

GABORIT, M., DUARTE, M., ORELLANA, C., BRIOSO, M. y AVELAR, D. (2016), *Atrapados en la tela de araña – La migración irregular de niñas y niños salvadoreños hacia los Estados Unidos*, Talleres Gráficos UCA, UCA.

Which are the dynamics that attract or discourage a minor to migrate? Which are the aspirations of these potential migrating minors? How are the rights and citizenship of Salvadorian minors configured when they migrate unaccompanied in the irregular way towards United States? Which are the psychosocial effects on these minors?

These are all complex and demanding questions that the authors of this book have asked themselves and look answers on. Their research is based on empirical evidence (based on interviews and survey data from potential migrants and from deported minors) and theoretical models which treat a current issue that is becoming more urgent for each day. The migration flows of unaccompanied children are expected to be even higher in the future, but raised administrative actions of children's rights protection have not been reflected of these events. The book covers the pre-migration process, migratory process and after deportation. They describe the different actors

engaged, impact of violence, gender differences, violations of children's right, psychosocial impacts on the minors, dehumanization in the prison like environments and the absence of an integrated and humanitarian vision of the government of El Salvador.

The introductory chapter written by Mauricio Gaborit deals with the many different aspects of irregular migration. The question of identity becomes important in relation to this form of migration, since it is going to affect the future decisions regarding if and how to migrate. The importance of social identity, a belonging to a community and prospects of family reunion contributes to a child's decision to migrate. Gaborit describes the variety of actor's contribution to this process of decision making – the role of coyotes, parents and other caretakers. Gaborit also discusses the dangers and risks that arises with being caught and brought to detention centres and thus affects the minors lack of trust for the institutions keeping them. He also brings to attention the many violations of human rights in these institutions, which lack flexibility and become strict administrate and bureaucratic environments. The courts and the juridical systems are examples that do not distinguish between the adult migrants and

the minor migrants, which often are in a much more vulnerable situation than the adults. Gaborit criticises the data for being insufficient, not being aware of repeatedly tries of migrant minors, nor of the causes. He concludes that the future beholds greater flows and more dangerous routes. Finally, he explains the causes of the minors migrations, which three main factors are (a) the hope of family reunification, (b) better living standards (away from poverty, inequality and social exclusion) and lastly (c) to escape violence (threats from gang members, gender and domestic violence).

The second chapter, written by Mario Z. Duarte and Dilsia Avelar, centres around the different power relations during the migrations process and how, through their social practices, form the rights of the children, adding empirical evidence based on interviews with the minors. The authors describe the involuntary migration of the minor, the choices that were not up to them, the forced migration due to macrosocial, transnational, economic, cultural, societal and family reasons. In each of these meetings with authorities, such as the relation to family adults, threats of violence from gang members, institutional officials and traffickers, there are power dynamics where the minor is situated in a vulnerable position. This leads to a lack of control for the minor, but it also contributes to manipulation and abuse. The authors describe the complexity of the journey, and in the many ways the minors are vulnerable and

exposed to, for example, trafficking and abandonment. This leads to different migration processes due to different circumstances of the minors. The violations of children's rights in the migration process are caused by institutions following strict juridical processes and actions through the lenses of control and security, thus neglecting the international conventions of children's rights. The rigid institutional system with bureaucratic processes and abuses from authorities leads to even greater danger for the minors, and affecting the minors and their families in widespread negative ways.

The purpose of the third chapter, written by Carlos I. Orellana, was to analyse the main reasons why minors decide to migrate irregularly and who the potential migrants are. Orellana found that the personal causes for deciding to migrate is multi casual (due to conflicts, exclusion, violence, low salaries, etcetera). He explains that it is of great importance to underline that the subjective dimension of the migration is complex and multidimensional character. Another vital aspect of the decision to migrate was due to the migrant network. Orellana described this as a socialisation process where the minor is affected by those who have emigrated before them or have tried to migrate. He bring up the concept of cognitive consistence, where the migrants go through with their migration by convincing themselves that nothing bad will happen to specifically them. Other important elements

were the “special adults”, those travelling with the minors, gender (the presence of a “macho culture” where the boy/man is the provider and protector and hence should be the one to migrate), planning the trip beforehand that made it easier to take a decision, family reasons and escaping violence. The author concludes that these new insights are part of complex subjective and objective migration processes that can be useful tools for further research and explanations within this area.

In the fourth chapter, written by Larissa Brioso and Mercedes Rodríguez, the authors centre on the psychosocial effects on the minor migrant in the migration processes, with special emphasis on the minors that have experience of the transition in Mexico and their shelters. The quality of life in El Salvador is a key reason to the irregular migration of minors, even though this means exposure of great risks and vulnerability, including a more dangerous route every day where the minors fear their lives and without getting their rights acknowledged. The question asked to the minors is not whether they want to migrate or not, but if they want to be reunited with their families. The minor is exposed to more danger without the company of a familiar adult and the younger the child, the more intense are the presence of negative feelings and depression. These feelings are altered by the fact that once the minors are in the prison like environment in Mexico, they are not informed of their rights. The longer they are

kept there before being deported, the greater are the feelings of guilt, shame, insufficiency, depression tendencies or the tendency “to feel nothing”. The authors conclude the investigation by describing that the minors, once deported, are afraid to expose their lives at risk again, however, the investment done by their family to get them to the U.S, adding the threats of violence in El Salvador, makes the minors try the route again as soon as they are returned.

The researchers have addressed their main ideas very well throughout the text and taken on various views to understand the phenomenon of irregular minor migration. They have tested various variables to see how they affect the minor migration, but always with focus on the minor’s experiences. The pre-migratory, migratory and deportation process is always seen from the view that analyses the consequences for the children. Their work has been presented in a parsimonious way and they have covered the issue with wide research, different explanatory models and empirical data. Another positive element of the book is how it combines theory with surveys and interviews with migrant minors/potential migrants, which can positively contribute to a more humanitarian administration of the government of El Salvador and/or other fields working with strengthening the rights of minors regarding irregular migration. The purpose of this research was not to create concrete solutions, however, the authors presented various dilemmas and creates a good

starting point for further research.

The authors also discussed gender, with special emphasis on the macho culture and how it contributes to boys migrating in a larger scale. The main themes of this book was not to discuss gender, but the book inspires to more in-depth research on gender differences regarding why girls and women migrate and their migration process, since women in general are in a more vulnerable situation.

Finally, it is possible to say that the researchers did a well-done work on including variation of minor migrants, such as gender and different ages. The book inspires to more in-depth research of various minor migrant processes, for example of those who have been exposed to different types of forced labour. The authors have incorporated many aspects in the book, but it would be interesting to analyse further in more methodological and larger research.

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BERGANZA SETIÉN, I. (2016), *Ciudadanía migrante. Rutas, costos y dinámicas de los flujos mixtos en tránsito por Perú*, Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya-Encuentros, Servicio Jesuita de la Solidaridad, Lima, 208 pp.

Licenciada en Derecho y en Sociología, la doctora Berganza es actualmente directora de la Escuela Profesional de Derecho de la Uni-

versidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, en Lima (Perú). Este es su tercer libro dedicado a las migraciones en Perú, tras los dos publicados en 2011, sobre la frontera con Chile (junto a Mauricio Cerna) y sobre la zona norte del país (con Judith Purizaga).

En esta ocasión, el texto se centra en los flujos mixtos en tránsito por Perú. Ya en la elección del tema encontramos uno de los principales aciertos y aportaciones del libro, pues se trata de una cuestión relevante, poco conocida y emergente. En el diseño y desarrollo de la investigación han participado dos entidades jesuitas, la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya y Encuentros-Servicio Jesuita de la Solidaridad, mostrando así un nuevo y fecundo ejemplo de colaboración entre universidades y centros sociales jesuitas (que, además, ha contado con el apoyo de Entreculturas, ONG jesuita).

La propia autora define el objetivo de la investigación con estas palabras: “analizar de manera exploratoria los procesos migratorios de movilidad de los flujos mixtos de personas migrantes en tránsito por el territorio peruano para realizar propuestas de políticas públicas” (p. 17). Además de este foco de estudio, quiero destacar dos matices relevantes. Uno, que se trata de una investigación exploratoria, lo cual es lógico, ya que se trata de un campo apenas estudiado hasta ahora. Dos, que el proyecto tiene una orientación propositiva en el terreno de la incidencia política, más en concreto, de cara al diseño de políticas públicas. Esta parte se presenta en el apartado final de conclusiones