be made to the person above.

I understand that my participation in this study is completely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in this project at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I would otherwise be entitled.

I am 18 years of age or older.

I have read and understand the procedures involved in the research and hereby consent to participate in this study.


_____        _____        _____

Participant Signature                    Date                          Researcher Signature


I also consent to have my voice recorded for the purposes of this study, and I understand that my identity and all recordings will remain confidential.


_____        _____        _____

Participant Signature                    Date                          Researcher Signature

# APPENDIX C

## YouTube Content Analysis Chart

| Term Searched | Total Hits | Relevant links | Date | Source | Title | Views | Likes | Dislikes | Length |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central America child migration | 2,900 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 11-Jul-14 | Vox | America's child migrant crisis explained | 85,654 | 479 | 68 | 1:58 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 25-Jul-14 | Univision Noticias | Las pandillas causan temor en niños y jóvenes de Centroamérica | 57,508 | 99 | 28 | 7:36 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 01-May-15 | VICE News | VICE News Daily: Deported and Desperate for Hope in Guatemala | 45,306 | 843 | 12 | 0:34 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 20-Nov-14 | Vox | Obama's executive action on immigration, explained in 2 minutes | 33,418 | 336 | 43 | 2:11 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 30-Apr-15 | Channel 4 News | The Hispanic child migrants desperate to reach America | 1,142 | 9 | 10 | 8:11 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 12-Jul-14 | DAHBOO77 | Mexican Train Called "The Beast" Derails with 1,000 Illegals Riding On Top! | 32,675 | 329 | 41 | 2:02 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 29-Jun-14 | Abc News | Border Mayor on Immigration Crisis | 32,496 | 87 | 26 | 5:19 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 09-Oct-14 | PBS News Hour | Can U.S. decrease child migration by sponsoring programs? | 859 | 8 | 0 | 6:23 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 08-Apr-14 | Al Jazeera America | Illegal Immigrants Face Dangerous Mexican/US Border — One Story | 30,535 | 101 | 9 | 2:05 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 17-Jun-14 | You Hot News | America is not a dumping ground - HEATED Debate over Illegal immigrant children | 21,952 | 100 | 27 | 8:47 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 02-Aug-14 | ABC news | Mexico Border Crisis: Refugees Cross Rio Grande in Hopes of Being Caught | 21,810 | 119 | 28 | 4:07 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 11-Jun-14 | CNN | Surge in child immigrants crossing U.S.-Mexico border | 21,209 | 68 | 43 | 3:34 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 20-Jun-14 | PBS News Hour | Why so many migrant kids are coming to the U.S. alone | 13,840 | 49 | 11 | 9:19 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 30-Jul-14 | Jesuit Refugee Service/USA | Central American refugees flee violence | 9,702 | 93 | 5 | 3:54 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 22-Jul-14 | TomoNews US | Illegal immigrant children crossing Texas border 100% terrorists and cartel hitmen | 8,410 | 83 | 36 | 1:43 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 02-Jul-14 | euronews | US immigration crisis as tens of thousands of children flee Central American violence without... | 7,303 | 14 | 1 | 2:20 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 22-Jul-14 | TomoNews US | Child migrant crisis: Texas Governor calls in the National Guard to stop influx from Central America | 6,817 | 35 | 10 | 1:02 |
| Guatemala migrant children | 2,890 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 14-Jul-14 | Gabbee | The Child Immigration Crisis Explained | 5,935 | 29 | 10 | 3:02 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 10-Jul-14 | Sky News | Guatemalan Children Risking Their Lives To Get To US | 1,499 | 4 | 4 | 2:45 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 17-Jul-14 | Cadenetres Noticias | La bestia', la ruta de la migración / Migración 2014 | 5,557 | 8 | 1 | 4:31 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 23-Jul-14 | MichiganEditor | Immigration FREE-FOR-ALL at the Rio Grande | 5,363 | 44 | 5 | 5:38 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 06-Aug-14 | Yahoo News | U.S. Immigration Explained | 5,362 | 25 | 5 | 4:19 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 10-Jul-14 | CNN | Guatemalan immigrants surge north to the U.S. | 4,660 | 41 | 13 | 4:24 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 08-Jul-14 | CNN | Facts behind U.S. immigration crisis | 3,806 | 25 | 6 | 2:01 |
| Central America migration of adolescents | 50,900 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 20-Jun-14 | Dennis Gilman | Central American Conditions Force Migration | 2,937 | 26 | 1 | 8:00 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 22-Jan-15 | WOLA: Washington Office on | Mexican Migrant Children: Forgotten at the Border | 2,393 | 0 | 0 | 7:32 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 10-Jun-14 | ABC15 Arizona | Why are Central American children making journey to U.S.? | 2,081 | 10 | 1 | 1:48 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 10-Sep-14 | Catholic Relief Services | Unaccompanied Minors: Help Youth Thrive In Their Communities | 2,074 | 21 | 1 | 3:35 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 30-Jun-14 | Univision Noticias | ¿Qué está haciendo Guatemala para frenar la migración? | 2,057 | 8 | 6 | 4:33 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 15-Jul-14 | Sam Seder | What's Driving Central America Violence? | 1,941 | 48 | 7 | 5:23 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 26-Aug-14 | Univision Noticias | México mejorará la vigilancia en las líneas férreas y aumentará la velocidad de 'La Bestia' | 1,758 | 14 | 3 | 2:50 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 13-Jul-14 | Miami Herald | Children of the Americas | 1,584 | 7 | 0 | 8:38 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 21-Aug-14 | Univision Noticias | Niños repatriados a América Central han muerto por la violencia de la que huyeron | 1,542 | 9 | 0 | 2:42 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 24-Jun-14 | DW (Español) | Inmigración infantil a EE. UU. | 1,481 | 2 | 1 | 2:52 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 10-Jul-14 | CB 24 | Preocupación en Guatemala ante "niños migrantes" deportados desde EE UU | 1,384 | 2 | 0 | 1:49 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 25-Jul-14 | Otaf | OBAMA AMENAZA CON REPATRIAR NIÑOS MIGRANTES 25 JULIO 2014 GUATEMALA EL SALVADOR HO | 1,334.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 0.03 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 11-Apr-15 | NTN24 | Guatemala pide en la Cumbre de las Américas más inversión en Centroamérica para frenar migració | 1,283 | 5 | 3 | 9:51 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 28-Jul-14 | Univision Noticias | Los peligros que enfrentan los niños migrantes en México | 1,254 | 5 | 1 | 2:51:00 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 18-Aug-14 | UNFPA América Latina y el Ca | Migración, Desarrollo y Política | 1,172 | 11 | 2 | |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 12-Aug-14 | Univision Noticias | Crisis migratoria repleta los bolsillos de algunos | 1,095 | 4 | 1 | 1:25:00 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 15-Aug-14 | Univision Noticias | Brindan apoyo legal a menores migrantes | 1,043 | 7 | 1 | 2:41:00 |
| America central migracion de jovenes | 7,230 results | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 28-Jul-14 | Univision Noticias | Legisladores de México, América Central y el Caribe visitan ruta migratoria | 1,011 | 5 | 2 | |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 26-Jul-14 | Excélsior TV | Barack Obama reúne a presidentes de Guatemala y Honduras por tema de migración infantil | 990 | 4 | 0 | 3:26 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 26-Aug-14 | Univision Noticias | Centros comunitarios enfrentan problemas de niños migrantes llegando con enfermedades | 963 | 1 | 5 | |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 03-Apr-14 | teleSUR tv | Cambio climático en Guatemala ha provocado migración y desplazamiento | 897 | 3 | 0 | 2:21 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 28-Jul-14 | Univision Noticias | El gobernador de California viaja a México para tratar crisis en la frontera | 816 | 5 | 1 | 0:40:00 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 28-Jun-14 | CB 24 | Organizaciones en Guatemala piden respetar derechos humanos de niños migrantes | 802 | 2 | 0 | 2:25 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 27-Jun-14 | CB 24 | Guatemala: revelan proceso para que niños migrantes abandonen albergues | 795 | 1 | 0 | 2:15 |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 01-Oct-14 | Univision Noticias | Polémica por fondos para la asistencia legal de niños migrantes | 708 | 4 | 4 | |
| | | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=... | 08-Jun-14 | HispanTV | Deportaciones de EEUU causan "división familiar" | 585 | 5 | 1 | |

APPENDIX D

On Tue, May 12, 2015 at 2:50 PM, <rebchair@ryerson.ca> wrote: REB 2015-154
Project Title: Child Migration and Participation in Guatemala: An Analysis of NGO Prevention and Reintegration Programming

Dear Tamara Britton,

The Research Ethics Board has completed the review of your submission. Your project was approved by Agnes Scott College and your involvement in this project is secondary data analysis. Your research project is now approved for a one year period as of May 12, 2015.

Congratulations and best of luck with the project.

*Please note that this approval is for one year only and will expire on May 12 2015. Shortly before the expiry date a request to complete an annual report will be automatically sent to you. Completion of the annual report takes only a few minutes, enables the collection of information required by federal guidelines and when processed will allow the protocol to remain active for another year.*

Please note that REB approval policies require that you adhere strictly to the protocol as last reviewed by the REB. Any modifications must be approved by the Board before they are implemented. Adverse or unexpected events must be reported to the REB as soon as possible with an indication from the Principal Investigator as to how, in the view of the Principal Investigator, these events affect the continuation of the protocol.

Please quote your REB file number (REB 2015-154) on future correspondence.

If you have any questions regarding your submission or the review process, please do not hesitate to get in touch with the Research Ethics Board (contact information below).

No research involving humans shall begin without the prior approval of the Research Ethics Board.
This is part of the permanent record respecting or associated with a research ethics application submitted to Ryerson University.

Yours sincerely,

Lynn Lavallée, Ph.D.
Chair, Research Ethics Board
Associate Professor
Ryerson University EPH-200C
350 Victoria St., Toronto, ON
(416)979-5000 ext. 4791
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Toni Fletcher, MA
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NAPA-OT Ethics and Data Use Approval

Re:  Ryerson University REB Application of Tamara Britton

30 April 2015

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter is to certify that Tamara Britton will participate in the NAPA-OT Field School project entitled "NGO Networks and Guatemalan Perspectives on Child Migration:  Examining Perceptions of Root Causes" that will take place in June 2015.  This project has been approved by the Institutional Review Board of Agnes Scott College, which is my primary academic institution as Principle Investigator of the project.  Tamara will contribute to data collection and analysis as part of a faculty-led student team.

The data produced by this study will be owned by the field school and publication will be at the discretion of the field school directors.  However, I grant approval for Tamara to utilize this data (giving proper attribution to the field school group) and to conduct secondary analysis of her own in support of her Masters project at Ryerson University.

Sincerely,

Rachel Hall-Clifford, PhD, MPH, MSc

In-Country Director NAPA-OT Field School Guatemala

www.napaotguatemala.org

hall-clifford@napaotguatemala.org

Agnes Scott College IRB Approval



April 23, 2015

Rachel Hall-Clifford, PhD, MPH, MSc
Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Public Health
Agnes Scott College
Decatur, GA

Dear Dr. Rachel Hall-Clifford,

This letter is to inform you that your study, "NGO Networks and Perspectives on Child Migration: Examining Perceptions of Root Causes," has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at Agnes Scott College.

One year from now (April 23, 2016), please send an e-mail to our IRB (irb@agnesscott.edu) to inform us if the study remains ongoing and if there will be any changes to the research in the second year.

Sincerely,

Carrie M. Brown, PhD
Assistant Professor of Psychology, Chair of IRB
Agnes Scott College
Decatur, GA

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