



# Unaccompanied Migrant Children in Chile: State of the Art

Pavez-Soto I<sup>1\*</sup>, Ortiz-Lopez JE<sup>2</sup>, Alfaro-Contreras C<sup>3</sup>, Acuña V<sup>4</sup>, Dufraix I<sup>5</sup>, Salinas SG<sup>5</sup>, Poblete D<sup>6</sup> and Jaldín J<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Center for Inter cultural Global Health (CESGI), Universidad del Desarrollo, Chile

<sup>2</sup>Faculty of Education, School of Early Childhood Education, University of the Americas, Chile

<sup>3</sup>Faculty of Health, School of Medical Tecnology, Universidad Santo Tomas, Chile

<sup>4</sup>Department of Social Sciences, University Santo Tomas. Chile

<sup>5</sup>Department of Social Sciences, University of Tarapaca, Chile

<sup>6</sup>Center for the Mainstreaming of Gender in R & D & I & e, Autonomous University of Chile

## Review Article

Volume 6 Issue 2

Received Date: October 05, 2023

Published Date: November 03, 2023

DOI: 10.23880/aeoj-16000220

**\*Corresponding author:** Iskra Pavez-Soto, Center for Inter cultural Global Health (CESGI), Universidad del Desarrollo, Chile, Tel: +56225785591; Email: iskrapaz@gmail.com

## Abstract

This article aims to provide an up-to-date overview of the situation regarding unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents in the Latin American region, focusing on Chile. This intricate and evolving phenomenon encompasses adolescents who have experienced precarious circumstances and rights violations, resulting in a diverse and complex group. Previously documented primarily at the borders of the Global North, this study examines the case of Chile, where, between 2018 and 2021, there was a notable increase in the entry of unaccompanied children and adolescents through unauthorized crossings. These individuals migrate either alone or in unconventional groups, such as migrant caravans, youth collectives, or even with pets. The article presents data regarding the context of their arrival, explores relevant theoretical and conceptual foundations concerning unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents and their agency, and concludes with a critical analysis of the actions taken by the state in response to this situation.

**Keywords:** Childhood; Youth; Unaccompanied Foreign Minors; Immigration; Human Rights; Chile

## Introduction

Since the 1990s, Chile has emerged as a recipient country for migratory flows driven by a complex interplay of social, economic, political, and territorial factors. According to estimates from the Department of Foreigners and Migration [1], Chile is currently home to approximately one and a half million foreigners, with 20% of children and young people aged 0 to 19.

Findings from the National Socioeconomic Characterization survey in 2017 revealed that the migrant

population in Chile often grapples with multidimensional poverty. Recent years have witnessed an increase in the population living in *tomas* or informal settlements and overcrowded conditions, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic [2]. Discrimination is pervasive, evident in the higher cost of rents, substandard living conditions, and confinement to marginalized neighborhoods and territories. Furthermore, migrants in Chile face the pernicious specter of racial discrimination [3].

In 2015, the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) [4] recommended that the Chilean government implement

measures to ensure the social inclusion of the migrant population, with a particular emphasis on promoting the rights of migrant children. These measures encompass administrative regularization, streamlining the refugee application process, and collecting updated statistics.

Chile has ratified several international treaties that bolster the protection of migrant children, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Notably, in April 2021, Chile enacted Migration Law No. 21.325 [5], which came into effect in February 2022, representing an update to legislation that had remained unchanged for four decades. Additionally, in 2021, the implementation of Child Care Service Law No. 21.302 Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública [6], took place, followed by the enactment of Children's Rights Guarantee Law No. 21,410 in March 2022 [7]. These legal developments, along with establishing a protocol for the protection of unaccompanied and separated children and adolescents in the context of migration and international protection, reflect a concerted effort to enhance the comprehensive protection of unaccompanied children and adolescents.

Research on migrant children and the various forms of violence affecting them in Chile has illuminated various challenges. These challenges involve discrimination, bullying, physical and psychological abuse, and precarious living conditions [8]. Migrant children and youth, often arriving in Chile through family migration projects involving their mothers, fathers, and legal guardians, continue to be born into the country [9]. Despite being an emerging area of study, migration is marginalized in public discourse, perpetuating conditions of precariousness and rights violations due to a lack of genuine public attention [10].

Historically, typical migratory patterns in Chile have seen few cases of entry through unauthorized crossings. However, due to the new migration law, which mandates consular visas and border closures in response to the pandemic, there has been a discernible rise in situations involving unaccompanied children and adolescents migrating. This trend mirrors the experiences of countries with well-established migration traditions. Chile's ongoing economic growth continues to make it an attractive destination for intra-regional migration. Nevertheless, the social unrest that erupted in October 2019, driven by longstanding and newly articulated social demands left unaddressed by the prevailing economic model in Chile Pérez-Cardozo & Rodríguez [11], has played a significant role in redefining and reshaping migration flows. Considering these evolving circumstances, this study seeks to explore the

phenomenon of unaccompanied children and adolescents in migration.

### Unaccompanied Young Migrants Embarking on Solo Journeys

In autonomous migratory processes, children and adolescents often bear the pejorative acronym MENAS, "Menores Extranjeros No Acompañados" (Unaccompanied Foreign Minors in English). These young individuals frequently carry labels and stigmas, portraying them as street children living in an irregular status, presumed to take advantage of the host country's social services [12]. This unique situation places them in a dual condition: as minors and as migrants in irregular circumstances, fostering ambivalence in the understanding of unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents [13]. Striking a balance between the child's best interests and migration control presents significant challenges, leading to critical knots and contradictions in policy actions [14].

This group faces discrimination and racism due to negative stereotypes perpetuated by the media and state institutions [15]. Similar biases arise when foreign individuals, particularly from impoverished nations, fail to comply with host countries administrative regulations on residence and work permits. These individuals are often called illegal or undocumented, creating a criminalizing stereotype that suggests illegality while generating a social alarm. Activist groups have countered such prejudices with campaigns emphasizing that "No person is illegal" asserting that actions may be deemed illegal, but individuals themselves cannot be against the law [16].

The United Nations defines unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents in General Comment N° 6 on the Rights of the Child [4] as "children who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so" (p. 5). Kauhanen and Kaukko [17] further elaborate, referring to these individuals as unaccompanied children and adolescents or unaccompanied refugee minors (UMs or URM), signifying young individuals seeking asylum as minors without parental or caregiver support. According to Kauhanen and Kaukko [17], this category comprises children and adolescents awaiting asylum decisions, those granted residence permits, or those with refugee status. This association with refugee status highlights the phenomenon's discursive framing within the host countries institutional procedures.

To provide an up-to-date overview of the situation in the Global North, we aim to elucidate the tensions between the structural conditions of reception and the

associated challenges in nations with a history of receiving unaccompanied children and adolescents. We also intend to explore the impact of these conditions on their daily lives. While asylum applications from children and adolescents are rare in Latin America, the pandemic and political upheaval in the region has begun to shine a spotlight on this border phenomenon [13].

### Amplifying Autonomy

Our bibliographic search is grounded in a sociological concept of childhood and adolescence [18,19]. We recognize these life stages as socially constructed phenomena, subject to historical and cultural variability, yet maintaining a permanent categorization even as new members join their ranks. While contemporary society typically views children and adolescents as the responsibility of their parents, with the family serving as the ideal environment for their growth and protection, it is essential to acknowledge the inherent power dynamics stemming from age. Given their physical and economic dependence on caregivers, these dynamics can create situations of disadvantage and subordination for young individuals [20].

Adolescents exhibit unique characteristics. They possess specific physical and cognitive competencies that enable greater agency and a heightened ability to question the adult world. Moreover, this generational perspective helps us understand how societal phenomena, such as the pandemic, influence age cohorts. We are currently witnessing an epochal shift that will indubitably define this generation, often referred to as *pandemics*. Within this context, it becomes pertinent to explore how accompanied migrant children and adolescents exercise their agency. As posited by James and Prout [21], these young individuals are indeed social actors, expressing their agency within contexts that both constrain and facilitate their actions.

The exercise of agency by migrant children and adolescents is subject to limitations imposed by their biopsychosocial development and the power dynamics at play. This restriction is reflected in the principle of 'progressive autonomy' as articulated in Article No. 5 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which delineates the boundaries within which their rights may be exercised. Given their often-subordinate position, their capacity for agency is developed within a framework of minority action, which can sometimes be socially devalued—a classic characteristic of social minorities [22].

This study suggests that migrant children and adolescents cultivate their agency throughout their autonomous migratory journeys. Concurrently, we seek to explore their potential for active discourse engagement, allowing space

for them to articulate their views, ideas, and emotions. This agency-focused approach aligns with the concept of child protagonism [23]. It regards children and adolescents as social actors capable of effecting meaningful, historically significant social actions, thereby shaping the social world.

Watters [24] assert that agency should be considered a pivotal factor when making decisions concerning the care of unaccompanied children and adolescents in host societies. Young individuals often envision and aspire to new lives in their host countries, driven by objectives they set for themselves prior to arrival. Their capacity to imagine and plan for a better future motivates them to leave familiar surroundings for the unknown [24]. Eide and Hjern [25] emphasize that recognizing agency as a central factor in studies involving unaccompanied children and adolescents reflects an epistemology of care. This perspective highlights the intergenerational relationships, the involvement of significant individuals in these young lives, and the acknowledgment of their immediate context as elements that significantly influence their experiences. Context, time, and place are crucial factors that determine the extent of protection available to these young migrants [26].

However, including specific groups or categories from the protection scope marginalizes children and adolescents. Therefore, any responsibility for safeguarding responsibility should acknowledge each group's unique needs [26].

### (Un)accompanied Children in Various Territories

Our bibliographic search has exposed significant insights across regions where unaccompanied and accompanied migrant children and adolescents have been observed. Below, we present key findings, pertinent figures, living conditions, and institutional responses in these territories.

**European Union:** The European Union (EU) has long been a primary destination for child and adolescent asylum seekers. Consequently, the EU mandates its member states to uphold the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Best Interests of the Child policy (European Council Directive 2013/33/EU) when receiving unaccompanied children and adolescents. However, these standards have not been uniformly implemented, with some member states either inadequately applying them or outright denying their applicability [27]. A 2009 inquiry by the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights examined reception practices in 12 member states, recommending the placement of children with adult relatives or foster families from the same cultural background and advocating semi-autonomous care for older children under specialized social worker supervision [28]. Notably, many of these children and adolescents hail from

conflict-ridden or severely impoverished places, such as Africa and Asia.

**The Spanish Context:** In Spain, a significant proportion of these adolescents and young individuals, primarily boys from Morocco and other African nations, embark on autonomous migration journeys, often accompanied by similarly aged friends. They maintain autonomous migratory goals but typically enjoy support from their families and communities [29]. Their status as pioneers in the migration project reflects a desire for swift employment opportunities rather than engagement with the state's protection network. This form of unaccompanied, autonomous migration elucidates various social consequences within contemporary childhood and adolescence [30]. It also underscores certain shortcomings in Spanish legislation, where the migrant situation sometimes supersedes the exercise of rights and participation, leading to measures that violate and harm these young individuals [31].

**The Norwegian Perspective:** In Norway, care for unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents is administered by organizations or foster families. A key point of contention within the system lies in the responsibility of caregivers to monitor and manage critical aspects impacting these young lives, particularly in the context of professional care institutions [32]. Norway, along with several European countries like the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Sweden, regulates child and youth care under general child welfare legislation. This implies that unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents enjoy certain care rights. For example, in Norway, the Child Welfare Act guarantees care under identical conditions as Norwegian children for those who are 15 years of age or younger upon arrival in the country [33]. After surpassing this age threshold, adolescents are typically directed to care centers. It is crucial to note that access to some rights, such as medical benefits, may be restricted while awaiting residence permits [17]. Despite these challenges, unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents attest to experiencing stable living conditions and the ability to maintain social relationships reminiscent of family dynamics [17,25]. They also value social and educational support [33], along with being heard and recognized as unique individuals [34].

**Canada's Approach:** In Canada, the arrival of unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents typically falls under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). These young individuals may be refugees, refugee claimants, or individuals who have been granted temporary or permanent residence status, often as Convention refugees. Notably, Canada upholds the child's best interests as a primary consideration in immigration decisions concerning unaccompanied children and adolescents, as stipulated in Article 3(1) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Upon arrival, unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents receive care and support from the Canadian government. They are granted access to

social services, education, and health care under the same terms as Canadian citizens and permanent residents. In collaboration with non-governmental organizations and community agencies, the Canadian government ensures the provision of psychosocial support to address their unique needs. These services include counseling, therapy, and other forms of assistance to help them cope with the trauma and challenges they may have experienced during their migration journey.

**Mexico - United States Border:** In North America, particularly the United States, nearly 40% of new refugees comprise unaccompanied children and adolescents [35]. Mexico and Central America primarily contribute to this growing group of migrants, with Moctezuma-Longeira [36] estimating that, between October 2009 and July 2018, 203,079 unaccompanied children from Central America and 121,951 from Mexico were apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border. Despite this, empirical evidence on this phenomenon remains scarce [37]. Some Mexican-origin adolescents venture to cross the U.S. border autonomously, albeit with their families' consent. These families typically consist of migrant workers, predominantly mothers, who financially support the planned journey [38].

Studies conducted in the United States illuminate the correlation between migration and trauma, highlighting the heightened risks faced by these children and adolescents compared to other migrants. They are more susceptible to developing clinical conditions such as post-traumatic stress disorder and depression [39]. Franco [39] identifies two types of influential factors in autonomous migration: 'push' factors-such as war, persecution, and poverty-and 'pull factors rooted in destination countries, often revolving around family reunification. These studies underscore tensions in reception and placement policies for children and adolescents with disrupted migration projects, leading to challenges in ensuring their welfare and best interests.

**South America:** The phenomenon of unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents is relatively new in South America and has notably surged due to the political and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela. For instance, between 2015 and 2019, an estimated 25,000 unaccompanied children and adolescents departed from Venezuela, with approximately 20,000 settling in Colombia alone [40]. These young migrants, typically aged 12 to 17, embark on their journeys by foot, often in the company of friends or adult acquaintances. This group exhibits a pronounced male majority but includes girls and adolescents, some of whom are pregnant. A study Observatorio Venezolano de Migración [40] suggests that 70% of these young individuals migrate to reunite with their parents or escape situations of social, domestic, or gender-based violence. During their journeys, they encounter numerous risks, including harassment and threats from armed groups or criminal gangs operating



in border regions near unauthorized crossings known as *trochas*.

Their intended destinations include Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Panama, and the United States, with human rights organizations such as Human Rights Watch and UNICEF [41] reporting concerning conditions in the border areas of Brazil. In response to this crisis, Latin American countries have implemented action protocols and administrative procedures, often involving institutional residence systems and foster families.

**The Chilean Scenario:** Chile has a sizable population of migrant children and adolescents, with an estimated 300,000 migrants [1]. However, within the school system, approximately 192,045 migrant students make up enrollment, primarily concentrated in public education (57%) and subsidized private education (38%) across only four regions of the country [42]. The predominant countries of origin include Venezuela (26.9%), Haiti (18.2%), Peru (16.1%), Colombia (15.1%), and Bolivia (14.2%).

Due to the pandemic's border closures and the introduction of consular visas under new migration laws, unauthorized crossings saw a significant surge between 2018 and 2021, with 56,586 unauthorized entries in 2021 alone [43]. Remarkably, there has been an increase in the number of children (1,938 in 2020) and adolescents (5,983 in 2021, of which 5,130 were Venezuelan nationals) entering Chile 'illegally' with their families. Additionally, there are instances of unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents who entered Chile in the company of non-family adults, often with the expectation of reuniting with their parents already residing in the country. These young migrants often face unique challenges due to the vulnerabilities associated with migration and their age.

The Chilean government has adopted various measures, such as the development of a National Migration Policy and the creation of the National Childhood and Adolescence Service (Servicio Nacional de la Niñez y la Adolescencia, SENAME). Nevertheless, some challenges persist, including the implementation of effective integration policies, access to quality education, and protection against child labor. The establishment of the Comprehensive Support Centers for Children and Adolescents (Centros de Apoyo Integral para la Niñez y Adolescencia, CAINA) represents a significant effort to provide care and assistance to unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents.

## Conclusion

This comprehensive examination of accompanied and unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents across various regions underscores the complexities

and multifaceted challenges they face in their migration journeys and adaptation processes. It not only emphasizes but underscores the critical importance of recognizing, valuing, and empowering their agency, best interests, and protection needs within the broader and ever-evolving context of international migration. It is paramount, now more than ever, those governments, policymakers, and a myriad of governmental and non-governmental organizations collaborate effectively, dedicating considerable resources, time, and expertise to develop and implement comprehensive, rights-based policies and interventions that proactively prioritize and safeguard the well-being, dignity, and fundamental rights of these exceptionally resilient and vulnerable young individuals.

It is well understood that public policies adopted at both the national and local levels inevitably wield significant influence and wield considerable power in shaping the processes of social inclusion. This concept of social inclusion, rightly so, is underscored as the active and equitable exercise of rights that is on par with the native groups within the host societies [42]. Stefoni's insightful perspective [43] posits that the treatment and reception of migrants in Chile are inextricably linked to the prevailing conceptualization of the migrant subject within the framework of national policies and the intricate web of services designed to address their unique needs. Consequently, whether overtly or covertly, implicitly, or explicitly, migration policies and actions become powerful tools of influence that employ narratives, symbols, and rhetoric to define, construct, and reconstruct social meanings, often perpetuating dialectic of inclusion and exclusion.

In this complex, rapidly changing landscape, adopting and adhering to a rights-based approach becomes not only prudent but indispensable for a comprehensive understanding of the migratory experiences of unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents. This approach, which places human rights at the core, allows for a nuanced, in-depth analysis of the institutional responses provided by the Chilean state in addressing this multifaceted and dynamic phenomenon. It also helps us to discern, with precision, the myriad axes and categories of inequality, vulnerability, and strength that intersect and interact to shape the lived experiences of these young individuals.

It is critical to recognize and appreciate that, in a rush to provide immediate solutions to the emergent challenges posed by unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents, states and governmental bodies often resort to habitual, well-established solutions. These solutions, borne out of past practices and experiences, may not necessarily be optimally adapted to meet the complex and evolving needs of this specific population. This lack of alignment can inadvertently

lead to unintended consequences that not only impact the individuals themselves but potentially exacerbate and perpetuate the responses that are intended to mitigate.

Presently, it is unmistakably evident that within our nation, there exists a significant void where a clear, specialized public policy aimed at effectively addressing the phenomenon of unaccompanied children and adolescents should reside. On the contrary, what is observed is a regrettably weak and somewhat outdated institutional response that has been criticized for its lack of timely adaptation to the rapidly changing dynamics of the phenomenon. In many ways, this response remains deficient in crucial intercultural approaches that are in accordance with recognized human rights standards.

Significantly, it is worth noting that Chile's child and adolescent protection system currently stands at a crossroads, facing a profound crisis and the pressing need for comprehensive reform, as highlighted by the Defensoría de la Niñez [44]. Consequently, interventions and policy measures have been largely driven by a nationalist logic, reflecting a tendency to apply pre-existing templates to address new and emerging challenges. However, this approach may not necessarily capture the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon as it unfolds in real-time, as exemplified by the recent incident reported by Chilevisión [45]. This report documented the escape of a dozen unaccompanied migrant adolescents of Venezuelan origin from the premises of the National Service for Minors (SENAME), including a young pregnant girl. Unfortunately, the status and trajectory of this specific case remain uncertain.

It is worth underscoring that on that occasion, Judge Troncoso Poder Judicial [46] shrewdly recognized and acknowledged the inherent precariousness of the Chilean institutional system, which was ill-prepared to respond effectively to the rapidly evolving realities and dynamics of unaccompanied migration by children and adolescents. Therefore, it becomes increasingly evident that urgent and comprehensive efforts are required to not only update but to revamp and reorient public policies and institutional instruments to address the ever-evolving situation, all while remaining firmly rooted in a rights-based framework [47].

The recommendations set forth by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees serve as a critical guidepost in this endeavor, emphasizing the imperative need to design and implement priority protection mechanisms explicitly tailored for this unique and vulnerable group. Additionally, these mechanisms should prioritize non-custodial assistance measures that account for the distinctive needs and circumstances of unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents. Numerous empirical studies Observatorio

Venezolano de Migración, OVM, [39] have consistently highlighted and documented significant challenges associated with administrative regularization, stemming mainly from a lack of requisite identity documents or necessary endorsements and stamps. These challenges are compounded by barriers to accessing essential social rights, including but not limited to education, health, and adequate housing.

In closing, it is our sincere hope and expectation that the Chilean State will approach this multifaceted phenomenon with the necessary foresight, determination, and unwavering commitment to safeguard the fundamental rights and dignified treatment of unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents, in alignment with both national and international human rights principles and standards.

**Funding:** This article presents preliminary results of the FONDECYT Regular Project N° 1221337, funded by the National Agency for Research and Development (ANID) of the Government of Chile.

## References

1. Departamento de Extranjería y Migración (2021) Estadísticas migratorias.
2. Zenteno-Torres E, Muñoz-Salazar P, Rosso-Ávila B (2022) Urbanización subalterna en tiempos de pandemia. Asentamientos informales en Chile. *Bitácora Urbano Territorial* 32(2): 267-280.
3. Pavez-Soto I (2018) Violence against migrant children in Santiago de Chile: Resistances, agency and actors. *Revista Migraciones Internacionales* 9(4): 155-186.
4. Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (2005) Treatment of unaccompanied and separated children outside their country of origin.
5. Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública (2021) Migration and Alien Law 21.325. This regulation replaces that contained in Decree Law 1094 of 1975, which will be repealed as of its entry into force. *Official Gazette* 43: 177.
6. Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública (2021) Law 21.302. National Service for the Specialized Protection of Children and Adolescents. *Official Gazette* 43: 407.
7. Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública (2022) *Law 21.430*. By which the statute of guarantee and integral protection of the rights of children and adolescents is created. *Diario Oficial* 43: 203.
8. Tijoux ME, Riveros J (2019) Cuerpos inmigrantes

- ideales. El racismo y la educación en la construcción de la identidad. *Estudios Pedagógicos* 45(3): 397-405.
9. Pavez-Soto I, Galaz C (2018) Daughters and sons of migrants in Chile: rights from a social inclusion perspective. *Diálogo Andino* 57: 73-86.
  10. Pavez-Soto I, Colomé S (2018) Human rights and migration policy. Arbitrary discrimination in border control in Chile. *Polis Revista Latinoamericana* 17(51): 113-136.
  11. Pérez CG, Rodríguez JA (2022) Social outburst: new or old agendas of the social movement? *Bitácora Urbano Territorial* 32(3): 7-13.
  12. Ramos C (2021) Reality of unaccompanied foreign minors in Spain and their social intervention [Social Work degree thesis, Universidad Nacional de Colombia]. Institutional repository.
  13. Machín M (2022) Subjects of rights or objects of control? The process of government intervention with unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents in Cadiz (Spain) and Tapachula (Mexico). *Migraciones* 54: 1-19.
  14. Quiroga V, Venceslao M, Chagas E, Lapadula MC (2023) Participatory evaluation in an integration project with unaccompanied migrant youth. A bid for social transformation. *Migraciones. Publication of the Instituto Universitario De Estudios Sobre Migraciones* (57): 1-20.
  15. Jiménez M, Trujillo M (2020) Autonomously migrating foreign children, adolescents and youth. Between agency, mobilities and borders. *Arxiu Détnografia de Catalunya* 20: 183-204.
  16. Pavez-Soto I (2011) Child migration: generational and gender ruptures. Peruvian girls in Barcelona and Santiago de Chile [doctoral dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona]. Institutional repository.
  17. Kauhanen I, Kaukko M (2020) Recognition in the lives of unaccompanied children and youth: A review of the key European literature. *Child & Family Social Work* 25(4): 875-883.
  18. Jenks C (2005) *Childhood*. Routledge.
  19. Grupo de Sociología de la Infancia y Adolescencia (Sociology of Childhood and Adolescence Group) (2021) CRC and Sociology of Childhood.
  20. Lansdown G (2005) The evolving capacities of the child.
  21. James A, Prout A (2010) Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood. *Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*.
  22. Mayall B (2009) *Towards Sociology for Childhood. Thinking from children's lives*. University Press-McGraw-Hill Education.
  23. Instituto de Formación para Educadores de Jóvenes, Adolescentes y Niños Trabajadores de América Latina y el Caribe (Training Institute for Educators of Youth, Adolescents and Working Children of Latin America and the Caribbean) (2005) *Childhood and Adolescence in Latin America. Aportes desde la Sociología*.
  24. Watters' C (2008) Los niños refugiados. Hacia el próximo horizonte.
  25. Eide K, Hjern A (2013) Niños refugiados no acompañados - vulnerabilidad y agencia. *Acta Pediátrica* 102(7): 666-668.
  26. Goodwin-Gill GS (1995) Unaccompanied refugee minors. The role and place of international law in the pursuit of durable solutions. *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 3(3-4): 405-416.
  27. UNICEF (2018) *Protegidos sobre el papel? Un análisis de las respuestas de los países nórdicos a los niños solicitantes de asilo*. Informe de investigación Innocenti.
  28. Van Holen F, Trogh L, Carlier E, Gypen L, Vanderfaeillie J (2020) Unaccompanied refugee minors and foster care: a narrative literature review. *Child and Family Social Work* 25(3): 506-514.
  29. Suárez L (2006) a new migratory actor: young people, routes and transnational rites. In: Checa F, et al. (Eds.), *Minors behind the border*, Editorial Icaria, pp: 67-100.
  30. Rodríguez A, Gimeno C (2018) *Migrations of unaccompanied youth and adolescents. An international look*. University of Granada.
  31. Inostroza C (2023) The right of participation of unaccompanied children and adolescents. *Revista IUS* 17(52): 6-16.
  32. Omland GB, Andenas A, Sveaass N (2020) Discuss it with your legal guardian: Challenges in practising care for young unaccompanied refugee minors. *Child & Family Social Work* 26(3): 1-9.
  33. Pastoor LDW (2017) Reconceptualising refugee education: Exploring the diverse learning contexts of unaccompanied young refugees upon resettlement. *Intercultural Education* 28(2): 143-164.

34. Kaukko M, Wernesjö U (2017) Belonging and participation in liminality: Unaccompanied children in Finland and Sweden. *Childhood* 24(1): 7-20.
35. Sullivan AL, Simonson GR (2016) A systematic review of school-based social-emotional interventions for refugee and war-traumatized youth. *Review of Educational Research* 86(2): 503-530.
36. Moctezuma-Longoria M (2019) Immigrant minors violated by the U.S. government. Public policy atrocities and omissions. *Papeles de Población* 24(98): 133-156.
37. Pierce S (2015) Unaccompanied child migrants in U.S. communities, immigration courts, and schools. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
38. Alvarez S, Glockner V (2018) Migrant children and adolescents and producers of space. Una aproximación a las dinámicas del corredor migratorio extendido Región Andina, Centroamérica, México y U.S. *Entre-Diversidades* 11: 37-70.
39. Franco D (2018) Trauma sin fronteras: La Necesidad de Intervenciones Escolares en el Tratamiento de Menores Refugiados No Acompañados. *Revista de Trabajo Social con Niños y Adolescentes* 35: 551-565.
40. Observatorio Venezolano de Migración (Venezuelan Migration Observatory) (2021) Participation of children and adolescents in the Venezuelan migration process. Exploratory analysis based on the ENCOVI 2019/2020.
41. UNICEF (2005) Observación General N° 6 Trato de los menores no acompañados y separados de su familia fuera de su país de origen.
42. Servicio Jesuita Migrante (Jesuit Migrant Service) (2022) Migration in Chile: Learnings and challenges for the coming years. Balance of human mobility in Chile 2018-2022.
43. Subirats J (2010) Citizenship and Social Inclusion. Esplai Foundation.
44. Stefoni C (2011) Migration law and policy in Chile. Ambivalence in the understanding of the migrant. In Feldman-Bianco; Rivera, L.; Stefoni, C. and Villa, Marta (ed.). *The social construction of the migrant subject in Latin America: Practices, representations, and categories* (7--109). Creaimagen.
45. Defensoría de la Niñez (2020) Annual Report 2020. Human rights of children and adolescents in Chile.
46. Chilevisión (2021) 30 children and young people entering Chile alone.
47. Poder Judicial (2021) Interview with Judge María Olga Troncoso.

