

CHILD MIGRATION: THE RIGHTS TO FAMILY REUNIFICATION OF PERUVIAN CHILDREN IN CHILE¹

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RESUMEN

The aim of this article is to analyze the ways migrant Peruvian children in Santiago, Chile experience family reunification. The article considers the various ways in which the multi-national socio-juridical structure influences, and in a way, determines child participation in this process, given children as subjects of rights and social actors. In addition, this paper aims to contribute to the debate that currently exists around the development of a new “immigration policy” in Chile. Recently, the government of President Sebastian Piñera (2010-2014) presented a Preliminary Draft of an Immigration and Nationality Law to the Congress for discussion and modification. Several international legal instruments ratified by the Chilean state promote and guarantee the basic right of children to live with their families. Such is the case of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, due to the complexity of migration processes, sometimes this law is seriously violated due to migratory policies (either by restriction or omission), job insecurity conditions and housing of migrant families, and the decisions that the adults of the family groups that are generally made without the opinion of children. Migrant families inevitably undergo fragmentation, which affects relationships and generational ties. Often children do not have control of the events and decisions that will change their lives substantially.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to analyze the ways migrant Peruvian children in Santiago, Chile experience family reunification. The article considers the various ways in which the multinational socio-juridical structure influences, and in a way, determines child participation in this process, given children as subjects of rights and social actors. In addition, this paper aims to contribute to the debate that currently exists around the development of a new “immigration policy” in Chile. Recently, the government of President Sebastian Piñera (2010-2014) presented a Preliminary Draft of an Immigration and Nationality Law to the Congress for discussion and modification²

Several international legal instruments ratified by the Chilean state promote and guarantee the basic right of children to live with their families. Such is the case of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, due to the complexity of migration processes, sometimes this law is seriously violated due to migratory policies (either by restriction or omission), job insecurity conditions and housing of migrant families, and the decisions that the adults of the family groups that are generally made without the opinion of children. Migrant families inevitably undergo fragmentation, which affects relationships and generational ties. Often children do not have control of the events and decisions that will change their lives substantially.

In this sense, international legal norms are just trying to ensure the principle of the protection of the family life, especially for children that are most affected by separation due to migration. Specifically, the State of Chile has signed conventions that require facilitating the conditions for migrant families so they can meet the principle of protecting the family life of migrants in general, and migrants’ children in particular. This is an ethical demand emanating from multiple legal rules that converge on the paradigm of respect and guarantee of human rights by the State.

²The Draft Immigration Act was introduced on June 4, 2013 to the Chamber of Deputies (Source: Bulletin No. 8970-06, http://sil.senado.cl/cgi-bin/sil_proyectos.pl?8970-06, date accessed 19/06/2013).

The location near the border between Peru and Chile allows some flexibility in the planning of family reunification and even circular migration situations that are due to constant travel, arrivals and departures for the holidays and/or parties.

Since the legislation is unclear and does not specifically reference family reunification procedures, usually families organize and manage the arrival of children without prior formal request or appropriate visas. This situation affects the school admission process since they are often not prepared with the necessary documentation. However, the absence of family migration policies allow greater mobility for children, because it stipulates no large bureaucratic requirements and can be carried out more quickly, when compared to those contexts that require extensive and expensive procedure, as in the case of Spain (Pavez Soto, 2010a).

The information analyzed in this article comes from an analysis of national and international legal regulations in force in Chile that affect the exercise of children's rights regarding child migration and family reunification. It also presents information from the fieldwork of my doctoral thesis, which included participant observation and interviews with immigrant Peruvian families and social organizations (field work was carried out in the Collective Without Borders, whose members deeply appreciate your cooperation in this study). It also includes fieldwork completed in two public schools with high presence of foreign students in the city of Santiago (Republic Colombia School and Panama Republic School, both in the municipality of Santiago-Centro).

From this insertion we made 15 interviews to children and Peruvian families. All names have been changed to protect the confidentiality of the information collected and the right to privacy of children, as stipulated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The categorization and coding of the interviews was conducted with the computer program Atlas Ti through the technique of critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk 2003). The scope of this study is descriptive.

This paper is organized as follows: first it delivers elements of theoretical discussion to review the human rights approach in relation to migrant children and the family life, in light of the International Convention on the Protection of Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Subsequently, it details the legal framework by which we review both the current Foreign Act (remember that recently there has been a new Draft Law) and the Law on Protection of Refugees, always in relation to migration children as the right to family reunification. Then, it shows the context of migrant families in Chile. Third comes an analysis of results of interviews with migrant Peruvian children and, finally, some conclusions and recommendations.

2. THE RIGHT TO FAMILY LIFE OF MIGRANT CHILDREN FROM THE LEGAL REGULATIONS

The principle of protecting the family life of migrant children is contained in both the specific regulatory framework of the rights of children as well as in regard to people in immigration or refugee status from the point of view departure from their born countries, stay in countries of transit and entry to destination countries. Similarly, facilitating family reunification is an issue that will affect social integration processes that occur in destination countries once the families have already settled. This is because of the fact that children arrive in the destination country as part of a family migration project, implying that the family has organized school enrollment and daily life, for example considering changes of dwelling or develop appropriate district where the child lives. Moreover, from the point of view of reception context, the fact that children through family reunification migration processes could be contributing factors to facilitate legal regularization child and with this, the exercise of their rights. Also, considering the arrival of children in the context of family migration reflects the intent of these social groups to remain in the destination

country, at least for a while fairly long time, which necessarily requires some consideration- from the state and the host society, and from migrant communities themselves- of social mechanisms for integration and social cohesion. The following discusses some national and international legal instruments ratified by the Chilean state which explicitly protect the right of children to family life.

2.1 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families.

The Chilean government signed the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families on September 24, 1993, which was ratified on March 21, 2005 (Decree 84, June 8, 2005). Article 44 of the Convention requires States to adopt appropriate measures to ensure the protection of the families of workers and migrant workers, while paragraph 2 relates to facilitating the reunification of migrant workers and their spouses/ underage children.

For its part, the Committee for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, at its 15th session dated September 23, 2011, responded to the reports submitted by the State of Chile with some concerns pertaining to the rights of migrants, especially those related to family reunification. In section C, paragraph 8, the Committee demonstrates concern that the State of Chile says it is preparing a draft law on migration.³

In the following paragraph (9), the Committee suggests that the Law Project will be adopted in the near future, according to the Human Rights protection arising from this Convention. Furthermore, in paragraph 16, the Committee recommends that the State of Chile design and implement a national information system on migrants, containing information on migrant workers in Chile and whether they are in transit or immigrants. Even, the Committee recommends register information of people in an irregular situation or

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estimates based on statistical studies, due to the difficulty of obtaining data. Finally, in paragraph 17, the Committee suggests that these statistics are broken down by sex, age and type of work performed.

It is in paragraph 38, the Committee refers just to the right to family reunification, noting concerns about obstacles that migrants face in Chile to exercise their right to reunification, particularly due to the lack of a legal framework. In paragraph 39, the Committee recommends that the State of Chile incorporate the statutory provisions governing family reunification from the perspective of Human Rights under Article 44 of this Convention in the Immigration Bill currently being developed.

2.2 Convention on the Rights of the Child

In the Convention on the Rights of the Child, signed by the State of Chile on January 26, 1990 and ratified on August 13, 1990 (Decree 830, August 14, 1990, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Article 9 states expressly the State's obligation to ensure that children are not separated from their mothers or fathers, except in situations where such separation safeguards the interests of children.

Article 10 of the Convention refers explicitly to those cases where the family is separated by national borders. Separation resulting from migration can be considered one of these situations. Article 10 states that it is the duty of the State to guarantee the right of children and their parents to meet in their own country or another country, facilitating this administrative stipulation: "All applications by a child or his/her parents to enter a State Party or to leave it for the purpose of family reunification shall be dealt with by States Parties in a positive, humane and expeditious manner" (emphasis added).

2.3 Foreign Law

Although, as has been said, the present government has introduced a new Law Project on migrations. So far the body of law regulating international migration in the State of Chile,

known colloquially as the “Foreign Act,” was enacted in 1975 (Decree No. 1094), during the military dictatorship in the country. Obviously, due to the socio-historical context in which it was formed, the Act expressly does not commit the principle of family reunification.

This means that, in the past, when adult migrant and, especially, migrant children enter the country, they are not guaranteed the right to family reunification. Similarly, the granting of residence visas or imposition of immigration sanctions does not typically consider the right to family reunification, and often violates the rights of children to live with their immediate family as established in international conventions.

2.4 Refugee Protection Act

The April 15, 2010 the State of Chile enacted a new law that contains provisions on the protection of refugees (Law No. 20,430, 2010). In Article 9 of this Act enshrines the principle of family reunification for family members, among which are mentioned the daughters and sons in minority situation: “They are entitled to the recognition of refugee status as well as, by extension, the spouse of the refugee or person with whom they are bound by reason of coexistence, relation or legal guardianship”.

However, the same Article 9, paragraph 2, states that applications for family reunification shall be resolved in each case by the Secretary of the Interior: “The Secretary of the Interior shall review, in each case, family reunification applications, taking into account the existence of a genuine relationship of dependency, as well as the customs and social and cultural values of their countries of origin. “

As it is worded, the exercise of that right is subject to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, so the law should establish certain objective criteria for the approval of applications for family reunification of refugees. This would help to guarantee refugee rights.

Finally, in the same article 9, paragraph 3, the Act states

that family reunification applications can only be completed by the person who holds refugee status. This can lead to cases where a person's spouse who has obtained refugee status under the principle of family reunification can not, in turn, seek to exercise this right for any of their children who do not already have direct family ties with the original applicant (for example, in cases where the person had acted in the role of a parent but not obtained legal guardianship). This question contravenes Article 10 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, recently reviewed, which says that the state must provide all conditions for children to be reunited with their families in their countries of origin, transit or destination.

3. FAMILY REUNIFICATION OR CHILD MIGRATION? : TERRITORIES, GENDER AND AGE

The concept of family reunification contains a polysemy that needs to be argued. Usually when it happens the child migration from their origin countries to the destination is understood, from the laws and public policies of the context of reception, as a process of "reunification or family reunification." To Gaitan (2008), the concept of "family reunification" is defined by the perspective of the host society (ethnocentrism), because it is assumed that is where the family will meet again under a linear view of the migration process. This does not take into account previous experiences these subjects had in their own territories, as if migration "erases" the past. Clearly, the concept of family reunification re-creates a particular normative view of the family group, essentially expressed as a nuclear and patriarchal structure. It does not consider the arrangements and family structures of each territory or those created by the migration process itself (eg. in the case of transnational families).

On the other hand, Pavez Soto (2011a) discusses the concept of family reunification from the perspective of adult pioneered migration. As will be seen later, in the Peruvian migration to Chile women generally act as pioneers. Therefore,

it is an adult-migratory process in which children participate. With the aim of moving towards the adult perspective, Gaitan (2008) and Pavez Soto (2011a) propose to analyze family reunification as a global process involving the host society and viewpoint of adult migrants, as well as places of origin and migration experiences of children themselves. Therefore, we recommend the use of the term “child migration” to reflect on the process of mobility involving children as social actors in global migration.

From the legal point of view, child migration is also analyzed from the perspective of family reunification. Article 20 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child refers to the State’s responsibility to provide protection to children living without their families, either temporarily or permanently. It should be stressed that, generally, Latin American migration begins with the parents. Parents may migrate first to the destination country, leaving their children in the care of family members, traditionally to another women. The children often spend years separated from their mothers. When children migrate to Chile, they must enter through the formal legal regularization process. There is not a specific visa for children or less in family reunification, as there is in Spain and the European Union (Pavez Soto, 2010a, 2010b).

When these situations as female migration happen, in their origin territories, there is debate over domestic responsibilities of women and care and, therefore, potential family consequences that female migration cause. According to several studies (Salazar Parreñas, 2003:44; Pedone, 2006:155-157), in the territories of origin conservative discourses are installed in public opinion, blaming women for the social conflicts caused any female migration, asking urgently – either in an indirect way or sometimes directly-that mothers “return” to their homes, implying that they have “abandoned” their children. But, in these analyzes, it is said that men and fathers-that often are present in the territory of origin-try to assume family responsibilities and replace the domestic

role that women can fulfill from a distance. This allegedly causes problems with the use of drugs and alcohol or early pregnancy in children, or the demotivation in their studies caused by the money sent through remittances. Various institutions of the territories of origin, such as school or the media, indicate that the domestic relationships are most affected when women, rather than men, migrate, suggesting that family fragmentation is the woman's fault. Meanwhile, migrant women also echo these discourses and feel guilty for having abandoned their children as a result of international migration (Gregory, 1998:157,233; Gaitan, 2008).

4. SOCIAL CONTEXT OF MIGRANT FAMILIES IN CHILE: FROM FEMINIZATION TO CHILDHOOD

Large numbers of Peruvians began arriving in Santiago starting in early 1996, consisting mainly of young and adult women who send remittances to their families in Peru. But it was not until 2000 when migration flows began to steadily accelerate, a situation that continues to this day. Since 2004 gradually accelerate the process of family reunification by Peruvian women pioneers in migratory chains and networks to Chile (Soto Pavez 2010a).

It should be emphasized that because of the sexual division of the Chilean labor market, Peruvian women become the pioneers of migration, as there are more jobs available in the field of cleaning and care (of children, old age or nursing). These are tasks traditionally associated with social reproduction and therefore considered feminine. This situation creates a sexual and international division of labor, since Chilean middle class families hire the services of migrant women living in poverty or exclusion (Parella, 2005). These jobs associated with social reproduction are characterized by the vulnerability of the workers and their relative inability to exercise rights or citizenship. The working conditions of domestic work are therefore governed by domination and subservience rather than respect for labor rights. While in

Chile, the legal requirements of the contract of employment in such jobs regularization increases the number of visas-and are, to some extent, protected by informality or irregularity in any case is a precarious job that sometimes don't respond to their levels of preparation or professional titles (Stefoni, 2002, 2009).

To facilitate child migration and family reunification, it is necessary to provide suitable rental accommodation, financial means and available schooling in Chile. It is a process that generates high costs, and therefore not all Peruvian families are able to complete it. Reunification of Peruvian families in fact takes longer than other national groups (eg, those from Argentina) due to economic and legal difficulties imposed on parents. This explains the low presence in Chile (with respect to other groups and in proportion to the total number of Peruvian migrants in Chile) of children and people over 60- they typically remain in Peru. Usually grandmothers and grandfathers receive remittances from Chile and perform childcare assistance in Peru (Stefoni et al. 2008:13).

The long hours and the lack of a support network in the destination country hinder reunification of children with families. Parents and, especially, Peruvian mothers know that is difficult to reconcile childcare work with paid work without the support of their families. It has been observed (Loredo 2004:128) that once children come to Chile there is a possibility that they are without adult company when they come home from school and, therefore, in a situation of social vulnerability (Vasquez 2004; Stefoni et al. 2008).

The incorporation rates of minor immigrants in the Chilean school system include a number of requirements that sometimes are hard to achieve for some families due to lack of planning, money and time (as mentioned recently). To carry out the request of enrollment in any school (filing) or student visa application needs the necessary income and payment legalization of documents at home. However, this sometimes becomes a vicious circle, as the school requires to

children to have the start visa regular tuition, but right in the Peruvian Consulate in Chile request the Certificate of Regular Student school visa procedures (Vasquez, 2004). According to the 2005 enrollment, of a total of 3,779,459 students, 23,500 are foreigners and of these approximately 45% are undocumented (Mardones 2006:6, 29).

According to data submitted by the Jesuit Migrant Service (data extracted by the people served since May 5, 2001 to March 9, 2010), from a population of 4,980 people surveyed, of which the vast majority declares descendants (77.6%), 66.6% has left at least one daughter or son in the country of origin. Of this, 51.8% left their descendants in the origin country and 14.8% have them in Chile and in their born country.

Those migrants that have all their descendants present in Chile, whether through reunification or birth in Chile, represents a significant proportion (33.4%), but the group is largely dominated by people who have at least one daughter or son in their country of origin (66.6%). In addition, the number of daughters and sons who reside in Peru is higher for those living in Chile (average of 2.3 in the country compared to 1.7 in Chile) (REDMI, 2011).

Moreover, according to information provided by the President of the Association of Peruvian immigrants in Chile (information delivered in January 2011), in 2010 would have hardened the sanctions against criteria given to offenses or immigration offenses, especially expulsions and the criteria for admission of foreigners to Chile (REDMI, 2011). Typically, these decisions do not take into account the principle of family reunification. Moreover, in these proceedings, the child's best interests are not considered first, nor is the right of children to be heard and have a say in decisions that affect them (aspects set out in Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child). We hope that the new immigration law expressly enshrines these principles.

5. THE RIGHT TO FAMILY LIFE OF THE CHILDREN OF PERUVIAN MIGRANTS IN CHILE

Taking into consideration the multi-national socio-legal system, this section is an analysis of how this issue affects the exercise of the right to family life by migrant children in Chile. This reflects on the process of family reunification of Peruvian migrant children in Chile with their families, based on those interviewed in this study. The analysis is organized around two themes: first, it reflects on the motivations and ideas that children of Peruvians have their own migration to Chile, inescapably linked to the migration experience of the parents who were already here. Second, we analyze the various forms and the perception of Peruvian children about their ability to make decisions about the migration process, i.e. the extent to which they feel that their opinion was considered by the family group and the community.

5.1 Motivations for Peruvian children around their own Migration

In the fieldwork carried out by Collective without Borders with parents on child migration processes (family reunification), say that before the child arrival they seek for the information about their schools and the necessary documents for enrollment and subsequent regularization administrative. Another aspect that families have to negotiate refers to housing changes and changes in working hours, all with the aim of trying to reconcile childcare jobs. Sometimes families borrow money to finance the trip for children and accommodation expenses. Since many parents travel to Peru for the year-end holidays and the summer holidays (January-February) and then return to Chile, usually (but not always) the date of arrival of Peruvian children coincides with the beginning of the school year (March).

Some of the boys and girls interviewed had experienced migration processes between Peru and Chile in their first years of life. This is reflected in the case of Arturo, whose family, after his father immigrated to Chile, moved from Lima to Arequipa to be closer to him. The child states that

this move positively affects his family relationship with his mother, probably affected by the migration of his father:

When I was in Lima, I was 5 years old and then I went to Arequipa, because my uncles took me there to be closer to Chile, here. To be closer to my father, and I told him we're coming, then I told him we're coming. We went with my mom and my brother, and now, here I became better friends with my mom (Arturo 14, Santiago).

There are varied motivations and emotions that children experience about their own migration once their parents are already in Chile. In interviews we can see that the desire to know other places operates as a travel facilitator of children. In the next segment of the interview with Aurora- from Lima- is evidence the anxiety of the girl to know Chile, whose image had idealized presumably by the comments heard from his mother.

This is similar to the story is part of Kasumi, who openly admits that her mother sent her some ideas on Chilean society, even warned her about racism and of possible attacks. As pointed out by Fouron and Glick-Shiller (2002), transnational generations live permanently with ideas and imaginary destination, so, when migrating, the child has certain information about the destination:

Yes I wanted to come to Chile. I was worried because I wanted to know, wanted to know Chile, for that. I thought it was nice that, and I realized that the school was nice, everything was nice and Chile there I just realized. (Aurora 9, Santiago).

As my mother had been here, I said it was very nice, there were many plants everywhere, it was better. She said that people were different, some were going to be very racist, and others would have more understanding. (Kasumi 13, Santiago).

The transit of ideas, experiences and opinions on the destination is part of what Levitt (2001) calls the "social remittances" that parents transmit to their offspring through the transnational social field.

In the following excerpt from an interview with Rosario will show these "social remittances" in terms of the ideas

associated with the destination as a place with opportunities that should be seized (Solé, Parella and Cavalcanti 2007). Interestingly, his response when asked his opinion to when her mother announces to the whole family is going to emigrate to Chile- place where her father is. Despite her insecurities, she confesses her intrinsic motivation to travel to other countries and their desire to know more of the world.

In this same direction is the comment of Matthias who wanted just visit Chile on vacation, but must continue to live there for lack of administrative documents relevant to an immigrant child (I could not get out because it was on my card). Meanwhile, in Mia text points to a reflection that the girl made in full generational awareness (I started to think to that small age) on the implications of migration in her life projects. Similar conclusions are made by Gaitán (2008) in his study of Ecuadorian children in Madrid; child migration responds to a personal motivation for study opportunities and on the well being of emerging in Chile:

WHAT DID YOU THINK IN THAT MINUTE, WHEN SHE SAID THAT YOU WERE COMING TO CHILE?

I did not feel too bad because I wanted to know more of the world, more countries.

DID YOU WANT TO COME TO CHILE?

I was not so sure, but wanted to go ahead. (Rosario, 9, Santiago).

“I wanted to come to Chile for vacation, because I wanted to see the place. And then I could not get out, I couldn’t leave because of my ID, I don’t have an ID” (Matías,10, Santiago).

“The truth is that people told me that life was better here. Education was better. Then I got to thinking, I started thinking and I said if life is better there, heck, I have to take this opportunity to go. As for the economy, it is much better. In education, it is much better, because they give you options to choose your career and all that stuff. “(Mia, 14, Santiago).

Meanwhile, Estrella and Maria- who are twin sisters origi-

nating in Chimbote- interpret their own migration as a way to escape the situation of abuse they received from the people who were in charge of their care- that is, their grandmother and grandfather. Estrella says her brother also assaulted her. All this is exacerbated by physical distance from their mother. It is at this point that the story of Estrella and Maria agree: they desired to travel to Chile to be near their mother. The parent appears in this scene as a caregiver and attachment figure, coherent idea about what is expected of a “mother” from gender roles (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Parella 2005; Lamas 2007). This is linked to the feeling of guilt experienced by Peruvian mothers-that we have reviewed in the section on gender-and the eventual sense of abandonment felt by children, after separations from their mothers and the physical violence present in their families:

“I do, for my mom. Because in Peru I almost didn’t get used to with my grandparents, they were very bad. They didn’t hit me because I would not let them, I used to escape. But my dad worked at night [so] I was left there. Or my sister took me to school. Or my brother heavier grabbed me and kicked me. And one day my dad grabbed him up and hit him. To solve it, he hit him (laughs). (Estrella 12, Santiago).

“I did want to come, because I wanted to be with my mom. I wanted to be with her. But in that part she would come to me and I will go with my mom to Peru.

DID YOU WANT TO COME AND LOOK FOR HER?

Yes (laughs) and I was saying *I want to go back again*, because I had my mom “(Mary, 12 years, Santiago).

Generational violence experienced by girls in their places of origin may be considered as a cause of migration at the same analytical and empirical level that wielded by some women victims of gender violence. The part of the interview conducted with Ignacio from Trujillo, north of Lima, also points towards migration as a strategy to escape generational violence. Moreover, in his account the child recognizes a cer-

tain attitude of laziness on the part of his father when corporal punishment is used against him:

“Yeah, I wanted to come to Chile. I just wanted to know ... I was excited to come here, and no longer to be with my dad (...) he beat me because he liked it (...). They went for me in summer “(Ignacio 9, Santiago).

On other occasions, children wish to travel to the country where their parents reside because they feel homesick. Particularly in the case of Lucia, it is demonstrated that his motivation for travel to Chile is based on the feeling of missing his mother. But Lucia clearly states that this will imply a contradiction, because he knows that Chile will be far from his other loved ones (grandparents and aunt) and his childhood world of Peru, but which she may develop transnational links once installed in Chile:

“Because I missed my mother. And, if I came to Chile I missed my grandfather and my aunt and my doll and my clothes (...). My mom put the money, my mom put silver in Peru and my grandmother left me here in Chile “(Lucia, 9, Santiago).

Certainly, child migration means children will be separated from important aspects of their lives, such as friends, classmates and members of their extended family (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2003). This latter group includes grandmothers and distance caregivers, because children sometimes develop an important attachment bond while living away from their mothers and fathers (Pedone 2003, Solé, Parella and Cavalcanti 2007; Parella and Cavalcanti 2008). In the following account of Sofia, it can be seen that the girl feels ambivalence while traveling to Santiago and leaving her whole extended family in Peru:

No, I did not because I missed my family and would leave them there in Peru (...). I traveled with my brother, with my mom and me. Only three of us. And [when] we were already coming to Santiago, we were already in one part and my dad picked us up. And then we continued the trip with a car and came to Chile. (Sofia 9, Santiago).

The contradictions felt by children to their own migration are well summarized in the following quote from Alexia. This situation has also appeared in other accounts of the interviews conducted in Santiago and is probably due to the geographical proximity between Peru and Chile. It is also the result of an existing legal framework characterized by flexibility, allowing greater mobility of migrant families between both countries. The Alexia fragment allows understanding that children felt gains and losses involving migration, conclusions similar to those obtained by studies Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2003, 2008):

When I went there last year, they told me I was going to go on holiday over there [Chile]. Yes, I was. First I went with my dad and my mom, we were in the car, and everything. And then we come to Santiago and got to the room and everything. And then with my dad I went back to Peru ... and ... and then the year pass. And the other year, they told me we were going to go to Chile and I was going to study there and everything. One part of me wanted to go but the other one did not. The part that wanted it was because I could be with my mom and dad, and the part that did not want it was because I did not wanted to leave my family and my friends and everything. (Alexia 9, Santiago).

According to studies Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2003, 2008), the meanings of child migration for girls and boys can be varied depending on what are their travel motivations, expectations built around the site migration and immigration experience that is influenced by multiple factors. In this category we want to deepen analysis on what are the positive and negative aspects considered by children participating in this study. In tune with the motivations of migration, the stories of Andrea and Alexia bring forth the value of being reunited with their mothers and fathers, but shows how they suffer sorrow for the loss of the extended family and friendships that remain in Peru:

The good thing is that here is my entire family from my mom side. (Andrea 11, Santiago).

The good thing is that I am with all my family and everything. And the good thing is that I am with my mom and dad. And the bad thing is that I don't have my entire family and everything. So, I have my friends to have fun. In contrast, in Peru, there all we went out to play, when we called out everyone to play, we played all that. (Alexia 9, Santiago).

Meanwhile, Arturo, and to added value to the reunion with his parents considers that migration allows access to higher educational opportunities (availability of more scholarships) and labor. The fragment of Mia also values the experience of being in Chile (the life here is much better than over there) associated, where appropriate, the fact that we could accomplish establishing ties of friendship, but not hide the difficulties of integration and the respective Nostalgia to be far from where you were born:

The good thing is that you are with your parents... I mean how good advantage here also has, as they give more scholarships and more opportunities. I mean more opportunities to work. (Arthur 14, Santiago).

At first it was terrible because I could not find friends anywhere. After that I began to invite to the Collective. I went to join the group, I met more people. And now, I'm still not 100% adapted, but I'm adapted a bit, I adapted a bit. But I find that life here is better than there. Good thing I have friends who are nice, good vibes. The downside of being in Chile is that I miss too much, I really miss the place where I was born, friends, the places where my friends are, that's the bad thing about being here in Chile (...) difficult, very difficult, because upon arrival, adapt, try to adapt ... because it is not easy to reach and adjust right away, it costs too much, that [is] difficult. (Mia 14, Santiago).

3.2 Involvement of Peruvian children in deciding their own migration

In the following set of excerpts from the interviews conducted in Santiago, we found a way to manage *adultist* or adult-child travel by Peruvian families. According to Pedone (2010),

Gaitan (2008) and Pavez Soto (2011b), in these circumstances the child is treated as a passive object and receiver of adult decisions, being practically “dragged” by their families to places of destination. The texts of María, Francisco and Arturo talk about the journey to Chile being mandatory, regardless of the perception of the child. Although immigrant children in Chile say their families expressed their disagreement with the journey, which can be considered as an indicator of the first condition as subject, child-social action, that opinion is not considered by the other social actors, in this case their mothers, fathers, grandmothers, etc. -It would be the second condition to be considered subject is the recognition by society- (Gaitan, 2008):

“My mom said, we will force them. And we were forced to come [to Chile]. Because my mom had already bought everything and had no money for us “(Mary, 12 , Santiago).

“I did not want to come at first. Because of the friends I had in Peru. For my friends over there and no, I did not want to come. If I were on a bus, I thought I wanted to come back. Yes I wanted to come back; I did not want to come here to Chile.”

SO THEY FORCED YOU TO COME?

Yes and no... I thought also there [at the time] was Chile and, you know, in the capital city of Peru, I was thinking more that Peru was everything, I did not know (laughs). But I came alike, missing my friends. Because I had [a] all my friends there. Then coming here alone without friends, nothing, without knowing, I felt strange” (Francisco 16, Santiago).

“No, I didn’t want it. First, because I knew my dad was coming here as well. More or less I knew, because I had come here on holiday before. So I didn’t want to leave, but they said if you do not come here to Chile with whom you are staying in Peru? I said no, I’m staying with my uncles, my grandparents, I don’t know... I can work. I said then I can move on. And he said no, you can’t stay. Your grandfather can take care

of you one, two [or] three days and then he will leave you neglected. I did not want to come, but then they brought me by forced so then I had to get used to” (Arturo 14, Santiago).

For Rosemarie is shown that she does not participate in the decision of her own migration. Furthermore, it evokes the image of the bus trip from Peru to Chile, as the moment in which the girl expresses dissatisfaction with travel that links with women who take care of her in their home of origin and, according Dreby (2007, 2010), for precisely that reason are called “mom”. In the interviews with Sofia and Alexia shows that the infant travel decision was taken by adults:

“But when I boarded the bus began to kick for my mom Nancy, for my mother Ida, for everybody and I as I was young, I thought they were going to catch me and in the end they never reached me” (Rosemarie 10, Santiago).

“They said Sofía, we’re going to Chile, because we need to go, because your dad has to do some paperwork in Chile and then he will tell us when we have to come to do the same” (Sofia 9, Santiago).

“They told me we were going to go here to Chile and go to school there and everything” (Alexia 9, Santiago).

Child migration motivations involve both children as conditions to be carried out and adults, generally, impose that. For Ignacio, he tells us that his mother just asked about their motivations for travel, consulted regarding their behavior. This question the child understood as a precondition for coming to Chile (they asked me if I behaved well), to which he replies hesitantly, probably because it receives corporal punishment from his father. Physical child abuse is considered a penalty to certain attitudes that are deemed inappropriate by the adults that use this mechanism to “correct them”. Therefore, Ignacio sensed that from *adultist* vision, corporal punishment of his father can be seen by his mother as a response to child misbehavior and, ultimately, result in not traveling to Chile. This story reflects what Mayall (2002) calls the moral demands that fall on girls and boys permanently, even under

conditions of extreme vulnerability, as being a victim of generational violence but are not considered as “moral agents” able to make decisions:

“Yes, they asked me if I behaved well, I said yes, but ... this ... my dad, my dad hits me too much. We were like ten days there, in a ..., when I was six, and then I came here “(Ignacio, 9, Santiago).

Finally, in the following accounts of Andrea and Mia are observed practices a participatory exercise of power in the family, where girls feel that they can give their opinion about migration itself. My text clearly outlines what Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2003, 2008) call the child travel dilemma faced by girls and boys when they decide their own migration between rational opportunities offered by the destination (thinking I wanted because I knew I would have a better future) and loss of affective referents in origin (would not let feelings Peru):

“Yeah, my mom asked me if I wanted to come and I said yes. She traveled for me” (Andrea 11, Santiago).

“Then my mom told me that life was better, we were going to go well together and I told her and she asked if I wanted to come. I talked to my grandparents and they said the same that my mother had told me that life was better and I would have a better future, then I decided to come

DO YOU WANTED TO COME?

“No. So, on the outside, for a moment of reasoning, thought I wanted because I knew I would have a better future, but inside, inside, the feelings I didn’t want to leave Peru.

DID YOU NOT WANT TO LEAVE PERU?

“My family mainly because with it all the time I grew up, is hard to forget all the times we’ve had. Sure, she [my mother] went looking for me, she spent a week with me to fix my papers and all that and as to the following weeks brought me here “(Mia 14, Santiago).

CONCLUSIONS

For girls and boys, participants in this study, their own migration mean time to reconnect with family as well as the opportunity to travel and to study in Chile. But they also know that their migration involves thoroughly away from their extended family, their friends and all the people that maintain close ties in Peru. From this point of view, a first conclusion is related to the child migration implies a loss of sense of belonging. Likewise, although the fieldwork shows that children's motivations for migration itself are varied, predominantly an idealization of destination. The participation of girls and boys in contemporary Peruvian migration processes is shown complex, contradictory and it varies in each context.

Although girls and boys exercising their right to give their opinion on the journey itself, this view is not generally considered or thoughtful the family together. From this evidence we can conclude that this type of practice play treatment towards children as an "object" and not a "subject of rights".

In the current scenario, we face new challenges to promote and guarantee the rights of children involved in various ways in international migration processes. This implies a duty to ensure compliance with international treaties and conventions ratified by the countries of Latin America, especially Chile, as to ensure the effective exercise of the right to family life by children affected for international migration by their mothers, parents and / or guardians.

On the other hand, it is imperative to promote the creation of Migration Policy of the State of Chile-based and rights-based approach to manage fully the phenomenon of migration where children participate for reasons of family reunification, especially considering family migration between neighboring countries in the Southern Cone, and between Peru and Chile. This would facilitate the conditions for issuing visas, the exercise of the right to education and health,

among others. Specifically, a good measure would be the creation of family reunification visa for girls and boys who are under 18 years old and participate in international migration processes in Chile and Latin America.

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