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Education on the Move: Informal Learnings of Honduran Child Migrants In-Transit

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

by

Maxie Gluckman

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2021

The Dissertation of Maxie Gluckman is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

University of California San Diego

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

2011	Bachelor of Arts, University of California Los Angeles
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PUBLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Education on the Move: Informal Learnings of Honduran Child Migrants In-Transit

by

Maxie Gluckman

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California San Diego, 2021

Professor Megan Hopkins, Chair

Scholars have called attention to the complex implications of migration on children's well-being, identity (Panting, 2016), and academic aspirations and success (e.g. Abrego, 2014). Migration and education scholarship, however, has continued to prioritize adult-centric perspectives, depicting children as "baggage" rather than actors and agents in their own right (Orellana et al., 2001). As a result, children's voices have often

been silenced and marginalized in research (Pain, 2004; Yeoh & Lam, 2006). Children's voices afford opportunities to reveal new and valuable perspectives on human nature and migration (Yarwood & Tyrrell, 2012) and support the production of more relevant and responsive research and pedagogies (Vecchio et al., 2017). Given the increasing numbers of minors in-transit within the Central America-U.S. nexus and their growing presence in schools, migrant shelters, and other spaces, the relative absence of children's voices in existing research is an issue of global importance (Heidbrink, 2020). In response, this present dissertation study asks: *How do Honduran children learn and develop as they undergo diverse migratory trajectories within Mexico?*

Through a participatory social-justice research design (Creswell & Clark, 2018), I engaged 17 Honduran children ages 5-15 from nine families located in shelters and homes in Monterrey, Nuevo León in the co-creation of knowledge regarding their migratory trajectories. Over five months, I employed a toolkit of qualitative participatory storytelling methods, such as student-generated drawings, timelines, and dramatization (ex. Barros Nock & Ibarra Templos, 2018; Schmidt, 2017), during weekly virtual 'art club' sessions. This dissertation unpacks this work through three distinct articles: 1. an analysis of children's novel funds of knowledge (Moll et al. 2005) developed in-transit; 2. a case analysis of four families' politicized funds of knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2015) developed while undergoing unique im/migratory conditions; and 3. an analysis of participatory storytelling methods as a means of shifting power between researcher and participant when working with young migrant populations. This work shines a light on the often-hidden journeys of Honduran migrant children in-transit, positing that a greater

understanding of these experiences may drive actions directed at meeting im/migrant[1] students'

current and future needs within and outside of educational contexts.

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[1] The addition of im/ in front of the term migrant at different portions of the dissertation is intended to signal an inclusion of research with both migrant and immigrant populations as well as to indicate the possibilities for this study to contribute to a broader community impact.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: A Critical Moment for Migrant Children's Education

In 2019, the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) reported record numbers of

family unit apprehensions (473,682) at the U.S. southern border (CBP, 2021). This has been

largely attributed to an increase in the number of apprehensions among families from the Central

American countries of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador[2] (Heidbrink, 2020; Tello et al.,

2017), populations which have cited political, domestic and gang violence or persecution,

poverty, climate change, and insecurity as reasons influencing their mobility (Donato & Perez,

2017). For example, individuals apprehended as a part of a family unit from Honduras rose from

20,226 in 2016 to 188,416 in 2019, an 832% increase (see Table 1.1). While 2020 and early 2021

reflected a dip in apprehensions as a result of COVID-19 and associated border closures, CBP

data through March 2021 reveals rising numbers, particularly for Honduran families. This

increase has been connected to growing levels of violence and insecurity across Honduras, as

well as high levels of displacement and poverty associated with the destruction from Hurricanes

ETA and IOTA in late 2020 (PADF & COIPRODEN, 2021).

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[2] While Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are often referred to collectively in literature as the "Northern Triangle," I have avoided this term intentionally in this dissertation as grouping together migratory experiences of children from multiple countries engenders the risk of erroneously reducing the complexities inherent in each migratory population and context—a point attended to in the data collection and analysis section. In addition, Heidbrink (2020) argues that the term "Northern Triangle" in and of itself is co-opted by the U.S. media to argue that the movement of children and youth from these countries is a sudden and strategic movement of individuals from a U.S. military zone, contributing to fear-mongering efforts--furthering signaling the controversial practice of employing this term.

Table 1.1.

Individuals in Family Units Encountered in the U.S. by Fiscal Year 2016-2021 (CBP, 2021)

Country	FY2016	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019	FY2020	FY2021 TD March
El Salvador	27,114	24,122	13,669	56,897	4,335	7,797
Guatemala	23,067	24,657	50,401	185,233	10,905	18,769
Honduras	20,226	22,366	39,439	188,416	10,485	38,921
Mexico	3,481	2,217	2,261	6,004	9,917	7,039
Total	73,888	73,362	105,770	436,550	35,687	72,526

Statistics from the Mexican government, most recently updated in July 2021, also reflect growing numbers of Central American children in-transit through Mexico (see Table 1.2). The number of children from Honduras who were apprehended in 2019, for example, represents a 263% increase from 2014—a previously unprecedented year in terms of unaccompanied minors migrating north from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador (Casa Alianza, 2021). Data demonstrates that a large portion of these children are of schooling age, including an increase in the number under the age of 12 (Androff, 2016; SEGOB, 2021). Understanding the lived experiences of this growing population of young migrants is of regional and global importance given the complex effects migration can have on children's socioemotional well-being, health, and identity (Panting, 2016; Estefan et al., 2017), as well as their academic aspirations and success (Abrego, 2014).

Table 1.2.

Children from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador Returned from Mexico, by Calendar Year (SEGOB, 2021)

Country	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
El Salvador	4,885	7,838	9,759	2,622	2,896	6,976	1,092	1,891
Guatemala	7,973	19,437	16,715	9,258	12,776	16,999	4,930	6,973
Honduras	9,661	10,165	11,464	5,411	12,456	25,442	4,382	9,198
0 - 11 year olds	8,676	14,005	15,926	7,300	13,497	28,539	4,310	9,912
12 - 17 year olds	13,843	23,435	22,012	9,991	14,631	20,878	6,094	8,150
Total	22,519	37,440	37,938	17,291	28,128	49,417	10,404	18,062

The education in emergencies literature describes numerous short and long-term benefits that education can hold for displaced children and those experiencing contexts of crisis (Education Cannot Wait, 2020; Vecchio et al., 2017; UNHCR, 2015). These benefits include the development of cultural and linguistic knowledge, connections, and critical thinking skills that will help children thrive in their new communities (UNHCR, 2015). Under the framework of "transnationalism," or the movement of students between countries and educational systems, several scholars have examined the specific educational experiences of children and youth within the U.S.-Mexico nexus (ex. Hamann & Zúñiga, 2008; Sánchez García et al., 2012). However, the voices of Central American children are rarely represented within this scholarship (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Schmidt, 2017), despite their growing presence in Mexican and U.S. schools. Further, this body of scholarship tends to focus primarily on migrant students' formal

educational experiences (Vecchio et al., 2017) while often overlooking the more informal educational experiences that may be embedded throughout the migratory journey and within contexts such as migrant shelters (Vogt, 2018).

Recognition of im/migrant childrens' experiences has been shown to support their emotional, cognitive, and behavioral development (Arriaga Reynaga, 2019; Cervantes et al., 2015; Montoya Zavala & Valenzuela Camacho, 2012) within and outside the context of schools. Listening to children's voices also affords opportunities to reveal new and valuable perspectives on concepts of human nature and migration (Yarwood & Tyrrell, 2012), and supports the production of more relevant and responsive research and pedagogies (Vecchio et al., 2017). Migration and education scholarship, however, has continued to prioritize adult-centric perspectives, depicting children as "baggage" rather than actors and agents in their own right (Orellana et al., 2001). As a result, children's voices have often been overlooked, silenced, or marginalized (Pain, 2004; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Schmidt, 2017; Yeoh & Lam, 2006). Moreover, Central American experiences, history, culture, and language, are largely absent from curriculum and pre-service teaching training in U.S. education (Lavandez, 2008). Although little is known of their integration into Mexican school curricula, the monolithic, monolinguistic, and nationalist approach to education in Mexico has previously been found to limit considerations of diverse students' backgrounds (Franco García, 2017; Zúñiga & Hamann, 2006).

In response to these gaps, this dissertation seeks to make visible the often invisible journeys of migrant children in-transit throughout the Central America-U.S. nexus, positing that a greater understanding of these experiences may inform approaches design to meeting im/migrant students' current and future needs within and outside of educational contexts. The

study focuses on Honduran child migrants for three reasons, both grounded in the literature described above as well as my professional and personal experiences:

1. Honduran children who are accompanied by their families present the population with the most rapid growth amongst migrants originating from Central America.

2. The Honduran migrant community's voice has largely been absent from migratory and educational scholarship, and when included, are lumped in with children from other Central American countries (ex. Mayers & Freedman, 2019)—a practice that could conceal experiences unique to this particular population.

3. I have a decade of personal and professional experiences in Honduras and with Honduran communities in Mexico and the United States. This cultural and linguistic familiarity has afforded opportunities to build rapport with participants, and will also support the dissemination of dissertation findings amongst Honduran educational communities to which I am actively connected.

Given these reasons, I limited my inclusion criteria to solely Honduran families. My study was driven by the following overarching research question: *How do Honduran children[3] learn and develop as they undergo diverse migratory trajectories within Mexico?*

Through a series of three inquiries that are described in separate, stand-alone articles, I demonstrate the theoretical, pedagogical, and methodological learnings that emerged from a process of co-constructing knowledge and stories alongside children and their families. The first

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[3] Scholars have argued that childhood is a social construction, such that ideas about children vary across social and cultural contexts, and ideas about what children should be allowed or expected to do in any cultural context may be different for children of different ages, genders, and race/ethnicities (Orellana et al., 2001; Norozi & Moen, 2016; Oliveira & Gallo, 2021). They also warn that categorizing migrants as "children" can strengthen assumptions that migrants should be adults and "may diminish children's authority, power, and skills in the eyes of the reader" (Orellana, 2009, p. 24). However, employing the term "child" in this study over the more commonly employed term and population engaged in research of "youth" migrants (ages 13-17), serves to draw specific attention to the growing younger migrant population, especially those age 12 and younger (Androff, 2016; SEGOB, 2021).

inquiry seeks to broadly lift up children's voices as they describe and demonstrate informal learning or "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al., 2005) developed while in-transit. I highlight three novel funds of knowledge categories associated with time in-transit, including duty of care, digital literacy, and global culture, as well as childrens' reimagined conception of geography and space which favor more asset-based views of their migratory journeys. The second inquiry narrows in on the experiences of four focal families confronting unique im/migratory dynamics, dangers, and discrimination throughout Mexico and while awaiting their U.S. asylum processes in a Mexican border town. This article highlights politicized learning, or "politicized funds of knowledge" (Gallo & Link, 2015) children developed throughout these experiences, positioning them as active agents and actors in their migratory decisions and trajectories. The third and final inquiry analyzes the affordances and constraints of employing participatory storytelling methods (Torres & Carte, 2012) throughout the dissertation as a means of shifting away from researcher/centered power dynamics in favor of communities experiencing vulnerability and marginalization. The three research questions guiding each inquiry are as follows:

Article 1: *What funds of knowledge do Honduran children develop while they are in-transit within Mexico?*

Article 2: *How do Honduran children make sense of and learn from their im/migration experiences as they are in-transit within Mexico?*

Article 3: *How do participatory storytelling methods support the co-construction of knowledge with Honduran migrant children while in-transit?*

In the sections below, I describe my positionality and how this work emerged within my professional and personal trajectory. Then, I unpack the orientations and assumptions I bring to the dissertation, define key terms, and discuss the overall structure and outline for each article.

Positionality and Emergence of this Dissertation Study

This dissertation is an extension of my ongoing commitment to the Central American community that began ten years ago. In 2011, I taught my first set of students as a 4th and 5th grade educator in Delaware through the Teach for America program. In this role, I built my first deep relationships with families of Central American origin, attending each of my students and their extended families' cumpleaños, quinceañera, and communion and having long, often emotional conversations with parents during regular home visits. They shared their family's challenges prior to and post migration, detailing how securing education for their children played a major role in their decisions. These narratives have stayed with me. In 2014, I traveled to Honduras for the first time as a volunteer for an education non-profit with the hope that I could contribute to improving educational opportunities for all children, no matter where they are born. I was idealistic, young, and naïve. The past seven years have taught me more about myself, my privilege, history, and the meaning of community than I could have ever imagined.

Central America as a region has a complex and diverse history of violence and political instability, in different forms and in different periods--conditions which have contributed in-part to the emigration dynamics originating from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. In Honduras in particular, high rates of violence have been connected to diverse factors including but limited to growing social and economic inequality, increased presence of gangs and other elicit groups, and increased securitization and militarization across the country. In many ways, this structural and historical violence manifests within educational contexts, influencing the lived experiences, actions, and beliefs of the teachers and school directors I have learned from.

In 2015, through numerous community dialogues, I learned from 70 rural educators who shared that they wanted a space to connect, learn, and innovate away from the pervasive and

punitive eye of local government enforcement. It was from these desires that "Train for Change" (TfC) was born, a professional development program which aims to strengthen local leadership capacity to provide quality education to vulnerable communities. In 2016, I partnered with two Honduran team members and several bilingual volunteer educators from the United States and invited the first cohort of educators from six schools to take part in a week-long professional development experience. We designed the initial training topics based on a school interest survey, adapted as we went, and were driven by the overwhelming enthusiasm, commitment, and talent of this newly formed community.

In the community circles that the instructional team used to launch every training, teachers began to share their experience being kidnapped by gangs—ratted out by an eight-year-old student who falsely accused them of colluding with the cops—and a director lamented closing school for weeks as rival gangs utilized the school grounds to fight their turf war. During life history activities, teachers cried over the abject poverty they grew up in and their inability to feed their children due to salary delays averaging from two to five months each year. Dialogue within the cohorts and monthly meetings led by the Honduran team members became spaces for socioemotional vulnerability, with teachers requesting support for how to help students who had been sexually or physically abused or were being recruited by criminal groups.

As the program's reach grew to 24 schools and over 400 teachers, external challenges brought our affiliates and staff even closer together as a family. During the 2017 political protests over fraudulently re-elected President Juan Orlando Hernandez—Honduran presidents are constitutionally only allowed to serve one term—TfC teachers marched together, shared information about road closures and repression via WhatsApp groups, and expressed rage and sadness over the state of their country. The previous year, I had returned to school to pursue my

Ph.D. so that I could learn how to better support and advocate for this community; yet, as I sat in my first quarter of classes watching the 100+ messages per day flood my phone, I found it impossible to concentrate on coursework.

At 1:00 in the morning on week nine of fall quarter 2017, the TfC Honduran staff lead, and one of my closest friends, called to tell me her brother had been murdered and chopped into pieces for his unwillingness to join a gang. He was found a few hundred yards from one of our schools. Two weeks later, her other brother was shot by a ricochet bullet fired by military police at peaceful protesters—thankfully, he survived. From March to June 2019, educators and health care workers joined together to protest the privatization of their industries, arguing that this move would exacerbate already high levels of inequality, job insecurity, and corruption. Educators from across the country, including those affiliated with TfC, took part in peaceful organizing dialogues and marches. They were not deterred even after being tear gassed, shot with rubber bullets, and arrested. In these and similar incidents to date, the community continues to illustrate their considerable strength to organize, find hope, and enact agency amidst uncertainty and trauma.

As large groups of Hondurans began to migrate north starting in late 2018, the conversations within the Honduran educational community began to shift. Every one of TfC's affiliated schools was feeling the effects and absence of the students who had left and were struggling with how to support those who returned. Every conversation was connected in some way to migration, and many of TfC teachers themselves migrated to Mexico, the U.S., and Spain. Teachers expressed concern and curiosity, wanting to know what their students and families were experiencing in Mexico, and what their futures might look like if they were to reach and enroll in U.S. schools. They invited me to participate in their concerns by listening,

reflecting, and conducting and sharing research with them concerning teachers' perceptions of migrant students in U.S. and Honduran schools, Honduran teachers' experiences with returning migrant students, and experiences of Central American children in U.S. schools. I featured some of these conversations in prior scholarship I conducted during summer visits to the field (Gluckman et al., 2021; Bellino & Gluckman, under review)

From these dialogues, further interest emerged amongst the TfC community to understand the migratory experiences of Central American children while in-transit through Mexico—acknowledging that experiences in Mexico represent a considerable part of the journey for returning migrant students to Honduras, many who never make it to the U.S. The questions and interests from this community represent the driving force behind my doctoral work. I recognize that as a U.S. citizen, I have the privilege to travel to the locations where these questions might be answered; however, it is my commitment and connection to this Honduran community that compels me to do so.

It is important to note that I originally proposed collecting on-the-ground data with migrant children in the Mexican states of Nuevo León and Sonora from September 2020 to June 2021. Given COVID-19 restrictions and delays, I narrowed this focus to only Monterrey, Nuevo León. I was awarded a Fulbright COMEXUS award to travel September 2021 - May 2022. However, given the relationships I was able to develop in person with migrant families through pilot field visits in Monterrey and the prolonged periods these families were experiencing in-transit due to shifting im/migration policy and border closures, I chose to modify my original design to virtual environments. This allowed me to ensure the health and safety of all involved in the research and to highlight migrant children's experiences and learning at the U.S.-Mexico border during unique im/migratory circumstances and a public health crisis. Two of the three

articles thus focus on children's informal learning developed while in-transit from a Funds of

Knowledge (Moll et al., 2005) and Politicized Funds of Knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2015)

framing, connecting this learning to their prospective future educational experiences. The third

article—prepared as a book chapter for a special issue manuscript—focuses on my

methodological design and experiences employing participatory storytelling methods (Torres &

Carte, 2012) in virtual environments, detailing the affordances and constraints of these methods

as a means of co-constructing research with vulnerable populations.

Assumptions and Orientations to Research

My approach to this dissertation study is guided by some of the key characteristics,

assumptions, and orientations of community-based participatory research (Jaquez, Vaugn, &

Wagner, 2012), as well as constructivist and transformative paradigms (Barnes, 2019; Mertens,

2012). As Barnes (2019) notes, "it cannot be true that a methodological preference is necessary

or sufficient to contribute to social justice. Rather, it is the combination of paradigm and method

that influences the extent to which a study contributes to social justice" (p. 307). As such, I

outline below how these orientations inform my research ontology, epistemology, methods, and

axiology, as applicable. Importantly, while I draw on community-based participatory research

(CBPR) as an orienting framework, I do not claim to fully engage in a CBPR study, as the

community of focus was not included in all study design and conceptualization stages.

My ontological approach to research assumes that there are multiple ways to understand a

particular reality. As such, I chose to conduct research that centers participants' subjective

perceptions and experiences (Constructivist) in collaborative manners as a way of generating

more culturally relevant knowledge (CBPR). In particular, I seek to privilege the realities of

marginalized and oppressed communities, such as the Central American migrant community, and

to contextualize their experiences within political, cultural, economic, and historical systems (Transformative). In terms of understanding children's experiences, I seek to engage in research that centers their voices and views them as experts in their own lives, independent of the beliefs adults may hold (CBPR).

Relatedly, my epistemological approach is one which values community members as equitable partners in the research process (CBPR), but does not attempt to remove myself entirely. In acknowledgement of my positionality, I do not believe complete objectivity is possible, therefore, it is critical that I interrogate my relationship to the research. At the same time, I allowed myself to be empathetic, subjective, and participatory in the process (Constructivist). To do so, I selected theoretical frameworks and methods which afforded me opportunities to be reflective of the historical, class-based, and racial factors which influence my positionality while considering how these may shape researcher-participant interactions and the type of knowledge that is produced (Transformative). This process aligns with my axiological understanding in which my values, world views, and cross-cultural competencies contribute to my research approach, but must also be unpacked in the pursuit of social justice aligned research (Transformative).

The assumptions outlined above contribute to the methodological approaches detailed in each study of this dissertation. Overall, the methods I selected aim to develop and expand upon locally relevant theories that promote the interests of a specific Central American community that is often marginalized in migratory scholarship (Transformative). I favored qualitative approaches (Constructivist) that engage participants directly in the research through collaborative processes (CBPR), deconstructing the power dynamics between researcher and participants at each stage of research (Transformative). For example, participatory storytelling methods, as

detailed in Article 3, afford opportunities for migrant children to lead the research process

(Transformative), moving away from the common practice of having adults speak on behalf of

children (CBPR). The methods employed also accounted for the potential need for greater levels

of flexibility given the evolving nature of the contexts and phenomena under study, such as

allowing for modifications to be made as new insights and unexpected findings emerged

(Transformative). As much as possible, I attempted to include participants in my data analysis,

such as when interpreting results through member-checking, prioritizing this often-

underrepresented community's ownership of the research process (Transformative).

Definition of Terms

Given that this study draws on diverse disciplines and spans geographic and linguistic

boundaries, I present working definitions for many of the key terms used throughout this

dissertation. In Table 1.3, I define each term, citing relevant research and providing an English

and Spanish translation, as applicable. While I established working definitions prior to entering

the field, my approach to research acknowledges that Central American migrant families or

children may define these terms differently, and as such, these definitions were modified slightly

during the post data collection and analysis stages to reflect what is presented in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3.

Definition of Key Terms

Term	Definition	Translation(s)
Migrant	Someone who changes his or her country of usual residence temporarily or permanently, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status (United Nations, 2019).	Migrante
Asylum Seeker	Asylum seekers are people who have fled war, violence, conflict, or persecution; have arrived at a port of entry or crossed an international border; and have requested legal protection in another country (UNHCR, 2020; DHS, 2020). The present study focuses primarily on those seeking asylum in the U.S.	Solicitante de asilo
Child	For the purposes of this study, the term "child" is defined as an individual under the age of 18. This age was selected given it is a range which collectively comprises the ages of consent in each of the countries under study including Honduras (14-years-old), Mexico (16-years-old) and the U.S. (16-18-years-old). This demarcation determines when certain legal rights and privileges emerge, as well as represents a shift in protection mechanisms.	Niño/Niña
Migrant Shelter	A space that offers a place for migrants to sleep for one or more nights. Often, this includes separate arrangements for women and children. It may include other services including legal, psychological, and educational services for children.	Casa de migrante; Hogar
Schooling	Used to define formal learning opportunities that happen within government or privately funded educational centers. Generally, they employ a curriculum for instruction.	Escolarización
Education	More broad than schooling, this term includes both formal learning experiences within schools and informal learning opportunities that happen outside of schools. It may include the political, social, emotional, cultural, and linguistic "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al., 2005; Gallo & Link, 2015) embedded throughout a child's migratory trajectory In Spanish the term "educación" is often framed more broadly as any learning which develops people's intellectual, moral, and affective capacity, in accordance with the culture and the norms of coexistence of the society to which they belong. This learning takes place within and outside of formal schooling spaces.	Educación
In-transit	Transit is a liminal state that positions migrants simultaneously outside (in transition, not yet arrived), yet inside (traveling through), national spaces (Coutin, 2005). Being in-transit can be characterized as temporary, extended, and in some cases a semi-permanent state (Vogt, 2018, p. 9). The term "transit" denotes the time and space when migrants are most bereft of state protection and, therefore, most vulnerable to crime, exploitation, injury, and death. (Vogt, 2018, p. 80). For the purposes of this study, in-transit focused on those moving between Honduras, Mexico and the U.S.	En transito

Dissertation Structure

In the following three chapters, I present each article as a stand-alone inquiry which is fully prepared for publication in the outlets noted in Table 4. I conclude the dissertation with a brief chapter that brings together themes from across the three studies and presents overarching implications, as well as current and prospective future dissemination strategies for this work. I also reflect on how the present dissertation has informed my future career direction. Table 1.4 details the research questions, theoretical framing, data sources, and analysis for each article of the dissertation study. It is included here as a preview to each article presented in the subsequent chapters.

Table 1.4.

Research Questions, Frameworks, and Methods for the Three Article Dissertation

	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3
Overarching Research Question	*How do Honduran children learn and develop as they undergo diverse migratory trajectories within Mexico?*		
Study-Specific Research Question(s)	*What funds of knowledge do Honduran children develop while they are in-transit within Mexico?*	*How do Honduran children make sense of and learn from their im/migration experiences as they are in-transit within Mexico?*	*How do participatory storytelling methods support the co-construction of knowledge with Honduran migrant children while in-transit?*
Theoretical Framework	Funds of Knowledge (Moll et al., 2005)	Politicized Funds of Knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2015)	N/A
Methodological Approach	Participatory Storytelling Methods	Participatory Storytelling Methods	Participatory Storytelling Methods
Data Sources Employed	Children's life histories Multi-modal artifacts and participant explanations captured via field notes and recordings Field notes from informal conversations with parents	Life histories from four focal families Field notes	Children's life histories Multi-modal artifacts and participant explanations captured via field notes and recordings Field notes describing methods use
Data Analysis	Close-coded around previous funds of knowledge categories and open-coded for new funds of knowledge categories.	Close-coded around politicized funds of knowledge categories, open-coded within "political" code. Cross-case analysis across families to determine common themes.	Open-coded for experiences related to methods, positionality, and child ownership over research design.
Publication Plans	*Children & Society Special Issue* (Extended abstract accepted, invited to submit full article March, 2022)	*Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*	*The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Participatory Inquiry in Transnational Research Contexts* (Chapter outline accepted, invited to submit full article March, 2022)

CHAPTER TWO

Learning from Central American Migrant Children In-transit within Mexico:

A Funds of Knowledge Approach

Research has demonstrated the long-term and pervasive impacts migratory journeys can have on children's well-being, identity (Panting, 2016), and academic aspirations and success (UNESCO, 2019). Migrant students' biographies and educational histories, however, are often ignored in schools (Hamann & Zúñiga, 2011; Román González & Zúñiga, 2014). This oversight is related, at least in part, to an overreliance on media-based migratory messages which frame children as left-behind, abandoned, or dependent upon adult decisions (Heidbrink, 2020)—narratives which discount children's agency in migratory processes (Orellana et al., 2001). Given that acknowledging and incorporating the perspectives, beliefs, and values of im/migrant children into classroom activities can foster more inclusive learning for all students (Strickland et al., 2010; Vecchio et al., 2017), this study sought to develop a broader understanding of migrant children's lived realities from their perspectives.

In particular, I focused on Honduras migrant children given their growing presence at the U.S.-Mexico border and in schools throughout the U.S.-Mexico nexus, as well as the limited inclusion in prior scholarship. In 2019, U.S. Customs and Border Protection reported record numbers of apprehensions of family units (473,682) at the U.S.'s southern border, almost 40% of which (188,416) were from Honduras (CBP, 2021). These rates reflect an 832% increase from Honduran individuals apprehended as part of a family unit in 2016 (20,226). Statistics from the Mexican government also reflect growing numbers of Honduran children in-transit traveling alone (SEGOB, 2021). The number of apprehensions in 2019 (25,442), for example, represents a 263% increase from 2014 apprehensions (9,661)—a previously unprecedented year in terms of

unaccompanied minors migrating from the Honduras (Casa Alianza, 2021; SEGOB, 2021). Data has shown that a large portion of these children are of school age, including growing numbers under the age of 12 (Androff, 2016; SEGOB, 2021). For this age range, trauma associated with migration has been connected to distinct developmental consequences for children's physical and mental health (Estefan et al., 2017).

While migratory patterns for Honduran children and families declined in 2020 and early 2021 as a result of the pandemic and associated border closures, as of February 2021, the rates were increasing again (SEGOB, 2021). Moreover, migration trends are predicted to burgeon in light of growing levels of violence and insecurity across the country as well as displacement and poverty associated with the destruction from Hurricanes ETA and IOTA in late 2020 and unemployment trends due to pandemic-related economic decline (PADF & COIPRODEN, 2021). With growing numbers of Honduran minors set to migrate in the coming years— experiences that may connect them with schools across transnational borders—it is critical to understand how they learn and develop while in-transit, and how these experiences could shape their current and future educational trajectories. As such, the present study asks: *What funds of knowledge do Honduran children[4] develop while they are in-transit within Mexico?*

Grounded in the understanding that child migration is a complex process that unfolds across space and time (Lawson 2000; McHugh 2000), this study examines the experiences of Honduran migrant children ages 5-15 who are living in migrant shelters and homes across Monterrey, Mexico during a global pandemic. This focus recognizes the importance of research

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[4] For the present study the term "child" is conceptualized as age 18 or under. In the past, scholars have argued that childhood is a social construction that differs across culture, gender, and race/ethnicity (Norozi & Moen, 2016), and warn that categorizing migrants as "children" can strengthen assumptions that migrants should be adults and "may diminish children's authority, power, and skills in the eyes of the reader" (Orellana, 2009, p. 24). However, employing the term "child" in this study serves to draw specific attention to the growth in younger migrant populations.

conducted in alternative spaces in which we find children, aside from that of schools which serves as a more common site of inquiry. Through the application of qualitative participatory storytelling methods (Barros Nock & Ibarra Templos, 2018; Schmidt, 2017; Román González et al., 2016), the study honors the agency of children as key actors and informants in their own migratory and educational processes. I draw upon a "funds of knowledge" approach—a concept that values children's social, emotional, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds and experiences (Moll et al., 2005)—to develop a more expansive understanding of the term "education" which encompasses both the formal and informal learning opportunities embedded throughout a child's migratory journey. Given that this study took place during COVID-19, I also consider how prolonged periods in-transit and in confinement contribute to migrant childrens' informal educational experiences.

Listening to Migrant Children's Voices

While the demographics of migrants traveling through the Central America-U.S. nexus have shifted from primarily single male adults to growing numbers of children and families over the past decade, migration and education research has been slow to adjust its focus. Children are often portrayed as additions to adult migratory journeys rather than actors and agents (Orellana et al., 2001) resulting in their marginalization in scholarship (Pain, 2004; Yeoh & Lam, 2006). The experiences of Central American child migrants in particular are regularly overlooked, ignored, and discounted (Heidbrink, 2020), and details regarding the Honduran experience in particular are sparse. Furthermore, "when media and policymakers do acknowledge young people's migratory experiences, their perspectives are often overshadowed by advocates who claim to speak on their behalf (Heidbrink, 2020, p. xi)." Additionally, by portraying Central American child migrants as "both criminals and victims, depending on political strategy and context"

(Vogt, 2018, p. 3), media and policy makers place blame on migrants and evoke fear rather than attempting to understand and address their needs. In response, scholars from diverse theoretical approaches have called for research that inquires about children's unique experiences (e.g., Vecchio et al., 2017) and acknowledges them as competent actors with agency in their actions and decisions (Matthews, 2007).

According to the field of children's geographies, children's voices can reveal new and valuable perspectives on concepts of human nature and migration (Yarwood & Tyrrell, 2012), move us towards more generative futures, and result in more relevant and responsive research and pedagogies (Vecchio et al., 2017). Scholars argue that research that primarily focuses on linear stages—pre-migration, migration, and post migration—fails to adequately reflect the diversity of migratory trajectories (Heidbrink, 2020). For example, the liminality of migrant experience during periods "in-transit," which can last from weeks to years, are often absent from global discussions and responses. Moreover, the majority of the existing literature with migrant children focuses on research conducted in the context of schools (Due et al., 2014; Sime, 2017; Vecchio et al., 2017), presenting limited opportunities to explore children's actions, perceptions, feelings and experiences in informal spaces such as migrant shelters and homes. Migrant shelters, for example, reflect key sites of informal learning where migrants navigate conflicting conditions of intimacy, healing, solidarity, security, inequality, and violence (Vogt, 2018). As such, studying experiences with shelters can "serve as points of departure for understanding the political, moral, and affective economics of transit life" (Vogt, 2018, p. 24). Research situated within migrant families' homes can afford opportunities to observe details of childrens' daily living including interactions between family members, routines and chores, and living

conditions—realities that may be difficult for families to articulate directly (Lareau & Rao, 2020).

Overall, the present study seeks to add contextual and geographic breadth to the field, by affording Honduran migrant children with opportunities to contribute to migratory and educational conversations. The research approach aims to shift away from the deficit and victim orientations often attributed to im/migrant students, instead highlighting their agency and their rich informal educational experiences while in-transit.

Theoretical Framework

A "funds of knowledge" framework (Moll et al., 2005) assumes that students bring a rich diversity of backgrounds, knowledge, and skills to school. Defined by Moll et al. (1992) as the "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household and individual functioning and well-being" (p. 133), the funds of knowledge framework was developed in response to the persistent marginalization of minority families' knowledge and experiences within formal schooling. The goal of funds of knowledge is to support educators in developing an asset-based approach to education by creating a broader conceptualization of learning as embedded in community and family practices that can be incorporated into formal educational spaces (Oliveira & Gallo, 2021).

Research has shown that incorporating students' backgrounds into formal classroom settings can contribute to a welcoming environment and increase students' educational outcomes (Moll et al., 2005). In contrast, ignoring students' histories in school can pose "everyday ruptures" for students that challenge their academic, language, and identity development, as well as impact school completion (Hamann & Zúñiga, 2011; Panait & Zúñiga, 2016; Román González & Zúñiga, 2014). For migrant students, these ruptures can worsen when faced with

discrimination, hostility, and isolation within different educational systems (Favela, 2018; Gitlin et al., 2003; Hamann et al., 2017; Sime, 2017). Scholars argue that acknowledging the rich contributions migrant children's perspectives, beliefs, and values bring to their learning community can spark more culturally responsive and equitable environments (Strickland et al., 2010). Central American experiences, history, culture, and language in particular, however, have been largely absent from curriculum and pre-service teaching training in the U.S. education system (Lavandez, 2008). Although little is known about the inclusion of Central American voices in Mexican curriculum, past research has indicated that Mexico's monolithic, monolingual, and nationalist educational approach inhibits considerations of various students' backgrounds (Franco García, 2017; Zúñiga & Hamann, 2006).

For the present study, formal learning is understood as studies affiliated with an academic curriculum, generally taking place within the context of government or privately funded educational centers through in-person and via distance learning. Informal learning includes any experiences outside of a formal academic curriculum, including learning associated with activities in migrant shelters, within communities or family homes, while riding on a train or bus, and any space or site migrant children inhabit while in-transit. This research focuses on unpacking the novel forms of informal learning that Honduran children develop through their migratory journeys.

I draw upon previous scholarship and educational practitioner tools (Moll et al., 1992; National Center for Linguistic and Cultural Responsiveness, 2019; Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2019) to inform my analysis. Previously established funds of knowledge categories include: economics, geography, agriculture, sports, technology, religion, language, health, caregiving, art, cooking, entertainment, family, friendship, work, and

academic experiences. For example, children's household experiences with the childcare or caregiving funds of knowledge include behaviors such as swaddling a baby, providing them with a pacifier, or co-sleeping with a younger sibling (Moll et al., 1992; National Center for Linguistic and Cultural Responsiveness, 2019). Examples of geography funds of knowledge include physical understandings of space developed through the presence of maps, country flags, and other visual representations found in migrant students' homes (Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2019). In the present study, I expand upon these definitions, as well as introduce three novel funds of knowledge categories—duty of care, digital literacy, and global culture—that migrant children developed while undergoing rich informal learning experiences in-transit. In this approach, I draw upon Barbara Rogoff's work (2003), which argues that learning and development are inherently cultural processes—employing a multifaceted definition of culture, including language, beliefs, practices, and understandings— and identify examples of how children's cultural conceptions and identities developed throughout their migratory trajectories.

Methods

Participants

I employed a participatory social-justice research design (Creswell & Clark, 2018) co-led by 17 Honduran children (7 males, 10 females) ages five to fifteen (average = 10.58 years old), from nine families to examine their informal learning experiences and "funds of knowledge" gained while undergoing migratory processes (See Table 2.1). The periods in-transit for each family ranged from 11 to 31 months (average = 22.24 months) from first leaving Honduras through the time of the last data collection session, as some migratory trajectories included

experiences with deportation and re-migration. All names utilized throughout this study are pseudonyms to ensure participant anonymity.

During data collection, all nine families were located in Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico, the second most important metropolitan city of Mexico, located in the northeast of the country. Every family cited safety concerns and economic opportunities as their primary reason for choosing this location for temporary settlement. Six of these families were enrolled in the Migrant Protection Protocols program (MPP), a policy implemented in January 2019, which required them to wait in Mexico while soliciting asylum in the U.S. until their court date and prolonged their time in-transit.

Only one participant was living in a migrant shelter during the time of the data collection, with the rest living in shared apartments or homes in neighborhoods on the outskirts of Monterrey's metropolitan area; however, seven of the families were associated with a shelter at one point in time during their stay in Monterrey. Their time spent in this shelter influenced their informal learning opportunities and also was the means in which I was first introduced to most of these families during in-person pilot fieldwork.

Table 2.1.

Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Parent(s)/Guardian(s) Pseudonym(s)	Time In-Transit End of Data Collection (Months)	Where do they live	Enrolled in school at time of data collection	Number of data sessions
Leonel	12	M	Anabel (Mother)	20	Shelter	Yes	4
Kevin	13	M	Diana (Mother)	31	Apartment	No	10
Santiago	5	M	Diana (Grandmother)	31	Apartment	No	3
Mariana	15	F	Scarleth (Mother)	26	Shared Apartment	No	7
Eduardo	13	M	Scarleth (Mother)	26	Shared Apartment	No	7
Steven	12	M	Scarleth (Mother)	26	Shared Apartment	No	7
Elson	9	M	Eunice (Mother)	22	Apartment	Yes	6
Nila	9	F	Eunice (Mother)	22	Apartment	Yes	6
Milton	12	M	Eunice (Mother)	22	Apartment	Yes	6
Leila	14, turned 15	F	Sonia (Mother)	20	Shared Apartment	Yes	8
Jenny	8, turned 9	F	Rosa (Mother)	24	Shared Apartment	Yes	9
Lalisa	11, turned 12	F	Rosa (Mother)	24	Shared Apartment	Yes	9
Stephany	13	F	Vanessa (Mother)	18	Apartment	Yes	8
Camila	11	F	Vanessa (Mother)	18	Apartment	Yes	8
Rose	8	F	Vanessa (Mother)	18	Apartment	Yes	8
Isabel	6	F	Michelle (Mother), Mauricio (Father)	19	Apartment	Yes	8
Adriana	6	F	Lorena (Mother), Douglas (Father)	11	Apartment	Yes	8

Data Collection

I utilized a toolkit of participatory storytelling methods over five months, including student-generated drawings, timelines, play, and life histories (Barros Nock & Ibarra Templos, 2018; Schmidt, 2017; Román González et al., 2016) to invite the participation and co-construction of research with migrant children. To protect them during COVID-19, all research was conducted virtually through WhatsApp video calls or weekly Zoom sessions called 'art clubs.' The participants were familiar with these online mediums, as many of them were enrolled in online schooling as a result of pandemic school closures, while others used these technology platforms to keep in contact with family members and friends throughout their migratory journey—usage which increased in frequency as a result of pandemic related confinement. While engaging in these participatory activities, I posed a series of initial prompts to facilitate deeper dialogue that align with funds of knowledge categories established in prior research, including: economics, geography, agriculture, sports, technology, religion, language, health, childcare, art, cooking, entertainment, family, friendship, work, and academic experiences. Novel categories and prompts emerged in response to participants' interests, surroundings, and events taking place during the data collection process, the most salient of which are discussed in the findings below.

Each session lasted between 20 to 90 minutes, depending upon the child's interest, internet connectivity, and the number of children present for each session (between one and five children). While an original outline with prompts and methods was designed for 10 sessions (Appendix A), participants were invited to opt in or out of any activity or question, engage in them out of order, or propose something else they would rather do—centering their agency in the research process and attending to particular ethical considerations for working with young populations undergoing diverse processes of vulnerability and mobility (Denov et al., 2012;

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Mertens et al., 2010; Sime, 2017). In addition, the number of sessions with each child varied based on their availability and migratory trajectories (see Table 2.1) which resulted in truncation of the research process for two families or a decision to conclude pending proximal travel plans for the other seven families.

　　While engaging in each session and participatory activity I asked the children to describe what they were creating and documented this evidence in my field notes (Emerson et al., 2011). I also included photographs of child-created artifacts the parents or the children themselves sent after each session, screen captures of message exchanges, and links to music and videos shared during our sessions, in these fieldnotes. This process considers that "events in the world do not exist for people independently of the language people use to make sense of them" (Mehan, 1996, p. 262), prioritizing use of participants' interpretations of information in data analysis (White et al., 2010). As a white U.S. citizen, I had to carefully scrutinize my pre-existing assumptions and biases, and continually seek ways to favor and center the voices of migrants themselves which are grounded in their lived realities. For example, by centering the ways in which children described their artifacts, I was able to reduce my personal biases by not falsely ascribing meaning or missing things children sought to display.

　　Though I prioritized children's narratives, parents/guardians were invited to participate in sessions based on their interest and availability. I primarily asked them to reflect on what their child had learned or to request additional context regarding events children experienced or knowledge they gained while in-transit. These debriefing sessions with adults followed ethical recommendations for working with highly vulnerable minors, by avoiding questioning that might result in children experiencing negative psychological effects or retraumatization as well as served as an additional form of member checking (Denov et al., 2012; Sime, 2017).

Data Analysis

The audio from each "art club" session was recorded and later transcribed. I reviewed these transcriptions and accompanying field notes iteratively throughout the data collection process and gathered emerging themes. I incorporated initial analyses into my later sessions with migrant children and their families, as well as during discussions with my advising professors, to create opportunities for data validation and participatory analysis. Following Fine's (2016) advice, I took into account the fact that even when the people who have been the "objects" of inquiry are among the researchers driving the process, there is still a risk of running "into enormous heterogeneity, intersectionality, dissent, conflicts, bruises, paper cuts, and erasures within" (p. 361) data analysis and interpretation. Revisiting previously covered topics to see if children or their guardians had anything additional to add, for example, afforded opportunities to foreground participants' voice and meaning in my analysis. Reviewing emerging themes with well-established scholars ensured that my analysis remained theoretically grounded and appropriately responsive to participant guidance and direction.

The final compiled dataset included recordings, fieldnotes, and multimedia artifacts. Data was closed coded utilizing previously established funds of knowledge categories, as identified in the literature highlighting children's social, emotional, cultural, and linguistic learning opportunities and experiences (Appendix B), as well as open coded to identify additional funds of knowledge that were not named in previous literature (Creswell & Clark, 2018). Analytical memos were created for each code to identify emerging themes and construct a more complete picture of migrant children's funds of knowledge. While a robust set of funds of knowledge data was compiled, the present study focuses on four new and nuanced funds of knowledge

understandings that emerged while children were in-transit, through use of children's narratives and supporting artifacts.

Findings

Honduran migrant children explained and demonstrated various funds of knowledge which they developed or built upon throughout their migratory trajectories. Many of these children experienced educational disruptions with respect to formal academic spaces as a result of diverse processes of mobility, educational exclusion and discrimination, and challenges accessing and continuing with their studies during the pandemic. However, these findings illustrate how their learning continued and expanded in informal and nuanced ways. This learning revealed three novel funds of knowledge categories associated with learning while in-transit, including: a duty of care, digital literacy, and global culture. I also attend to emerging understandings of geography and space, a previously identified funds of knowledge, while considering how this category might be reimagined from the unique perspective of migrant children in-transit. These themes provide examples of children's agency as active participants in migratory dynamics, as well as, and are used to present childrens' time in transit through asset framing and counter deficit narratives of learning loss, victimization, and vilification often associated with Central American children. By presenting direct excerpts of dialogue with children in both Spanish—the original language in which they were shared—and an English translation, as well as providing samples of artifacts created and shared by children, I seek to position children's voices at the forefront of this contribution to funds of knowledge scholarship.

Duty of Care

Moll and colleagues (1992) presented childcare as an example of a household management fund of knowledge that has often been associated with im/migrant children,

particularly in the cases of older children caring for their younger siblings. In the present study, children demonstrated a more expansive view of this 'care' by extending their attention beyond solely younger siblings, to encompass themselves, their parents/guardians, pets, and their community, whether within their home, within shelters, or along their migratory route. Care was displayed through more systematic, consistent roles, such as children supporting their younger siblings every day with their homework, looking after them when their parents were working, or caring for a younger child in a shared home, as well as more spontaneous responses to emergent needs, such as when a mother felt ill or learning how to cook when a parent did not come home until late at night.

Examples of care while in-transit included situations in which the responsibility was parent-ascribed and child self-ascribed, the latter of which was sometimes in response to their beliefs regarding their role or responsibility as the older sibling. This adds nuance to prior funds of knowledge scholarship, which does not explicitly attend to child agency and choice in these acts of caregiving. In the case of fifteen-year-old Mariana, she positioned these acts of care above her own desires and demonstrated a unique sense of ownership and responsibility. She shared, "I do not have friends, I do not go out...because I stay home to take care of my brothers because my mom works/*No tengo amigos, no salgo..porque me quedo en casa para cuidar de mis hermanos porque mi mamá trabaja,*" adding that she has to teach them how to behave. When asked who cares for her, she said "I take care of myself/*Yo me cuido sola*". She noted that she even sometimes took care of her mom by cooking dinner before she came home. Jenny also taught herself how to cook a full meal of eggs over easy, beans, and fried plantains for her mom, not because she was told to but "because she has always liked those things...to be attentive to ensure the beds are made, that the dishes are clean, and to sweep/*Sí, porque a ella siempre le ha*

gustado así...es más de casa, siempre está pendiente de que si las camas están dobladas, que si los trastes están limpios, de barrer" according to her mother Rosa.

Enacting a duty of care was not age-dependent and emerged naturally for many younger children included in the study. Six-year-old Isabel, for example, discussed her role in teaching her two-year old sister to tie her shoes and to draw a circle, arguing that "she already [should] be in kindergarten. She already knows everything. She only needs to pee and poop, and draw...and put clothes on by herself and not use diapers, that is the only thing she is missing./*Sí, yo le enseño porque ya tenía que estar en el kinder. Ya todo sabe. Solo le falta decir pipí y popó, y dibujar...También ya ponerse la ropa sola, ya no debe usar los pañales, es lo único que le falta.*" Isabel's mom Michelle noted that Isabel often acts "not as a younger sibling but as a mom/*Ya se pone no como la hermana mayor sino como la mamá*" as she cares for her little sister out of her own volition, including changing her diapers and bathing her—something that she learned just by watching. Adriana, also six, brought her mom pills when she was sick and Santiago, age five, massaged his grandma when she was not feeling well. Diana, Santiago's primary caregiver, comments that sometimes his massage style is too hard, often "leaving me in more pain/*que me dejo más adolorido*" yet the positive intent was recognized and appreciated.

Across the field notes, I noted various acts of care directed towards children's broader communities, in shared homes, shelters, and the world writ large. Numerous instances were documented of participants cradling young children that were not family members, providing them bottles, and inviting them or other friends to say hello or take part in participatory activities—data which was not included due to considerations related to consent. Sisters Lalisa and Jenny, 12 and 9 years-old respectively, for example, would often have a one-year old on their lap during our art sessions, the son of another family they shared their home with, making

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sure to keep an eye on him so he would not get into trouble. Their mom commented that this practice of caregiving is something they have carried with them from Honduras, where they looked after their youngest sister while the mom was at work. Twelve-year-old Leonel's duty of care extended towards all of the families at the shelter, as when his mom would go out to work, she would leave him the keys to the storage room and when any one would need something "they would ask me for the keys and I would go to open it/*sólo me pide las llaves para que yo vaya a abrir.*" Leonel also reminded different mothers to clean up after themselves at one point "signaling to a sign and reminding [a mom] to clean up and wash her dishes/*dije que mirara el rótulo y que aseara bien y que lavara los trastes y todo eso.*" In these examples Leonel demonstrated developing organizational and leadership skills which he was able to enact with other children and adults in his shared space.

Another potential way that duty of care manifested is in how migrant children demonstrated care for animals and the environment at a broader scale. In one particular example, Lalisa explained what she had learned about the extinction of polar bears and the importance of recycling. While recycling is noted in prior scholarship as "scientific-knowledge" funds of knowledge (National Center for Linguistic and Cultural Responsiveness, 2019), Lalisa's description illustrates the way in which her time moving across geographic spaces in-transit may also be associated with informal learnings related to a global duty of care—an area that warrants future research.

> Maxie: You were telling me that the polar bears are at risk of extinction. Tell me bit about that/*Me estabas diciendo que los osos polares están en peligro de extinción. Cuéntame un poco de eso.*
> Lalisa: Yes, that was since February, I think. It all started because people were throwing trash and were not taking care of the trees and the plants. So, the polar bears, I don't remember what happened, but they were not caring for their environment/*Sí, eso es desde que empezó febrero yo creo. Empezó todo porque la gente estaba tirando basura y no estaban cuidando los árboles y las plantas.*

Entonces, los osos polares, no me acuerdo qué fue lo que pasó, pero no están cuidando su ambiente.
Maxie: Where do they live?/*¿Dónde viven?*
Lalisa: The majority live in the North Pole/*Viven en el Polo Norte la mayoría.*
Maxie: So, the majority of the people in Mexico don't throw away their trash, how does this affect the North Pole? What is the connection?/*Entonces la gente allá en México no tira la basura, ¿cómo eso afecta al Polo Norte? ¿Cuál es la conexión?*
Lalisa: It's not only in Mexico, it's all over the world. And since there is water, and oceans, there have been many cases where there is trash in the oceans of the polar bears. Also, the fish and all of those animals can be at risk of extinction/*No es sólo en México, es en todo el mundo. Y ahí como también hay agua, hay mares, se han visto muchos casos de basura en el mar de los osos polares. Igual, los pescados y todos los animales puede que estén en peligro de extinción...*
Maxie: So, what can regular people do to take care of the environment, plants, and the animals?/*Entonces, ¿qué es lo que yo como cualquier persona puedo hacer para cuidar el medio ambiente, las plantas y los animales?*
Lalisa: They can recycle, bring together the trash, they can grow little plants, fruit trees, and all that. They can also teach other people to be like that. P*uede reciclar, juntar la basura donde va, puede (cosechar) como plantitas, árboles de fruta y todo eso. También, se pueden enseñar a las demás personas y así.*

In her final comment, she ascribes the responsibility of teaching others how to care for the environment to herself and others—illustrating her connection between this learning and the global community. Taken as a whole, the above examples illustrate how migrant children in the present study exhibited acts of 'care' that extended from themselves to the world and from within their homes and across geographic spaces, demonstrating a nuanced view of the funds of knowledge they learned while in-transit. These examples may signal ways in which migrant children may possess affinities and/or skills for caring that could add value to their future classroom and broader communities if recognized and leveraged appropriately.

It is relevant to note that children in the study were not always pleased with their new responsibilities which were added while in-transit. Leonel for example, noted "when they are calling all the time to come and open [the storage] to get one thing, this makes me mad/*porque a cada rato me están llamando que quieren abrir que quieren sacar una cosa y eso me enoja*" and

that he generally prefers to be left alone. Moreover, these caregiving roles migrant children take on are not always respected or well received by others, especially other adults. Leonel shared that sometimes some of the women would get mad when he would ask them for their phones after the 9pm curfew. Mariana also noted that her brothers did not always react well to her taking care of them when their mom was working and that they sometimes "act badly/*portan mal*." She also shared in other conversations that she sometimes gets upset that her mom makes her responsible for so many things just because she is the oldest. Despite these experiences and reflections, Mariana, Leonel and other children in the study continued to enact care in a wide range of ways at all ages, demonstrating agency and choice in going beyond what they might enjoy continuing to care for others.

As these children enter new educational environments, it is critical that educators inquire into the responsibilities that they took on within their families and communities while in-transit, considering the ways in which these roles and informal learning opportunities may influence im/migrant children's social interactions and academic engagement. For example, Leonel's experiences leading while in a migrant shelter, may influence the way that he engages with classroom group work or be a skill that could help him actively contribute through a classroom job. Moreover, Lalisa's commitment towards protecting the environment could support her in developing a strong connection and interest in scientific learning. These understandings can help educators in generating more responsive environments ensuring they meet the needs of migrant children and actively invite them to take part in their new classroom communities.

Digital Literacy

Previous scholarship has explained the unique ways in which im/migrant children employ technology to maintain transnational ties to families and friends (Hamman et al., 2006).

Traditionally, technological knowledge and skills have been cited as a household fund of knowledge which children bring to school (Moll et al., 1992). The current study builds upon this assertion, demonstrating how children develop digital literacy and use technology and social media to maintain and form new transnational ties and interests. It also attends to the unique context of COVID-19 where children around the globe, including those in the present study, experienced prolonged periods of confinement which pushed many to turn to technology as a form of social interaction outside of their home.

Children from the study spoke about utilizing technology as a tool for connection and entertainment. Parents purchased phones for their kids to help them remain connected to their families and friends and to reduce their loneliness and boredom. Leonel, for example, used his mom's phone to play Free Fire, a battle game played live with others. He shared:

> "I have very few friends here, that play and do not play. Some of them don't play because their parents do not allow them or because their phones do not work and because of that they are bored all day, do not talk to anyone, when I did not know this game, I do not know anyone, I didn't really hang out with anyone. Once I learned about this game I liked it because there I made friends, I talked and I was not bored. So I decided to play."/*"Es que tengo pocos amigos aquí, que juegan y que no juegan. Algunos no juegan porque sus padres no los dejan o porque el teléfono no les sirve y todo eso por eso pasaba aburrido todo el día, no platicaba con nadie, cuando no conocía el juego no conocía a nadie, casi no me llevaba con nadie. Cuando conocí el juego me gustó porque allí se hacía amigos, se conversaba y no estaba aburrido. Entonces decidí jugar."*

Through this game, Leonel made new friends in the U.S. and Spain, and was able to keep in contact with friends he met in the shelter who had since moved out. Many of the children in the study actually commented that they play with each other as they had lived in the same shelter for over a year prior to moving to apartments. However, this particular game also raised issues for many of the mothers including Anabel (Leonel's mom), Rosa (Lalisa and Jenny's mom), and Vanessa (Rose, Camila and Stephany's mom), who all expressed dissatisfaction with them

playing such a violent game—a reality that is also present in parent-child relationships in non-migrant families (Steinberg, 2019).

For the children that were separated from a sibling during the migratory process, as was the case for nine of the participants, and/or those separated from one parent or a primary caregiver, as was the case of all but one participant, technology helped tether and, in some cases, even strengthened connections across borders. Leila, for example, shared that she grew closer to her sister from a distance, missed her dearly, and talked to her every day on the phone. However, even with technology, certain connections were weakened or fractured at a distance or faced additional challenges. For example, Mariana did not feel that comfortable talking to her father over the phone. Jenny and Lalisa also acted more distanced towards their father who had been detained for over a year after crossing the border to the U.S. For Leonel, he framed the distance with his father as a factor of not having enough space on his phone to have Facebook Messenger downloaded—although other factors may have been at play in his case.

In addition to interacting with and learning from technology, children in this study also boosted their own global presence which others could interact with by posting videos primarily on TikTok, YouTube, and Instagram. For example, Steven shared his YouTube channel where he created edited videos of himself riding BMX bikes and performing tricks. It was a shared account that he created with his neighbor who he met while riding around the neighborhood and they would take videos—adding special effects and music and cross posting them on TikTok as well. When he shared his channel with me, he asked me to "remember to like his videos and subscribe to his channel/*recuerda darle me gusta a mis videos y suscribe a mi canal*" showing the ways in which this content was produced with the intention of soliciting interactions from a wider audience. Leila also created and edited videos, reposting her creations on TikTok. In the

excerpt below, she described her motivation to create these videos and shared the knowledge she

gained on copyrights, editing, and online social interactions:

> Maxie: Who do you send the videos to that you create?/*¿A quién mandas los videos que creas?*
> Leila: Nobody. I just uploaded them to TikTok/*A nadie. Sólo los subo a TikTok.*
> Maxie: How many followers do you have?/*¿Cuántos seguidores tienes?*
> Leila: Like 1,800/*Como mil ochocientos.*
> ..Leila: Sometimes they put hearts, sometimes they put that they love it, or they only give it a like./*A veces ponen corazones o ponen me encanta o sólo le dan like.*
> Maxie: How do you feel when they do that?/*¿Cómo te sientes cuando hacen eso?*
> Leila: Good/*Bien.*
> Maxie: Does it motivate you to make more videos/*¿Te motiva a querer hacer más videos?*
> Leila: Yes.../*Sí…*
> Maxie: I did not know you could save TikTok videos, how do you do that?/*No sabía que podías guardar los videos de TikTok ¿cómo se hace?*
> Leila: There are some that you can't, because they creators of the videos put that you can't so that people do not steal them./*Hay algunos que no se puede, porque los creadores de los videos ponen que no para que no se los roben.*
> Maxie: Ah, but some of them you can.../*Ah, pero algunos sí…*
> Maxie: Are there rules that say that if it is theirs' they can denounce you, or if they are on TikTok, its open and they can steal them?/*¿Hay reglas como si al decir que son de ellos los pueden demandar o si están en TikTok, es abierto y los pueden robar?*
> Leila: You can denounce the account/*Se puede denunciar la cuenta….*
> Maxie: What makes a video super interesting for people/*¿Qué hace que un video sea súper interesante para la gente?*
> Leila: Uh, sometimes they start fighting/*Hay veces que se ponen a pelear.*
> Maxie: Really?/*¿En serio?*
> Leila: Because some are more fans of one and others are more fans of others and someone makes a video referring to the other, and the fans of that person begin to fight...just to get followers./*Porque unos son fans de unos y otros son fans de otros, y uno hace un video refiriéndose a otro, al fan de los otro y comienzan a pelear...Sólo para tener seguidores…*
> Maxie: Could you imagine yourself doing something like that?/*¿Te podrías imaginar a ti haciendo algo así?*
> Leila: No.
> Maxie: Why not?/*¿Por qué no?*
> Leila: I do not like to get involved in those things/*Así como que no me gustaría estar metida en eso.*

In another conversation, Leila commented that social media can be addictive, and since she was getting headaches and on her phone all the time, her mom had placed limits on her usage—a practice I saw across families and was a noted global trend during COVID-19 of increased phone use amongst teenagers (AACAP, 2020). This increase in screen time amongst children and teens is connected to prospective negative mental health impacts, and guidance for parents has recommended placing limits or guiding the ways in which children interact online (AACAP, 2020; Pandya & Lodha, 2021; UNICEF, 2020).

The opportunities children shared about how to interact with, learn from, and create content through technology and social media illustrate the complex ways in which these children are developing digital literacy and informal learning while in-transit. While not necessarily traditional school-based tools such as Google Classroom or Canvas, these are experiences and skills which reflect rich funds of knowledge. If built upon, this information could be used to support their reintegration into school settings which require increasing levels of technology use on an everyday basis. Moreover, technological use was a key tool for children to build connections and express themselves—something of critical importance in the time of COVID-19 where mental health amongst children and youth has been greatly affected (Panchal et al., 2021; UNICEF, 2021). It may also be considered as a mitigating factor in addressing the already evidenced psychosocial impacts of migratory trajectories on young children (Panting, 2016).

Global Culture

As the Honduran children in the current study traveled across geographic spaces and national borders, they interacted with, were shaped by, and influenced global culture and community. Technology and social media, interactions with new individuals and spaces, and connections to religion contributed to shifts in children's cultural conceptions while in-transit.

Though diverse, the global cultural practices in which these children engaged reflect important experiences that influenced their identity development and thus will likely shape their future engagement in educational spaces.

Technology and social media provided a view into the world from which migrant children learned new languages, dances, and sport tricks. Jenny, for example, originally learned about Korean Pop (KPop) music from Mexican television, as well as from other girls at the shelter where she lived for a year and a half. From there, she began to google translate and use YouTube subtitles on some of her favorite songs to learn Korean, even teaching me how to say hello "annyeonghasibnikka," no "aniyo," yes "ye," and to count to ten during one of our sessions. This learning influenced her interests and plans for the future, as she expressed wanting to be a famous KPop singer when she grows up. Elson utilized YouTube to learn English, "Escuch[ando] un pedazo, y después repit[iendo] y repit[iendo] hasta me lo aprendo./*Listening to a part, then repeating and repeating until I learned it.*" He expressed his desire to understand English so that when he arrived in the U.S,. "they will not bully us, [and] I will know what they say/*no se burlaran de nosotros [y] yo sabría lo que está diciendo*." Lalisa utilized a similar practice of slowing down YouTube videos to learn dance choreography, explaining to me her process as I tried to learn one of the fast paced songs she liked:

> "You have to watch a part and practice it before advancing with the next part so that you can learn it well...when you are dancing alone, you can choose from everyone (in the video) who you want to follow/*tienes que mirar una parte y practicarlo antes de avanzar con el siguiente parte para que lo aprendas bien…cuando estas bailando sola puedes escoger de todo y quien quieres seguir.*"

After this lesson, she demonstrated the dance in full, successfully completing every move on-time. Her plan for learning, and her application of global tools, worked well.

Ample opportunities arose to develop new cultural understandings and interests through the people that these children met while in-transit. In one such example, Isabel rode a bus with a large group of Arabs throughout much of Central Mexico. She was friendly with them and exchanged stories and music. During one of our art sessions, Isabel asked me to play the song "Ahere Mirimboto" which was one of these songs and had become her favorite since that journey. Once her mom helped me to find the song, as her pronunciation and my lack of knowledge of the language made that difficult, she sang it at the top of her lungs on our call. Kevin became very invested in the skateboarding culture while in Monterrey, sending me a video of a kickflip he learned to do recently. His mom would take him on the weekends to a big public park—the same one where Steven learned and practiced BMX biking—which is where he first saw kids his age skateboarding and eventually made friends who taught him how to skateboard. While he expressed not having much initial interest in leaving Honduras, he was now excited to go the U.S., and particularly to New York, "because there are lots of beautiful parks to skate/porque hay muchos parques bonitos para patinar." While his mom had placed the family in asylum proceedings as a result of fleeing violence in their home community, Kevin's interest in the U.S. reflected a different focus, centered around new interests he explored while in-transit.

Views on and the importance of religion and faith for children also evolved throughout their prolonged periods in transit. For Kevin, Leonel, and Isabel, for example, their families became more disconnected from religion throughout their journey, a reality that the children were not super happy about. For Isabel, she missed praying and going to church, as it was a huge way in which she connected to her dad who used to read to her from the bible every day when they were in Mexico City. In Monterrey, however, when he gets home from work he "goes straight to sleep/se duerme de inmediato" so he no longer has time. Michelle notes that another

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reason why they have not gone to church despite Isabel's prodding is that they have not been able to find Evangelical churches as most of the ones in Mexico are Catholic. Leonel and Kevin also experienced this separation from religion as they lived for 2 years in a Catholic shelter while identifying as Evangelicals. Leonel, who used to pray every day now barely does because he forgot how and does not want to. When asked what it was like to have to attend Catholic mass three times a day, he reflected "sometimes the cross and Jesus crucified makes me scared/*A veces me da miedo lo de la cruz con Jesús allí como es (crucificado)*."

Conversely, for Adriana's family, religion was a guiding factor in where they went and how long they stayed along the route. Her dad teaches Christian music and is a singer. Wherever they were in Mexico, they would find the closest church and offer to teach classes in exchange for room and board or some income to help them on their journey. As a result, the majority of Adriana's friends are connected to church. She has learned how to play piano and sings a wide array of Christian music and dances with a group at church each Sunday, talents she demonstrated to me on numerous occasions throughout our sessions. While religion is a previously identified funds of knowledge that children bring with them to school, these examples illustrate that these beliefs are not entirely fixed, and that experiences in-transit may shape and change children's identities—further positioning this portion of the migrant journey as important to understand from children's unique perspectives.

Taken as a whole, the various excerpts shared above by children illustrate how Honduran migrant children interacted with and built relationships through technology, in-person, and various religious experiences while in-transit, experiences which supported their development of novel understandings of a global culture. These reflect informal funds of knowledge that they will carry with them into new environments they encounter throughout the rest of their migratory

trajectory including formal and informal educational spaces. For example, as these children navigate new cultures across geographic spaces, they will bring with them their rich knowledge and multifaceted identities developed in-transit, influencing, and being influenced by new contexts and individuals they interact with.

Perceptions of Geography and Space

Participants also demonstrated nuanced perceptions of geography and space that emerged while in-transit, offering insight into the ways in which children make sense of migratory experiences. While geography is a funds of knowledge referenced in previous educational scholarship (Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2019), it has primarily been associated with learnings that come from static visual representations, such as maps and flags in the home. The present study offers unique perspectives on these understandings as children move across diverse geographies and spaces and are afforded opportunities to expand their ideas about the world and those living in it.

For example, presentations of the migratory journey in relation to Central American children almost exclusively focuses on the dangers they face in route and their diverse experiences of vulnerability (Vogt, 2018). When asked to draw three things they saw or remembered from their journey, however, children in the present study focused on creating images of positive things, including nature and friends. When they did draw something dangerous, such as the train which is commonly referred to as "the beast" due to the dangers incurred for migrants who ride it, they reflected positively on these experiences, painting an entirely different picture to the trauma-focused views and experiences often attributed to children migrating through Mexico.

In Figure 2.1, Adriana drew a large mountain (1), her friend in Tapachula where she lived for 10 months who was two years old and very small (2), and the pastor who ran the church and home where they stayed and was always very nice to her (3). She reflected upon these three memories positively, remembering the happy moments she experienced en route.
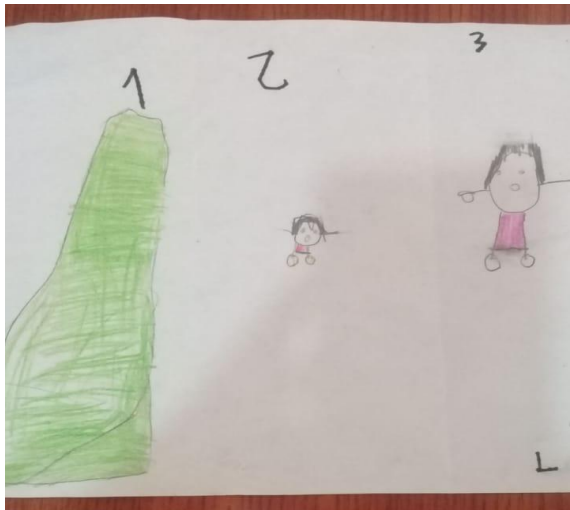
Figure 2.1.

Adriana's Three Things She Saw While In-Transit

In Figure 2.2 Camila also depicted several positive and beautiful experiences from her journey. In her own words, "there were a bunch of purple flowers and the sun was rising, we were on the train and only I was awake...and here is the train, which was the most exciting."/*Había un montón de flores moradas y venía amaneciendo, íbamos en el tren y sólo yo estaba despierta...Y aquí es el tren, qué es lo más emocionante.*" While her sister Rose did comment on how the trains they often took were "very hungry and cold," she also viewed it as the most exciting and unique experience of her journey.
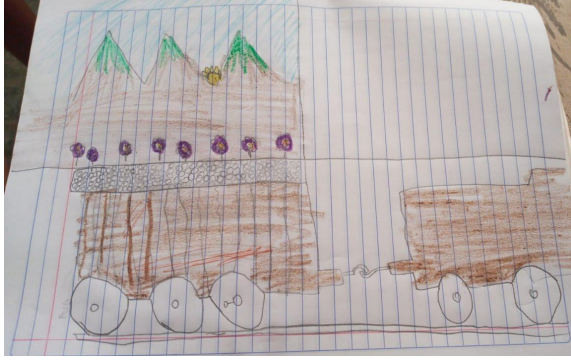
Figure 2.2.

Camila's Three Things She Saw While In-Transit

As these examples note, the experiences these children face in relation to danger and diverse processes of vulnerability may not be the sole factor shaping their conception of geography and space. In fact, children may focus more on the positive and exciting new experiences while in-transit—presenting an example of children's agency in making sense of their experiences and an emergent theme that warrants further exploration.

Discussion

The seventeen migrant children featured in the study underwent rich processes of informal learning while in-transit from Honduras to Monterrey, Mexico. While their experiences illustrated various funds of knowledge identified in previous research, three new funds of knowledge also emerged—duty of care, digital literacy, and global culture. Duty of care was illustrated in the various ways in which children enact concepts of care for themselves, family, and community. This took shape in the way they looked after younger siblings, made food for their working parents, and learned to take care of the environment and those around them in shared living spaces. Building off of Orellana and colleagues (2001) scholarship, these examples of care illustrate the ways in which children as young as five years old play active, participatory roles in the processes of family migration. While children "maneuver in an in-between zone, still

dependent and in need to adult protection and active care, but also increasing capable of independent action" (Orellana et al., 2001, p. 578), the examples of duty of care shared illustrate how migrant children may be ascribed or in some cases self-ascribe caregiver roles which are often associated with adulthood. As Orellana (2001) argues, attention should be paid to these daily contributions and the work children do, particularly within the contexts of schools. These acts should be valued as cultural knowledge and skills that they contribute to their families and communities and invited to be shared within classrooms, as they represent a key part of who these children are and their experiences outside of schools. Moreover, im/migrant children's responsibilities and roles such as taking care of and cooking for their family, may also influence the time they are able to dedicate to academics outside of school. These lived realities are important for educators to consider when determining work loads they send home with students, such as through homework, projects, and studying in order to ensure that all children have equitable opportunities to be successful.

Digital literacy was developed through the use of technology and social media to maintain and develop transnational interests and ties to friends and family throughout their migratory trajectories. During their time in-transit, Honduran migrant children developed new global musical interests, met and kept contact with friends through collaborative video games, and strengthened relationships with siblings separated across borders. Prior research has shown how maintaining and developing transnational ties can help foster students social and academic success (Borjian & Padilla, 2010; de la Piedra & Araujo, 2012; Hamman et al., 2006; Lucic, 2016). These experiences also afforded students access to rich and diverse social capital and networks (Relaño Pastor, 2007) which promote strong identity development. Moreover, participants' increased use of and familiarity with technology and social media, reflects typical

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developmental patterns in comparison to similar-age peers in other contexts (Steinberg, 2019), highlighting ways in which children continue to develop and interact with and learn from others in the world, in spite of challenging circumstances. The digital literacy these children developed while in-transit, may support their ability to make friends and relate to their peers, as well as contribute to their overall academic success in new environments. As technology use in schools has become increasingly essential and pervasive—particularly during the pandemic—this funds of knowledge reflects relevant informal learning that may facilitate these children's transitions into new academic spaces.

Children's development of global culture took shape through interactions with diverse individuals and spaces resulting in the learning of new languages and shifting understandings and connections to religion and faith. Previous scholarship has posited that language can be instrumental in students' adaptation and identity development (Despagne, 2019; Lucic, 2016; Tacelosky, 2013). In the case of the current participants, it supported their social acceptance amongst peers in migrant shelters, was presented as a protective strategy to avoid future bullying, and helped to shape children's career aspirations. Scholarship has also recognized broader benefits of developing bilingual abilities at an early age, including fostering greater metalinguistic awareness and affording skills that support im/migrant families in navigating broader societal structures and needs once in the U.S. (Chávez Montaño, 2006; Olmedo, 2008; Orellana, 2001). Bringing the linguistic skills migrant children develop while in-transit into classroom spaces can help to facilitate their adaptation to new environments and ensure they feel a sense of belonging. Understanding migrant children's connections to religion and faith, and how these evolved while in-transit, also provide insight into children's interests and coping mechanisms when confronting challenging circumstances—knowledge that can support

educators in best meeting the needs of their students and bringing their family's community cultural wealth into formal academic spaces (Saathoff, 2015).

Finally, Honduran migrant children developed nuanced perceptions of geography and space, a previously established funds of knowledge category, attending to more positive aspects of their migratory experience including individuals they met, and nature they were able to experience. This portrayal shifts the focus from victim orientations often attributed to im/migrant students—which center the trauma and dangers children experience in-transit (Vogt, 2018)—towards a more asset framing which highlights all of the new experiences and learnings that take place throughout their journey. This adds to the body of literature on sociology of childhood (Matthews, 2007), as through the application of participatory storytelling methods, children were afforded diverse opportunities to make sense of complex processes of mobility and vulnerability and co-constructing knowledge and—countering the general absence of their voices in migratory and educational scholarship (Pain, 2004; Yeoh & Lam, 2006). It is important to note that while experiences of hardship did arise throughout conversations with participants, the fact that they did not always explicitly come to the forefront when discussing their journeys is likely a result of what children chose to foreground as well as my methodological decisions to explicitly not dive deeper into these situations to avoid potential retraumatization. As such, this positive attribution is an area that would benefit from further research.

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, these funds of knowledge serve to counter deficit perceptions that associate time in transit with learning loss. By increasing the visibility of migrant children's experiences, migration can be seen as more than just time out of school or a rupture in an educational path, but instead as an experience in which children develop a wealth of knowledge

which they bring with them to their current and future educational contexts. As Lavandez (2008) writes, "the inclusion of students' languages and cultures into the curriculum…is one step of shifting the apparent invisibility of Central Americans in our schools" as well as "revers[ing] the hidden nature of the hybrid identities [these children] experience as they become participatory citizens" (p. 24). For example, by directly discussing migration in the classroom, educators can shed light on students' lived reality, help combat discrimination, and build understanding amongst peers (Arriaga Reynaga, 2019). However, making space for informal learning, such as illustrated throughout this study, in formal academic settings requires adequate curricular modifications and educator professional development to support the creation of more inclusive and transformative environments for im/migrant students—practices that have been shown to be insufficient and incipient in U.S. and Mexican schools (Gluckman et al., in press), and reflect an important area for future work.

    As migrants traverse across geographic, social, cultural, and linguistic barriers throughout their migratory journey, they also encounter various informal learning spaces and actors which shape their lived realities and development. Living in migrant shelters for a portion of time in-transit, for example—in the case of eight of the families in the present study—represented key contexts of learning, as children interacted with different people, cultures, religions, and rules. Especially given that migrant shelters throughout Central America and Mexico were never designed with children in mind (and were originally designed to serve primarily single male adults), it is important to consider ways in which the learnings identified in the current study can serve to develop capacity amongst shelter workers, NGOs and other community advocates who migrant children will interface with during their journey. Understanding children's agency and action in their migratory trajectories, can signal ways in which children might be invited into the

development of appropriate shelter responses and programs; this with the goal of ensuring that

the informal learning that takes place in these spaces contributes to positive child development.

CHAPTER THREE

Learning about Immigration Processes and Enforcement: Migrant Children's Politicized

Funds of Knowledge

Recent U.S. policy changes, both prior and in relation to COVID-19, have contributed to longer waiting periods for Honduran migrant families in Mexican border cities. Between December 2018 and January 2021, the Trump administration's Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP) policy, also referred to as 'Remain in Mexico,' had returned 71,044 asylum seekers to Mexico (TRAC, 2021)— including at least 16,000 children (Cooke et al., 2019)—to await their U.S. immigration proceedings. Hondurans were the most prevalent population within these numbers, totaling 32% (23,059) of all MPP enrollments (TRAC, 2021). Prolonged periods in Mexico exposed Honduran asylum seekers to elevated contexts of vulnerabilities, danger, and discrimination (American Immigration Council, 2021; Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación, 2011; PHR, 2021) — experiences that can be even more fraught for children, as trauma has distinct developmental consequences for their physical and mental health (Estefan et al., 2017). While the original MPP policy[5] was rescinded by the Biden Administration in early 2021, resulting in many families being processed into the U.S. to await their asylum processes, many of the families enrolled in this program had already waited up to two or three years in Mexico (American Immigration Council, 2021). These prolonged periods in-transit make up a critical portion of children's lives and formative experiences that they will carry with them.

According to Gallo and Link (2015), im/migrant children develop rich "politicized funds of knowledge" as they make sense of and maneuver complex im/migratory processes. Gallo and

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[5] The Biden Administration rescinded the original Trump Administration policy in January 2021, however, as of September 2021, they have been discussing implementing a policy colloquially referred to as "MPP 2.0" (Kumar, 2021). During the development of this article, the status of this policy change was unknown.

Link define politicized funds of knowledge as the "real-world experiences, knowledge, and skills that young people deploy and develop across contexts of learning that are often positioned as taboo or unsafe to incorporate into classroom learning" (p. 361). They interrogate how educators' acknowledgement or exclusion of children's politicized funds of knowledge can shape their schooling experiences and sense of wellbeing (Gallo & Link, 2015). This study builds on this concept by examining the child migrants' politicized funds of knowledge during a unique political and historical moment—the confluence of border closures and uncertain asylum processes associated with the Trump era and COVID-19. I ask: *How do Honduran children make sense of and learn from their im/migration experiences as they are in-transit within Mexico?*

According to previous research, children's voices can offer new and valuable insights on human nature and migration (Yarwood & Tyrrell, 2012), as well as lead to more relevant and responsive research and pedagogies (Vecchio et al., 2017). As Heidbrink notes in her study of Guatemalan youth migrants, "the insights and experiences of young people [can] likewise uncover the transnational effects of the securitized responses to migration management and development on individuals and families and across space, citizenship status, and generations" (p. xii). Children's voices, however, continue to be marginalized in migratory and educational scholarship in favor of adult-centric perspectives (Pain, 2004; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Schmidt, 2017; Yeoh & Lam, 2006). Migrant students' backgrounds are frequently overlooked in schools, resulting in 'everyday ruptures' that jeopardize their academic, linguistic, and identity development, as well as educational continuity (Hamann & Zúñiga, 2011; Panait & Zúñiga, 2016; Román González & Zúñiga, 2014). As rising rates of Honduran children are experiencing im/migration experiences within the Central America-United States nexus, it is important that these histories and experiences are further understood and invited in educational spaces.

Through a qualitative study, I followed four Honduran focal families in the MPP program over three to five months while they were undergoing prolonged waiting periods in the Mexican border town of Monterrey, Nuevo Léon. I invited them to co-construct their experiences in-transit through the use of participatory storytelling methods (Torres & Carte, 2012). Through a cross-case analysis (Miles et al., 2013) comparing themes and similarities, I highlight how Honduran migrant children learned about and enacted agency in relation to im/migration, danger, and discrimination throughout their journeys. First, I illustrate how they developed politicized funds of knowledge surrounding the politics of border crossing through fraught interactions with im//migration officials, prolonged periods in-transit, and evolving understandings of legality. Then, I highlight the rich politicized funds of knowledge they possess regarding what dangers they faced in Honduras and enroute, featuring the ways in which they employ this knowledge to confront situations protecting themselves and their families. Finally, I examine how Honduran migrant children strengthened their identities and confronted the discrimiation they faced throughout their journeys. Throughout these findings, I incorporate parent accounts to provide context, particularly in relation to potentially traumatizing experiences undergone while in-transit. What follows are stories and learning from four focal Honduran families, the Rodriguez, Montaño, Castellanos, and Gómez families (names are pseudonyms). A profile of each family is described below.

Literature Review

In their study of children's politicized funds of knowledge, Gallo and Link (2015) detail how 'Ben,' a Mexican-born child in a U.S. school, gained politicized funds of knowledge while navigating his family's documentation status and his father's arrest and pending deportation case. They found that these experiences—which profoundly shaped Ben's psychological state

and influenced his economic instability at home—directly affected his ability to focus on school and his academic performance. However, despite Ben's mother briefing his teachers on his im/migratory experiences, Ben's teachers shared that they grappled with to what extent they should ask questions. They also struggled with how to adequately support Ben and other students undergoing similar issues. As such, coupled by limited curricular opportunities for children to share such experiences, Ben and other im/migrant children's politicized funds of knowledge were found to remain marginalized in classroom environments.

Building upon Gallo and Link's (2015) initial framing, additional scholarship has detailed how im/migration children develop politicized funds of knowledge through experiences with border crossing, im/migration paperwork, and im/migration agents, as well as interpreting and responding to media narratives of im/migrants and actively engaging in family im/migratory decisions (Gallo, 2017; Gallo & Link, 2015; Oliveira & Gallo, 2021). This scholarship, however, primarily centers on children's experiences within the U.S. or when crossing the U.S. southern border, leaving out a large portion of these children's migratory journeys, which may involve crossing several geographic, political, and social boundaries through extended periods in-transit.

Understanding the full scope of politicized funds of knowledge that children develop while in-transit is particularly relevant within educational discourse, as migratory experiences writ large have profound and diverse effects on children's educational aspirations, trajectories, and success (e.g. Abrego, 2014; UNESCO, 2019). Honduran migrant children, for example, have been found to negotiate trauma related to migration, deportation, or family separation, each which can have dramatic social, physical, and sociological implications for their socioemotional well-being, health, and identity inside and outside of schools (Panting, 2016). As Sánchez Mimbela (2019) notes, as early as the primary grades, migrant students can experience a form of

'duelo migratorio' or 'migratory mourning' as a result of the loss of significant connections from and aspects of their previous lives, such as their family and friends, language, home, culture, social status, or even safety, depending on the context that they are moving to and from. Educators' acknowledgement of these experiences (or lack thereof) has proven to be influential in children's adaptation to new schooling environments and their overall emotional, cognitive, and behavioral development (Arriaga Reynaga, 2019; Cervantes et al., 2015; Moll et al., 2005; Montoya Zavala & Valenzuela Camacho, 2012; Strickland et al., 2010).

Moreover, ongoing and uncertain im/migratory dynamics can follow children for years, prolonging their state of being 'in-transit,' and perversely impacting their educational success and completion. For example, many of the Honduran unaccompanied minors who arrived at the U.S. border in 2014 still had pending immigration cases when they enrolled in U.S. schools (Berestein Rojas, 2015; Rogers, 2015). Educators noticed the emotional toll these legal proceedings had on students and their fear of deportation (Sanchez, 2015). Moreover, while analyzing the harsh immigration enforcement climate of the Trump era, Ee and Gandara (2019) found that children's fears related to parents losing their jobs or potentially being deported as a result of immigration raids made it challenging them to focus on their classes. Education research suggests that teachers are in a position to help assuage some of these concerns by creating a welcoming classroom environment that fosters a sense of belonging (Hamann et al., 2008; Hopkins et al., 2013), yet the capabilities and willingness of educational and community personnel to acknowledge and address these needs may vary.

While education has been cited as providing numerous benefits for displaced children (Vecchio et al., 2017), including helping them to develop the cultural, linguistic, and critical thinking knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in their new communities (UNHCR, 2015),

schools can also be sites of discrimination, hostility, and isolation (Favela, 2018; Gitlin et al., 2003; Hamann et al., 2017; Sime, 2017). As im/migration policy has become increasingly intertwined with education, schools have been found to replicate both exclusionary discourses and practices from the broader community (Turner & Figueroa, 2019). Such experiences can have a negative impact on migrant students educational attainment (Filindra et al., 2011), psychological adjustment, and sense of safety and security (Heidbrink, 2020; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015; UN, 2018; Vogt, 2018). For example, media discourse that dehumanizes and criminalizes child migrants, such as those attributed to Central American children which refer to them as dangerous 'water' or 'animals' (Catalano, 2017), can result in what Jeffries (2014) refers to as a 'circle of silence.' This silence occurs when anti-immigration rhetoric provokes fear within school districts, resulting in officials encouraging district administrators to downplay the arrivals of these students (Jeffries, 2014). This then limits how much support and knowledge teachers have regarding im/migrant students' lived experiences (Jeffries, 2014). The lack of support given can contribute to students' internalization of a sense of inferiority, furthering their sense of otherness and making them less willing to ask for help or call attention to their needs (Jeffries, 2014). Migratory and educational scholars argue that limited acknowledgement of migrant students' backgrounds and needs can pose challenges in terms of identity, sense of belonging, and academic success and continuity (Hamann et al., 2006; Hamann & Zúñiga, 2011; Martinez Brizeño, 2012; Montoya Zavala & Valenzuela Camacho, 2012; Panait & Zúñiga, 2016; Román González & Zúñiga, 2014; Sánchez García & Hamann, 2016; Sime, 2017).

Some aspects of the im/migrant experience remain invisible when researchers focus solely on adults as the key actors (Heidbrink, 2020; Orellana et al., 2001). This calls for

additional insight into children's direct and indirect engagements in family im/migration processes (Orellana, 2009; Oliveira & Gallo, 2021). The concept of politicized funds of knowledge, as employed in the present study, supports these aims by highlighting the unique understandings and learnings of a growing im/migratory student population undergoing complex processes of im/mobility and prolonged periods of in-transit. This approach challenges narratives which often frame children as reliant exclusively on adults' migratory decisions (Orellana, 2001), repositioning children as central and active contributors enroute. I build upon Oliveira and Gallo's (2021) work, which uses children's politicized funds of knowledge as a tool to support educators in developing an asset-based instructional approach. This is done by redefining learning as embedded in community and family practices, rather than solely taking place within formal academic spaces (Oliveira & Gallo, 2021). This approach challenges educators to consider how children's experiences with im/migration, dangers, and discrimination enroute may shape the way in which they engage with their new classroom environments and peers. With this knowledge, educators can develop more responsive support mechanisms to meet each child's unique needs. Through rich, child-led narratives, I demonstrate below how the Rodriguez, Montaño, Castellanos, and Gómez children developed politicized funds of knowledge throughout their deep and personal experiences with immigration politics. I argue that ignoring these experiences in classrooms would be denying these children a key piece of themselves.

Methods

I employed a participatory social-justice research design (Creswell & Clark, 2018) using a toolkit of participatory storytelling methods (Torres & Carte, 2012) over a three-to-five-month time period to examine the informal learning experiences or "funds of knowledge" that Honduran children gained while undergoing diverse migratory processes within Mexico.

Children were invited to participate in weekly sessions, which offered insight into various experiences in-transit both since leaving Honduras, as well as during their time living in Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico, as data collection progressed. Parents and guardians were invited to participate in activities as desired and available to contribute additional insights into family immigration processes and the dangers and discrimination faced enroute.

The methods I utilized provided children with a variety of opportunities to co-lead research interactions and offer their unique views on these experiences, therefore prioritizing the co-construction of knowledge with a population whose voices are frequently absent in research (Pain, 2004; Yeoh & Lam, 2006). The use of participatory storytelling also helped to deconstruct power dynamics between researcher and participant (Vecchio et al., 2017), attending specifically to my positionality as a white, American scholar studying U.S. im/migratory dynamics.

Participants

My broader research study included 17 Honduran children (7 males, 10 females) ages five to fifteen (average = 10.58 years old) from nine families. This article focuses on four families who: (a) were enrolled in the MPP program and pending asylum in the U.S., indicating connections with complex immigration processes; (b) had been in-transit for at least eighteen months since first leaving Honduras and the end of the data collection period—a prolonged period that could help to visualize how their understandings evolved over time; (c) had multiple children, which afforded an examination of how politicized funds of knowledge may develop differently at various ages; and (d) had openly discussed politics, danger, and discrimination with me during data collection. Below, Table 3.1 reflects relevant information regarding each family.

During data collection, these families were all in Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico, the second most important metropolitan city of Mexico, located in the northeast of the country.

While historically a site of transit for single male adults, Monterrey has recently experienced a growing presence of Central American families, in particular those seeking asylum in the U.S. or Mexico (REDODEM, 2018). Due to high rates of violence and kidnappings in Nuevo Laredo and Reynosa, many Central American families have chosen to await their MPP court dates in Monterrey, as it is considered to be a safer alternative (Burnett, 2019) with greater economic opportunities (Leutert, 2020; Nájar, 2019; Rangel et al., 2018; Zamora Carmona, 2018) and shelter capacity. While all four families had lived at the same shelter at one point during their time in-transit, during data collection, each family was living in different apartments in the outskirts of Monterrey's metropolitan area.

Table 3.1.

Focal Family Demographics

Case	Parent Pseudonym(s)	Child Pseudonyms & Ages (at last data collection session)	Time in-transit end of data collection (Months)	Enrolled in MPP seeking	Experience with being Kidnapped	Considers themselves Afro-Honduran	Number of data sessions
Case 1	Scarleth Rodriguez	Mariana (15) Eduardo (13) Steven (12)	26	Yes	Yes (in Mexico)	No	7
Case 2	Eunice Montaño	Milton (12) Elson (9) Nila (9)	22	Yes	No	No	6
Case 3	Rosa Castellanos	Jenny (9) Lalisa (12)	24	Yes	No	No	9
Case 4	Vanessa Gómez	Stephany (13) Camila (11) Rose (8)	18	Yes	No	Yes	8

Data Collection

I used a toolkit of participatory storytelling methods, including child-generated drawings, timelines, play, and life histories (Barros Nock & Ibarra Templos, 2018; Román González et al.,

2016; Schmidt, 2017) to invite the participation and co-construction of research with migrant children. I also drew upon a decade of personal and professional experiences with Honduran communities as an educator and scholar as a means of brokering rapport throughout these interactions. All research was conducted virtually through WhatsApp video calls or Zoom weekly sessions, called 'art clubs,' to protect children during COVID-19. Virtual research also allowed me to gain insight into each family's home life—including their meaningful, routine, and repetitive activities of daily living—while avoiding some of the potential discomfort and stress that may be associated with a researchers' physical presence in a private family space (Lareau & Rao, 2020).

Each session lasted between 20 and 90-minutes in duration, depending upon the child's interest, internet connectivity, and the number of children present for each session (between one and five children). While engaging in each participatory activity, I posed a series of initial prompts to facilitate deeper dialogue that aligned with general funds of knowledge categories established in prior research (Moll et al., 1992; National Center for Linguistic and Cultural Responsiveness, 2019; Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2019). Novel categories and prompts emerged in response to participants' interests and events happening during the time of data collection. While I designed an original outline with prompts and methods for 10 sessions, participants were invited to opt in or out of any activity or question, engage in them out of order, propose something else they would rather do, or even skip or reschedule a session if they were not feeling up to participating, empowering their agency in the research process and attending to particular ethical considerations for working with young populations undergoing diverse processes of vulnerability and mobility (Denov et al., 2012; Lareau & Rao, 2020; Mertens et al., 2010; Sime, 2017). The number of data collection sessions

with each child varied based on their availability and migratory trajectories (see Table 3.1), with some sessions concluded early pending the proximal travel plans each family had to the U.S. as their asylum processes were advancing.

While engaging in each participatory activity, I asked the children to describe what they were creating and documented this evidence in field notes (Emerson et al., 2011). Within these field notes, I included photographs of child-created artifacts, screen captures of message exchanges, and links to music and videos shared during our sessions. This process considers that "events in the world do not exist for people independently of the language people use to make sense of them" (Mehan, 1996, p. 262) and prioritizes participants' interpretations as a form of data validation and analysis (White et al., 2010). My positionality calls for me to carefully scrutinize my pre-existing assumptions and biases and to favor and center those grounded in the lived realities of the migrants themselves.

Even though I prioritized children's narratives, parents/guardians were invited to participate in sessions, primarily asking them to reflect on what their child had learned or to request additional context regarding events children experienced or knowledge they gained while in-transit. These debriefing sessions followed ethical recommendations for working with highly vulnerable minors by avoiding questioning that might result in children experiencing negative psychological effects, as well as serving as an additional form of member checking (Denov et al., 2012; Sime, 2017). While I did not question children directly about immigration, detention, deportation, danger, or any other potentially triggering or retraumatizing topics, as the present article shows, they emerged naturally in conversation. In addition, parents often requested to speak to me to ask for advice and support regarding their im/migration processes, particularly when information was in English. I helped them fill out paperwork and navigate im/migratory

dynamics. Supporting these processes was important to me as a form of research-participant reciprocity and also shed additional light on what each family was going through during the period of data collection.

Data Analysis

Each "art club" session was audio recorded and later transcribed and compiled with the associated field notes for each family. This data was then close coded utilizing general funds of knowledge codes which surround children's political, social, emotional, cultural, and linguistic learning opportunities and experiences. Given my interest in children's politicized funds of knowledge, I used open coding to identify the nuanced political experiences among the four focal families, resulting in the creation of subcodes such as "immigration," "border," "danger," and "discrimation." These themes are detailed in the present study, while other funds of knowledge are explored elsewhere.

I completed two rounds of data review and coding for the politicized funds of knowledge subcodes. From there, I created a narrative profile for each family, using coded transcript data, field notes, and multimedia artifacts that emerged as particularly salient and illustrative of children's funds of knowledge developed in-transit. Then, I used explanatory methods to compare and contrast common or unique qualities and experiences across families and between siblings in the same family. After demarcating each family as a case, I generated a cross-case analysis to confirm patterns and document themes related to the politicized funds of knowledge developed while children engaged in diverse migratory trajectories (Miles et al., 2013). This involved generating a matrix with these narrative profiles, coding excerpts to visualize the connections present across cases, and identifying the most salient themes which are detailed below. By focusing on imposing patterns and meanings onto the four cases collectively, this

enhances the generalization of study findings to broader theory (Ruddin, 2006)—in this case hypothesizing that migrant children may develop politicized funds of knowledge while engaging in im/migratory processes, similar to those featured in this study.

<p align="center">**Family Profiles**</p>

The Rodriguez Family

At the time of data collection, the Rodriguez family had been in-transit for over two years, spending the majority of their time in Monterrey awaiting their opportunity to seek asylum in the U.S. The mother, Scarleth, and her three children Mariana (15), Eduardo (13), and Steven (12), were renting a shared apartment on the outskirts of Monterrey, and always had a flow of neighbors and friends coming in and out of their home during our sessions. However, not all neighbors were as inviting, and on one occasion, the cops had been called on Steven for allegedly breaking-in to a neighbor's home when he wasn't even nearby at the time. Scarleth's experiences with Mexican officials were equally fraught, as she was arrested and held for three days without being able to contact her children. She was told that the only way to avoid deportation was to request asylum in Mexico, so she did, despite already having an active MPP case for asylum in the U.S.

During one of their journeys from Monterrey to the U.S. border for their scheduled and, later postponed, court date, they were kidnapped by criminal groups and released—in Scarleth's words, "Thank God/*Gracias a Dios,*" given that they had no money to offer. These experiences brought the family even closer together, with Mariana acting as a caregiver to her siblings. Mariana saw herself as responsible for protecting her brothers and showing them how to act. The siblings were a tight knit family and enjoyed playing together outdoors, cracking jokes and teasing each other, and staying up late watching videos and sleeping most of the day.

The children had time to engage in my study because, despite numerous attempts, Scarleth had been unable to enroll her children in school during their time in Mexico. She was presented with various setbacks, such as not having the appropriate paperwork or there not being enough "cupos/spaces." While Mariana, Eduardo, and Steven's migratory trajectories included three years disconnected from formal education, they still visualized education as an integral part of their near and long-term futures, alongside their careers as a stylist, teacher/soccer player, and DJ, respectively. In March 2021, they crossed into the U.S. to await their pending asylum case.

The Montaño Family

Eunice Montaño, a single mother of three, had been traveling with her children, Milton (12) and twins Elson and Nila (9), for just under two years, part of which included being deported from northern Mexico to Honduras and starting the journey over again. Each time Eunice had to travel to the border for her MPP court dates, she shared she would get "heart palpitations" from fear of getting kidnapped or something happening to her children. She felt this same fear in their temporary community outside of Monterrey, so Milton, Elson and Nila were rarely allowed to play outside or socialize with their neighbors. Instead, they would make up games and play with their new puppy which their mom got them during quarantine to keep them entertained.

Milton, Elson, and Nila were enrolled in virtual schooling during the pandemic, which consisted of almost daily synchronous video calls with their teachers and lots of homework. They planned to continue their studies once in the U.S. alongside dreams of becoming an architect, luxury car business owner, and a famous soccer player, respectively. In May 2021, they crossed into the U.S. to await their pending asylum case.

The Castellanos Family

Rosa Castellanos had been in-transit for two years with her daughters Jenny (9) and Lalisa (12). Originally, Rosa and Lalisa had traveled as a pair, however, when Jenny experienced depression related to separation from her mother, Leo, their father, brought her north to meet them and continued on his own, eventually ending up in a immigration detention facility. Their other sister Gabriela (7) is still in Honduras, with whom they kept in contact daily via video chat. Gabriela was included in many of her sisters' drawings during data collection.

When describing their journeys through Mexico, Jenny and Lalisa drew maps that consisted of many twisty roads, buses, hotels and rivers, sharing how challenging it was to have to "withstand hunger and thirst/*aguantar hambre y sed*." However, as Lalisa and Jenny shared, it was also an opportunity to build really strong relationships with the other families they shared space with in a shelter for over a year, including the Gómez family. It is through these friendships that they developed an interest in Korean culture and music, often dancing and singing along throughout our sessions. In May 2021, they crossed into the U.S. to await their pending asylum case.

The Gómez Family

Vanessa Gómez and her daughters Stephany (13), Camila (11), and Rose (8) were in-transit for a year and a half. When they first arrived at the U.S. border, they were separated from their half sister who was allowed to enter into the U.S. as an unaccompanied minor, whereas the rest were sent back to wait through the MPP process. In Mexico, they had various encounters with discrimination given their intersecting identities as migrants and Afro-Hondurans, experiences which made Vanessa nervous about allowing her daughters to play outside. The three girls made friends easily while in the shared shelter space, such as with the Castellanos

family, however once they moved into their own apartment and were confined as a result of COVID-19, Rose experienced much more depression.

On the other hand, Camila was much more calm and comfortable away from the shelter, as the girls had never been used to sharing a space with so many people. She thrived in her caregiving role for younger children in the shelter—a desire and talent that emerged naturally while in-transit. Vanessa also commented on learning a lot about how to socialize through these experiences, as often she is more introverted and shy. Pushing herself out of her comfort zone, she talked to lawyers visiting the shelter and secured representation for her asylum case in the U.S.. This supported her in getting a work permit even before entering the U.S. Camila, Stephany, and Rose want to continue their studies once in the U.S. and become a doctor, actor, and a model respectively. In March 2021, they crossed into the U.S. to await their pending asylum case.

Politicized Funds of Knowledge

The Politics of Border Crossing

Children from all four families reflected on gaining a better understanding of the politics of border crossing while in-transit—knowledge which they employed to make sense of prolonged periods of waiting in Mexico at the U.S.'s southern border. Understandings varied across age and within families, as siblings from the same household shared nuanced reflections of the same experiences. In addition, parents from each household varied in how transparent they were with their children regarding their im/migration process in relation to why they left and how long they would be gone from Honduras. Below, I describe how children's understandings of the politics of border crossing evolved and were enacted in certain situations, particularly in

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relation to the family members' visions for the future and how they viewed and interacted with my positionality as an American citizen of a U.S. border town.

Novel border/im/migration understandings. Several children noted before embarking on their migratory journey, they were unaware of exactly what they would face while enroute, and particularly in relation to the border and im/migration policies and rules. For some, this was a result of having limited information, while for others, they were actively being fed misinformation by their coyotes, or guides en route. In each of these cases, children developed emerging understandings of border and im/migration policies through their lived experiences in-transit, illuminating what politicized funds of knowledge they may utilize to make sense of or respond to future information and situations as they continue the im/migratory processes.

In one conversation with Rose and Stephany Gómez, they described the impact that misinformation had on their original perceptions, as their coyotes told them that the borders were open:

> Rose: I thought that migration was just a little old person that was waiting for us and put in a few places and then let us pass./*Yo pensaba que migración era sólo un viejito que nos estaba esperando, que nos metía a una par de lados y nos dejaba pasar.*
> Stephany: Of migration? I thought that...while in-transit they were talking that we were going to pass and that the borders were open. So I thought, and I had gotten excited that we were going to go to the border and then they were going to let us cross./*¿De migración? Yo pensaba que... es que como en el camino venían hablando de que íbamos a pasar, que las fronteras estaban abiertas. Entonces pensé, me había emocionado que íbamos a la frontera y que después nos iban a dejar pasar.*
> ...Maxie: How did you develop that concept?/*¿Cómo construyeron ese concepto?*
> Stephany: When we were coming, the people that were bringing us always said that the border was open, that we were going to pass right away, that migration was going to grab us, and was going to let us pass./*Es que cuando veníamos, la gente que nos traía siempre nos decía que la frontera estaba abierta, que íbamos a pasar de inmediato, que no nos iba a agarrar migración y nos iban a dejar pasar.*

> Maxie: Are those coyotes you came with? Why do you think they told you that?/*¿Esos son los coyotes con quienes venían? ¿por qué crees que ellos dijeron eso?*
> Rose: To bring people and that the people would come. The more money they bring, the more money they get./ *Para traer gente y que la gente se viniera. Entre más gente traiga más dinero consiguen.*

This process of learning occurred as the Gómez family was confronted with the reality that crossing the border would not be as easy as they were originally told. As Rose's final comment reflects, children also gained knowledge of the motivations behind their guide's misinformation, predicting that these choices were likely related to wanting to gather more business, rather than actually based on truth. This process of analyzing how and why misinformation may be created and spread reflects a politicized funds of knowledge that may help the Gómez children navigate social interactions and avoid being deceived in future contexts.

While Rose was the one to most clearly share her evolving view on border politics in the aforementioned narrative, the interaction below shows how her understandings were still incipient, possibly related to her age. In this excerpt, her older sibling, Camila (age 13), took it upon herself to educate Rose, countering her belief that a passport and im/migration paperwork could be purchased.

> Maxie: If you had a lot of money, what is the first thing you would buy?/*Si tuvieras mucho dinero, ¿cuál sería la primera cosa que compras?*
> Rose: A passport for my whole family and papers for the U.S./*Pasaporte para toda mi familia y papeles para Estados Unidos.*
> ...Maxie: Do you think you can buy that with money?/*¿Crees que eso se puede comprar con dinero?*
> Rose: Yes./*Sí.*
> Maxie: How much would it cost?/*¿Cuánto costaría?*
> Rose: Dollars./*Dólares.*
> Camila: You cannot buy that with money./*Eso no se compra con dinero.*
> Maxie: That is her ideal life, she can image it, but I don't know if you have an idea of how much it would cost?/*Es la vida ideal de ella, ella puede imaginar, pero no sé si tienes una idea de cuánto costaría.*
> Rose: One hundred dollars./*Cien dólares.*
> Maxie: So you could start to save./*Entonces puedes empezar a ahorrar.*

Rose: Yes./*Sí.*

Considering that the prompt was for her to imagine her ideal day and scenario, this also may reflect a sense of hope or possibility in relation to the dynamics of border crossing into the U.S., despite having lived in Mexico for two years awaiting their asylum processes at the time of this conversation. In addition, her plan was to purchase passports for her whole family and was going to start saving to do so, reflecting a strong connection and commitment to family togetherness.

Similar to Rose, Lalisa Castellanos was hopeful that she would eventually cross the border, commenting that "some day surely we are going to visit you/*algun dia seguramente nos vamos a ir a visitarte*," referring to visiting myself, the researcher, who she knew lived in the U.S. When asked how she knew that we would see each other, she added "I have hope that they are going to let us cross and that way we can see each other/*tengo esperanza que nos van a dejar cruzar y así nos vamos a poder ver.*" These comments are reflective of the various ways that the children in the study viewed crossing the border as a reality that was just a matter of patience and time, with no direct reference to an inability to cross. It also reflects the clear connection Lalisa made throughout the study with my positionality as an American as a way of connecting her knowledge of border politics to the ways in which they could separate or potentially connect us, a point I expand upon further in the following section.

"Can you cross me in a suitcase?" Migrant children's politicized funds of knowledge regarding the U.S.-Mexico border were also present throughout the ways in which they implicated me in their certain border crossing scenarios, requesting in two different instances if I could "cross them," whether by car or in a suitcase. While they were both presented with a certain level of humor on behalf of the participants, I present these scenarios as rich examples of

the ways in which their border politics knowledge developed while in-transit to include complex

knowledge regarding smuggling, legality, nationality, and power.

The scenario with Rose and Camila Gómez emerged when we were playing a game and I

asked if she would share a bit of her food, as it looked really good. She responded "when I go to

Tijuana, you can come by car to get some/Cuando voy a Tijuana puedes venir en carro para

agarrar un poco." The rest of the interaction transpired as follows:

> Maxie: I would like to be able to visit you, but I wouldn't be able to bring you
> [across]. Do you know why?/*Yo quisiera, podría irles a visitarles, pero traerles
> conmigo no podría, ¿saben por qué?*
> Camila: If it was that easy, we would already be there./*Si fuera así de fácil ya
> estaríamos allá.*
> Maxie: Camila, why is it not that easy?/*Camila, ¿por qué no es tan fácil?*
> Camila: Because we need papers, if not you would get into trouble for taking us
> illegally into the U.S./*Porque necesitamos papeles, sino usted se metería en
> problemas por llevar ilegales a Estados Unidos.*
> Maxie: That is it, how did you learn all that?/*Así es. ¿Cómo aprendiste todo eso?*
> Camila: I do not know, with time. I have been here a year, I did not know what
> migration was until I got to Mexico./*No sé, con el tiempo. Ya llevo un año, yo no
> sabía qué era migración hasta que llegué a México.*
> Rose: I thought that a mad scientist put you in a room with air conditioning that
> had a bed and the next day they let you pass into the U.S., but it wasn't that
> way./*Yo pensaba que un científico loco te metía a un cuarto con aire
> acondicionado y tenía cama y que al día siguiente ya te dejaba pasar a Estados
> Unidos, pero no fue así.*
> Camila: It was not that way. We were, how long mom? We spent four days in the
> freezer./*No fue así. Estuvimos, ¿cuánto mami? Estuvimos cuatro días en la
> hielera.*

Shelia's acknowledgment that I could get in trouble by taking them 'illegally' across the border

integrates various points regarding nationality, legality, and im/migration, including taking into

consideration how the act of taking them across could have negative repercussions for me. While

Rose was the one to originally suggest I could just come and transport them across the border,

she later reflected on how her beliefs regarding immigration had evolved. She held some

previous understanding of the "hielera," the colloquial term for the caged-in areas where

im/migrants are held when they cross the border pending their processing. It is deemed the "freezer" because it is widely known by im/migrants, including young migrants, as being incredibly cold, with many people only provided with an aluminum sheet to keep warm and required to sleep on the floor. What was unique about Rose's reflection is her association between migration officials and a crazy scientist, potentially reflecting a judgement call that only a crazy person would place human beings in a freezer for days. Camila's questioning of how many days they were there is a repeated theme that emerged in the data, as there were no clocks or natural light. As a result, the children did not know what time or day it was, nor how much time had passed. For the four focal families, their time in the "hielera" ranged from two days to two weeks—conditions that in Rose's reflection could be considered crazy.

For Eduardo Rodriguez, once he learned that I lived right near the border, he also expressed a desire to have me cross him and his brother across, suggesting that I do so in a suitcase. This interaction with him and his sister Mariana touched on concepts of geography, family, smuggling, and im/migration context and laws, particularly for minors.

> Eduardo: Where are you from?/*¿A dónde es usted?*
> Maxie: San Diego./*De San Diego.*
> Eduardo: San Francisco is not the same?/*¿San Francisco no es lo mismo?*
> Maxie: No. Here is California (*showing a map*), here is Los Angeles, and here is San Diego, and here up high is San Francisco./*No. Aquí está California, aquí está Los Ángeles, aquí está San Diego y aquí arriba está San Francisco.*
> Eduardo: It's close./*Está cerca.*
> Maxie: I live a half hour from Tijuana [by car]./*Vivo a media hora de Tijuana.*
> Eduardo: Well, come here and take me in a suitcase (laughter). If two can fit, then two, I can go with my brother./*Pues venga para acá y me lleva en la maleta. (risas) Y si caben dos, pues dos, para ir con mi hermano.*
> Maxie: Ok, but what will happen with Mariana?/*Ok, Pero ¿qué pasa con Mariana?*
> Eduardo: Bring a suitcase./*Traiga una maleta.*
> Mariana: No, nobody remembers me./*No, de mí nadie se acuerda.*
> Maxie: Oh Mariana, that is not true. I told you that you can dye my hair red, I remembered you. Well, you know well that there are limitations, right? Do you know what could happen to me if I did that?/*¡Ay, Mariana, no es cierto! Ya te dije*

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*que me puedes pintar el pelo de rojo, yo sí te recuerdo. Pues, aunque bien sabes
qué hay limitaciones ¿Verdad? ¿Tú sabes qué podría pasarme a mí si yo hiciera
eso?*
Mariana: They are going to accuse you of kidnapping us, as a smuggler./*La van a
acusar de que se los robó, por traficante.*
Maxie: Yes well that could happen...because you are children they could also
accuse me of child kidnapping./*Pues también se podría... Como son niños,
también me podrían acusar de robo de niños.*

Eduardo's reflection communicated an understanding of the fact that while a border separated

San Diego from Tijuana, this border was something that I, as an American, would be able to

cross freely. He on the other hand, would only be able to cross in a hidden manner, which he

suggested would be by suitcase, reflecting a differential in power and freedom connected to

nationality. Mariana jumped in to acknowledge the limitations of my freedom—since they were

minors, I could be accused of child theft and smuggling and get into considerable trouble. The

politicized funds of knowledge Mariana and Eduardo developed while in-transit surrounding

legality may prove instrumental in navigating their future experiences and interactions with

im/migration officials as they pursue their asylum processes in the U.S. While the specific origin

of Eduardo and Mariana's knowledge remains unknown, I can connect this interaction to others

they shared regarding their experiences being kidnapped while at the border in Mexico, as well

as the way in which their "coyote" kept them hidden during their time in-transit.

Concepts of Migratory Decisions and Dangers

Knowledge of and engagement in migratory decisions. Aligned with prior research

which has critiqued the positioning of migrant children as mere additions to the migratory

journeys of adults (Orellana et al., 2001; Heidbrink, 2020), the children in this study possessed

deep knowledge of and participated in migratory decisions. Their active engagement in

migratory decisions varied within and amongst families, from acknowledging the danger they

were facing in their home country to reminding their parents to check the status of their migratory processes.

Parents were not always aware of their children's levels of understanding of migratory decisions, with some believing that they were less informed than they were in reality. In the case of the Montaño family, Eunice commented that "I came here due to big problems there [in Honduras], and for that reason they [her children] did not understand/*Yo me vine por los problemas de grandes de allá, pero eso no entendían*" adding that "at the beginning they always blamed her that it was her fault they were here [in Mexico]/al principio ellos me echaban la culpa que por mi culpa andábamos acá [en México]." The 'big problem' she was referring to was that Milton was being recruited in the school by gang members. He had been given a phone so he could become a scout and advise them if there were any police or rival gangs. When Eunice had him return the phone, the gangs said to her "he was going to enter, yes or yes/*que iba a entrar sí o sí*" and even though they initially migrated internally, the gang network was everywhere, so she decided they needed to leave. While his mom may have discounted his knowledge of this situation, Milton, reflected a pretty clear understanding of this dynamic, sharing that he told a teacher in Mexico why they had come, explaining that "the bad guys wanted to take me and because of the pressures in the country where there was no work and everything/*a mi me querían tomar los malos y por la presión del país que no daban empleo y todo eso*." Milton's reflection regarding migratory decisions demonstrates an understanding that migratory push factors may be multi-dimensional, as he added that the country's unemployment conditions contributed to their decision to leave. In Honduras, many children of Milton's age are already in the workforce, primarily in informal spaces—a reality that may have contributed in part to his reflection.

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Children also demonstrated various levels of engagement with these decisions, contributing to the family dynamic. While Eunice's children may have originally demonstrated a dissatisfaction with her decision to migrate, once they became more "used to it/*acostumbrado a ello*," in her words, they started contributing to the decision making processes. For example, their family was seeking asylum and, at the time of this study, awaiting their processing under MPP. As part of this process, they needed to fill out online forms to help expedite their transition to wait in the U.S. It was Eunice's kids who kept reminding her to do so, saying "try now, try and see if it will work/*ya intenta entrar, intenta a ver si funciona*" The portal to complete this paperwork suffered from numerous glitches during the first two weeks when thousands of families were trying to register and, while the U.S. government said that people would be processed in chronological order based on their date of entry to the program, many families believed that the quicker they signed up, the quicker they would get processed. Following this theory, the children were pushing Eunice—who took a more relaxed attitude towards it—to prioritize this paperwork in the hopes of allowing them to move north quicker. In this way, the children were exercising agency in their family's migratory decisions.

Understanding and confronting danger. In many cases, parents tried to keep their children innocent of the dangers they were facing while in-transit, most likely as a form of protection. However, despite this aim, the children in this study illustrated nuanced understandings of the risks associated with migration and even engaged in diverse strategies to confront these situations. Milton Montaño, for example, explained why he and his siblings did not generally go outside "because sometimes [the neighbors] fight, they have guns and machetes and they hit each other/*porque hay veces que se agarran, andan con pistolas o machetes y se pelean*." As a result, there was a high levelof police presence in their community which was

another reason they stay out of sight so as not to face any potential issues or discrimination. Milton compared this context in Mexico to his home in Honduras, noting "where I lived, the police never came, it was rare/*donde vivía nunca había llegado la policía, era raro*" and that it was calm. This further signals an acknowledgment of the dangers faced while in-transit and identification of particular strategies, such as staying inside, to avoid experiencing any potential challenges.

While much of migratory scholarship focuses on the often negative and traumatic experiences encountered enroute (Vogt, 2018; Catalano, 2017), children in this study made sense of these experiences in different ways, in some cases viewing them from a neutral or empowered perspective. For example, Stephany and Camila Gómez reflected on another set of encounters with danger in-transit, specifically with police and bribery, highlighting the ways in which they confronted this danger.

> Stephany: In Mexico city, we were in a taxi and the police stopped us, but they only asked my mom for money and let us go./*En la ciudad de México íbamos en un taxi y nos paró la policía, pero sólo le pidieron dinero a mi mami y nos dejaron irnos.*
> Camila: They ripped us off!/*¡Nos estafaron!*
> ...Stephany: Then again, further up the police stopped us again, but they asked for money, but my mom before the police caught up with us gave me the money so I could hide it (laughter). Then, when they got down and she did not have money, and since they did not look at the kids.../*También más adelante nos volvió a parar la policía, pero también pidió dinero, pero mi mami antes de que la policía nos alcanzara me dio el dinero a mi para que lo escondiera. (risas). Ya cuando bajaron y ella no traía dinero, y como a los niños no los veía...*
> Camila: She gave it to us so that us girls could hide it/.*Nos los dio para que nos escondiéramos las niñas.*
> Maxie: So, since she did not have any because you were hiding it, what happened?/*Entonces, como ella no tenía porque los estaban escondiendo, ¿qué pasó?*
> Stephany: They told us they were going to arrest us, but they couldn't./*Decían que nos iban a llevar presas, pero no podían hacerlo.*

This excerpt reflects how these girls supported their mother in taking action against danger by hiding money so that the police would not scam them. In the final line, Stephany added that she knows that the police could not arrest them, given their rights as migrants and having paperwork that allowed them to transit Mexico legally. This demonstrated a certain level of empowerment and how Stephany pushed back on the corruption they experienced at the hands of police.

Countering Discrimination

Children and families in this study experienced various forms of discrimination and exclusion, both within and outside of school spaces, which shaped their views regarding migration, their physical safety and inclusion, and themselves. In the school context, for example, Jenny and Lalisa Castellanos experienced discrimination and bullying because of how they looked and talked. As a result, they were relieved when they switched to virtual school in Mexico during the pandemic, as they no longer had to physically interact with their peers. Despite their feelings of being excluded and targeted by their classmates, Jenny and Lalisa expressed a continued desire to study and attend school, demonstrating a level of resilience to confront the discrimination they initially faced.

The Montaño children also faced discriminatory actions from peers, however, this occurred outside of the school environment. In their community, certain mothers would tell their children they could not play with them because they were not from Mexico. As a result, they would generally stay home. Nila, Elson, and Milton shared with me the many games they invented and how they continued to play while confined inside. Elson also shared that he developed a new hobby of drawing, showing a full sketch book he had created with invented scenes. Nila and Milton often talked about the super interesting National Geographic and Animal

Planet shows they watched, informing me of the most dangerous insects worldwide and other fun facts they had learned.

These encounters with discriminatory actions in the broader community also extended to adults and public servants. Many families experimented discrimination at the hands of police, as introduced in the example with bribery above. Below, I share how the Rodriguez family experienced repeated targeting from police officers in their community, contributing to feeling unsafe and uneasy.

In one particular example, Mariana was held up by the police and questioned while walking to the neighbors house to grab her brother for dinner.

> Mariana: They asked me why I was in the street and I told them that I was going to find my brother, it was about 11pm. I was already late and it was a little late, but his friend lives around the corner, he lives just here, and from there they told us a few things and took our shoes. The girl (her friend) had sandals, I had shoes on. I asked them why they were going to take my shoes since they were the only ones I had, and they said no, they were going to take them and I told them they couldn't take them because they were the only ones I had and they were broken and so they told me "No, we are going to throw you in the house," we are going to throw you in the house, we know where you live." The next day, I was only in sandals, the other girl was walking without sandals or anything. The next day, the mom of the girl told me that I should go out and look for the shoes to see if they were there with the sandals and I went to look for them and there they were, thrown away./*Ellos me dijeron que por qué andaba en la calle, yo les dije que iba a buscar a mi hermano, eran como las once. Es que ya estaba tarde, ya era un poco tarde, pero el amigo de él vive aquí a la vuelta, vive aquí no más, y de ahí nos dijeron unas cosas y de ahí nos quitaron los zapatos, la Chavela llevaba chancletas, yo llevaba zapatos. Yo les dije que por qué me iban a quitar los zapatos si era lo único que tenía, y ellos me dijeron que no, que me los iban a quitar, y yo dije que no me los podían quitar porque eran los únicos que tenía, además ya estaban rotos, y entonces "No, ahí te vamos a tirar en la casa" me dijeron ellos "te vamos a tirar en la casa, ya sabemos dónde vives". Y al siguiente día yo venía solo en chancletas, la otra Chavela venía sin chancletas ni nada. Y al siguiente día me dijo la mamá de la muchacha que fuera a buscar los zapatos a ver si estaban ahí con las chancletas, y fui a buscarlos y ahí estaban tirados.*
> Maxie: So they made you take them off, not to take them ...but why?/*Entonces te los quitaron, no para llevarlos... ¿Para qué?*
> Mariana: Just to bother me, I do not know. Because the other time when they were also coming, they were coming slowly and the other girl...we were coming

from shopping as they had sent me to do an errand, and there we were walking and they stopped me here and they asked where I was going and I said home. So my mom, when I told her, said if they ask me that again, that I should tell them "here close by" and that I should talk like a Mexican, but I don't really know Mexican speech./*Solo por molestar, no sé. Porque la otra vez también venían ellos, pero venían despacito y la otra muchacha... Veníamos de comprar y me mandaron a hacer un mandado, y ahí íbamos andando y me pararon aquí y me dijeron que para dónde iba y yo les dije que para mi casa. Entonces mi mamá cuando yo le conté me dijo que cuando me volvieran a preguntar yo les dijera "Aquí no más en corto" y que hablar como mexicana porque yo casi no sé el hablado mexicano.*

Marina pushied back against discrimination in this scenario by trying to convince the police not to take her shoes. She also reflected on learning from her mom how to speak in "Mexican" so that the next time she is stopped, she can try to convince them that she is a local, demonstrating the need for future tactics, as she believed she would confront this type of situation again.

Scarleth and the children did not just accept these situations, but instead developed strategies as a family to protect each other. This helped unify them even further while in-transit. For example, Scarleth would always remind her children that:

"If someone tries to touch you or harm you, or threatens that they are going to kill me, it's a lie and you should tell me. Do not be silent about anything, anything, anything. Any concern or anything, tell me, because apart from being your mom, I am also your friend./*Si alguien intenta tocarlos o hacerles daño, o que me amenaza que me van a matar a mí, es mentira, ustedes díganme. No se callen nada, nada, nada. Alguna inquietud o algo, diganmelo a mí, porque aparte de ser su mamá, soy su amiga también.*"

As a result of this parenting style, across various moments of the research process, her children were very open with her, each other, and me regarding what was happening in their lives and the discrimination they were experiencing. These strategies will likely help build resilience for future encounters during the continuation of their migratory journeys.

In addition to developing resilience to respond to and protect oneself when faced with discriminatory comments or actions, families in this study also pushed back against negative

stereotypes attributed to migrants. As Vanessa, one of the moms in the study, notes, "here in Mexico, they view all Hondurans as problematic, as coming from gangs or things like that, that we use drugs and like parties...that's how they describe us all, but we are not all that way./*Aquí en México miran a todos los hondureños como problemáticos, viniendo de maras o cosas así, que usamos drogas y nos gustamos las fiestas...así es cómo nos describen a todos, pero no somos todos así.*" Children also made statements following a similar mentality to what Vanessa described. When asked what they would like their future teacher to know about their journey, a prompt from our last session together, Camila, Lalisa, and Jenny shared the following:

> Camila: I am Honduran and I do not like racists./*Que soy hondureña y que me caen mal los racistas.*
> Lalisa: Even though we are migrants, we are not bad people. We are all the same./*Aunque nos miren migrantes no somos malas personas, todos somos los mismos.*
> Jenny: It's difficult, and it's not easy. We had to have a lot of strength because sometimes we were without food and water./ *Es difícil, que no es fácil y teníamos que tener mucho valor porque nos quedamos sin agua y sin comida.*

In each of these scenarios, these girls reflected on confrontations with discrimination at one point in their journey or facing challenges, such as being without food and water. In each statement, they also position themselves as being much more than the stereotypes ascribed to them. They characterized themselves as "strong," proud of their identity, and "the same" as others, explaining that because of this, they should not be discriminated against. Camila's comment had an additional layer related to racism, as her family identifies themselves as Afro-Honduran, and therefore faced discrimination based on skin color in addition to nationality.

Discussion

As the Rodriguez, Montaño, Castellanos, and Gómez families moved and stayed for prolonged periods throughout the Central America-U.S. nexus, their children developed unique politicized funds of knowledge demonstrated through their understandings of im/migration and

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border politics, danger, and discrimination, knowledge which will help them manuever across new im/migration and educational contexts. One such learning was children's evolving understanding of who could cross the border and how. For example, in the scenarios described above where I was requested to "cross them in a suitcase," Steven, Mariana, Rose, and Camila reflected varying levels of knowledge regarding the complex underpinnings of legality, smuggling, and privilege. While the children did not share exact origins of this knowledge, media messages which position migrants as "illegal" and "criminals" are pervasive in public discourse (Catalano, 2017). This criminalization undermines the fact that migrating and seeking asylum are considered basic and inalienable rights protected under Article 13 and 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human rights (United Nations, n.d.). This discourse has also been found to have detrimental effects on children's sense of identity and self-worthiness, realities that may reduce their willingness to advocate for their needs inside and outside of schools, if not addressed appropriately (Jeffries, 2014). However, children's knowledge of im/migration has also been found to assist them in maneuvering complex scenarios involving politics and power (Turner & Figueroa, 2019), skills that can support them in navigating such realities engendered in educational environments.

Milton, Stephany, and Camila, among others, also demonstrated that migrant children possess and develop rich understandings of migratory dangers and enact agency to confront these experiences—countering perceptions which frame children as "baggage" and extras to adult migratory journeys (Orellana et al., 2001). This supports scholarship which calls for children to be recognized and centered as actors and agents in their own right. While Chapter 8, Article 89 of the Mexican Migratory policy outlines the special protocols authorities should take to protect vulnerable communities and their rights during their transit through Mexico (Cámara de

Diputados del H. Congreso de la Unión, 2020; Sánchez-García, 2020), the examples presented in this paper illustrate how these protections are implemented with wavering fidelity. In fact, the same public officials who are positioned to protect migrants may be the ones perpetuating harm. Additional attention is needed from national and international human rights protection agencies to ensure compliance to these laws, as well as to disseminate information regarding safe and secure paths to denounce abuses. As noted prior, those seeking asylum under MPP were victims to a variety of dangers while awaiting their U.S. processes despite being guaranteed protection from both U.S. and Mexican entities. These realities should be taken into consideration during migrants' asylum court cases. In addition, as children await these processes within the U.S., it is critical to ensure appropriate wraparound support and services within and outside of schools to address the potential negative impacts of these experiences on migrant children's overall well-being, health, and academic success.

The four focal families demonstrated developing considerable resilience and strength when faced with adversity. As they experienced various discriminatory encounters within school and community spaces, as well as by public officials, migrant children learned to make sense of and push back on these experiences. In doing so, they share their pride in their Honduran identity, while also positioning themselves as part of a larger global community. The informal politicized funds of knowledge developed in-transit may prove crucial as children transition to new schools in the U.S. while awaiting their asylum processes to confront anti-immigrant discriminatory rhetoric and exclusionary practices.

With the short and long-term effects of these experiences on Central American children and their families are generally unknown, the present study sought to approach the lived realities of MPP from migrants' perspectives, attending specifically to how children made sense of their

migratory experiences and interrogating the potential impacts of these understandings on their future educational trajectories. The study findings illustrate that Honduran migrant children developed rich politicized funds of knowledge while undergoing complex im/migratory processes and dynamics, including knowledge of border politics, dangers, and discrimination. These politicized funds of knowledge shaped their views for the future, as well as contributed to identity formation. It is critical for educators to invite these perspectives and lived realities into classroom spaces as a means of supporting im/migrant students' academic and social inclusion and educational continuity.

Moreover, to ensure equitable education opportunities for all im/migrant children, policy should be attentive to and informed by children's unique perspectives. Fully understanding child migratory dynamics requires centering children as the protagonists in their own stories and prioritizing their voices and accounts of what has taken place. This practice requires appropriate methodological considerations to break down power dynamics and support the co-construction of knowledge with children. Knowledge generated can then inform actions that are more relevant and responsive to im/migrant children's unique needs, both within and outside of educational spaces.

CHAPTER FOUR

Multimodal Online Participatory Methods for Co-creating Knowledge of Children's Migratory and Educational Trajectories

Eduardo and Rose were two of the participants in my study of the informal educational processes Honduran migrant children undergo while in-transit within Mexico. Both were located in the Mexican border town of Monterrey, Nuevo León, and their families were experiencing prolonged periods of transit while they awaited asylum processes in the U.S. This was due to Trump Administration policies, such as the Migrant Protection Protocols, which required families seeking asylum in the U.S. to stay in Mexico while their case was pending (TRAC, 2020), as well as COVID-19 related border closures. During one of our virtual sessions, Eduardo, a twelve-year-old male, reflected on his proximity to the border and my positionality as an American living in a town just north of the border. He asked me to "come there and take [him] and his brother in a suitcase" to the United States. Rose, an eight-year-old female, expressed a similar desire, noting that when she arrived in Tijuana, I could "come by car to get some" of the snacks she was eating during one of our calls and take her and her family back across with me. As I wrote field notes and listened to audio recordings of these interactions, I appreciated the candid nature of these children's reflections on my positionality and the border context. On one hand, it led to naturally emerging conversation regarding politics, discrimination, and legality that illustrated the diverse forms of knowledge these children possessed and developed while in-transit. On the other hand, it further reaffirmed the critical importance of my methodological choices as a way of deconstructing these barriers towards successfully co-constructing knowledge with this population. This pushes back on the historical

silencing and marginalization of these groups in migratory and educational scholarship (Pain, 2004; Yeoh & Lam, 2006).

As Zúñiga and Román-González (in press) position, descriptions and analyses of children's experiences are incomplete if the narrative does not come from the child's perspective. As such, I prioritized participatory storytelling methods (Torres & Carte, 2012), which are rooted in Freire's concept of critical pedagogy and conscientization (Freire, 2000), as they acknowledge children as co-creators of knowledge and provide diverse venues for them to share thoughts (Due et al., 2014; Vecchio et al., 2017). These methods help to disrupt the hierarchical power-relations which exist between researchers and participants (Crivello et al., 2009; Vecchio et al., 2017) and can serve as a catalyst for increasing participant positive self-awareness and authentic voice (McBrien & Day, 2012).

Developing a diverse toolkit of participatory methods was an important consideration for my research, as it has been shown to help young children, particularly those from marginalized groups, feel safe and comfortable during fieldwork (Due et al., 2014; Sime, 2017). This is done by acknowledge possible trauma they may have experienced (Vecchio et al., 2017), maintaining participant interest (Crivello et al., 2009), and offering various forms of expression that do not rely exclusively on oral or written language tools (Clark & Moss, 2001; Vecchio et al., 2017; Sime, 2017; White et al., 2010). Participatory, play-based methods, for example, are also often age appropriate for children (Torres & Carte, 2012), as they may reflect activities they are already familiar with from schooling experiences (Orellana, 2015).

Given my interest in improving my understanding of how these methods might support empowered research led by marginalized communities, this study was guided by the following research question: *How do participatory storytelling methods support the co-construction of*

knowledge with Honduran migrant children while in-transit? I approached this inquiry in an

interactive manner while engaging with participants, adding field notes related to how children

interacted with, responded to, and pushed back on the methods I posted. I also implemented a

methods code during data analysis to highlight these dynamics. In this chapter, I will first

describe my methodological process, unpacking how my role as a researcher and the use of my

research tools were transformed by the Honduran child migrant participants in this study. I also

reflect on the unique challenges and opportunities of employing participatory storytelling

methods in a virtual environment, as well as consider what potential these methods might have

for contributing to positive socioemotional development for children experiencing diverse

conditions of vulnerability. I conclude with targeted recommendations for educational

practitioners and community advocates related to the use of participatory storytelling

methodologies as a means of better understanding the experiences of children undergoing diverse

processes of mobility and valuing their roles as competent actors and agents in these spaces.

The Growing Need for Young Central American Voices in Research

Recently, there have been growing numbers of minors in-transit within the Central

America-U.S. nexus (Androff, 2016; SEGOB, 2021). These children's voices in migration and

education research, however, continue to remain relatively sparse (Heidbrink, 2020). This

marginalization occurs as scholarship has been found to favor adult-centric perspectives,

discounting the role of children as active participants in their own migratory journeys (Orellana,

2009). Given that children's voices can reveal new and valuable perspectives on concepts of

human nature and migration (Yarwood & Tyrrell, 2012) and move us towards the production of

more relevant and responsive pedagogies (Vecchio et al., 2017), there is a growing need for

young Central American voices in research. Within education scholarship, for example,

developing a deeper understanding of these children's migratory experiences can support

practitioners in incorporating children's knowledge and cultures into the curriculum, a key step

in creating more inclusive classroom environments (Lavandez, 2008). For example, by directly

discussing migration in the classroom, educators can shed light on students' lived realities,

combat discrimination, and build understanding amongst peers (Arriaga Reynaga, 2019). I

approach this gap in prior scholarship by narrowing in the migratory experiences of Honduran

children in particular for two primary reasons: 1) Honduras has seen the greatest increases in

numbers of families in-transit amongst Central American nations in the past five years (CBP,

2021); and 2) This selection allowed me to draw upon my decade of experiences with and

connections to this community to support the development of research-participant rapport.

Throughout this article, I unpack the ways in which participatory methodologies afforded a

richer understanding of Honduran children's unique migratory experiences with the aim of

adding relevant contributions to education and migratory scholarship.

Methods

The data for this chapter comes from a larger, five month long field work experience with

migrant families in which I examined the informal learning experiences and "funds of

knowledge" (Moll et al., 2005) children gained while undergoing migratory processes from

Honduras. Moll and colleagues (2005) define funds of knowledge as the political, social,

emotional, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds and experiences children possess and bring with

them into classroom environments; they employ this concept as a tool to advocate for more

inclusive schooling practices. I selected participatory storytelling methods (Torres & Carte,

2012) for this research given their potential to open up spaces for children to co-construct

knowledge surrounding the rich informal learning they develop while in-transit. My interest in

children's uptake of and interactions with my data collection tools developed as these methods were incipient in their application with this particular migrant population in the Americas (Gluckman, unpublished manuscript), as well in relation to considerations of my own ethics and positionality when approaching research with this population. My aim was to shift power dynamics towards participant leadership as much as possible, drawing upon my familiarity working with children as an elementary school educator and my cultural and linguistic knowledge of Honduran communities. As such, this article specifically describes how my methodological choices shaped my interactions with participants, as well as the affordances these methodologies bring towards generating new and novel insights into Honduran migrant children's funds of knowledge.

Setting and Participants

This study took place between 2020 and 2021, and engaged 17 Honduran children (7 males, 10 females) ages five to fifteen (average = 10.58 years old), from nine families. The periods in-transit for each family ranged from 11 to 31 months (average = 22.24 months), starting when they first left Honduras until the time of the last data collection session, as some migratory trajectories included experiences with deportation and re-migration. During data collection, all nine families were located in Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico, the second most important metropolitan city of Mexico, located in the northeast of the country. All nine families chose to settle in Monterrey, at least temporarily, as opposed to the Mexican border cities of Reynosa and Nuevo Laredo, due to safety concerns and economic opportunities. This corresponds to available literature on the challenges migrants face in border cities and growing settlement trends in Nuevo León (Burnett, 2019; Leutert, 2020; Nájar, 2019; Rangel et al., 2018; Zamora Carmona, 2018).

Only one participant was living in a migrant shelter during the time of the data collection, while the rest were living in shared apartments or homes in neighborhoods on the outskirts of Monterrey's metropolitan center; however, seven of the families were associated with a shelter at some point during their stay in Monterrey. In the year prior to data collection, I visited Monterrey twice to build relationships with shelter staff and local academics, and to pilot my methods with families and children in three shelter spaces. While my original plan was to conduct in-person data collection, with the onset and prolongation of the COVID-19 pandemic, however, I chose to adjust the research design to an online format. I had met three of the families invited to participate in-person during my prior field visits, whereas another five families were contacts garnered through a different research process I was involved in that focused on parents' experiences with and strategies for accessing formal education in Mexican border cities during COVID-19. The final family arrived in Monterrey just two weeks prior to being invited to participate; I gained their contact information from a shelter staff member from a site that had originally agreed to participate in my in-person study.

Data Collection

Once I explained the research process, including its process, purpose, and their protections as participants to both parents and children in Spanish, I obtained verbal consent and assent. From there, I invited children to engage in weekly sessions, which I called 'art clubs,' over WhatsApp video calls on cell phones or, in the case of one participant who had access to a computer, via Zoom. I employed a toolkit of participatory storytelling methods including drawings, timelines, dramatization, photography, and life histories (Barros Nock & Ibarra Templos, 2018; Gluckman, unpublished manuscript; Schmidt, 2017; Román González, Carrillo Cantú, & Hernández-León, 2016), among others, accompanied by prompts related to a wide

array of previously identified funds of knowledge based on research with children (Appendix A). I drew upon a diverse array of past participatory research with children to select the methods employed during these sessions (Appendix C).

Each art club session lasted between 20 and 90 minutes, depending upon the activity, interest of each child, the strength of their internet connection, the level of phone charge, and the number of children on the same call. Each family had between one and three children, however, since some of the families knew each other, some children wanted to have joint sessions, resulting in several sessions with four or five participants at one time. The majority of these calls were conducted using a parent or guardian's phone, while one child used their own phone and another used a shared computer. All families were provided with internet credit and sent money to purchase art materials as needed to ensure there was no cost associated with participation.

To facilitate engagement and communication through virtual mediums, I approached each session with one key prompt and a few sub prompts related to funds of knowledge that had been identified in previous scholarship, as well as an accompanying participatory storytelling method. These prompts were reviewed by psychological personnel, scholars in the field of well-being, and my institution's social science review board to approach as much as possible a line of questioning which would avoid any potentially triggering or retraumatizing effects for participants. Moreover, participatory methods offer ways of asking about children's migratory story without asking directly (Barros Nock & Ibarra Templos, 2018). Appendix A outlines the fourteen main sessions I designed. The first ten research sessions were pre-planned and the last four were added later in response to data gathered and emerging interests. While the sessions were intentionally designed to begin with get-to-know-you activities to build initial rapport (sessions 1 and 2) before exploring in-transit experiences (sessions 3-10), the order of sessions

were fluid to account for how the child(ren) that day were feeling. I almost always offered them a choice of two different prompts and two or more different participatory methods, as well as the option to just discuss—as was often preferred by some of the older children who did not always want to participate in art-based activities. Children were also reminded throughout the research process that they could always skip a topic or session or reschedule entirely—continually placing the participants in control of the research process by practicing a process of ongoing assent (Due et al., 2014; Lareau & Rao, 2020). Data collection sessions were also regularly rescheduled to fit family activities and obligations, prioritizing their needs over my own research timeline (Lareau & Rao, 2020).

As participants engaged in participatory activities, I invited them to explain the meaning behind any products they created, such as drawings or photographs, in their own words. This approach followed the transformative ontological assumption which argues for recognition and intentional dismantling of the influence of a researchers' privilege and power in data interpretation and analysis (Mertens et al., 2010). As Vecchio and colleagues (2017) note, "sensitive images and stories contained within research data have the potential to be misunderstood either because participants imprecisely articulate their experiences or because the receivers of information lack the appropriate tools to interpret it" (p. 138). Given my positionality as a white, American scholar, it is particularly important that I scrutinize my pre-existing assumptions and biases and instead favor and center interpretations grounded in the lived realities of the migrants themselves. Therefore, throughout my fieldwork, I embedded data check-ins with migrant children, their families, and my advising professors as iterative forms of data validation. For example, when parents or guardians were available, I invited them to reflect on the artifacts created by their children and add additional context to the stories children raised,

particularly when it was a sensitive topic that I felt could be potentially triggering to continue to discuss with the child.

The research sessions, including conversations with children and parents, were audio recorded and transcribed. I documented field notes (Emerson et al., 2011) before, during, and after each session to capture any information that was not included in the audio, including children's facial expressions, and actions, and who or what was around them. Within these field notes, I included photographs of artifacts the children created and shared after each session, as well as screen captures of message exchanges and links to music and videos shared during our sessions.

Data Analysis

For this chapter, I reviewed the multimodal data I compiled from a methods lens, coding any example of participant choice in relation to methods, shifts in methods mid-interaction, and ways in which children engaged new methods that were not in the original design. I also examined interview transcripts and ethnographic data to identify moments when participants and their parents asked questions or made comments related to my positionality or the role of the research methods. In addition, I pulled out examples of children exhibiting ownership over the research design, particularly terms of teaching me new knowledge and skills. I present these examples below, privileging the voices and experiences of children to centering them as active actors in their migratory journeys; as such, each excerpt is presented in Spanish—the original language in which they were shared—with an English translation to stay as true and connected to participant voice as possible.

Findings

In this section, I detail how participatory storytelling methods supported children in developing voice and ownership over their stories (Vecchio et al., 2017) while reducing barriers to integral participation in research (Sime, 2017; Due, 2014), especially in a virtual environment. I also unpack how I ensured flexibility throughout data collection as a way of complimenting this transition of power towards more participant-led interactions. I conclude by considering how these methods may support healing processes for children undergoing diverse processes of mobility and vulnerability.

Shifting Dynamics of Power: The "How"

Inherent in their design, participatory methods aim to shift power dynamics from research-centered and researcher-driven research towards an approach that increases participant involvement, decision making, and leadership in the research process (ex. Crivello et al., 2009; Due et al., 2014; Sime, 2017; Vecchio et al., 2017). However, methods alone may not suffice to achieve this desired goal, especially when working with young migrant children. Below I unpack two approaches that facilitated the co-design of research procedures and products with participants: 1) Employing researcher flexibility and versatility to adapt to emerging interests, circumstances, or points of discussion raised by children; and 2) Building upon the advantages of online spaces to incorporate novel methods and forms of expression. I detail each strategy below through the use of narrative excerpts, field notes, and visual artifacts, attending specifically to how such shifts built research-participant rapport, generated novel understandings of participants day-to-day experiences in-transit, and were led by participants.

Researcher flexibility

As a means of organizing a tentative goal for each research session, I came prepared with

a few planned participatory activities and questions (Appendix A). However, as I entered each

research session, I began observing the child/children's environment, mood, and interest and

adjusted my approach accordingly. For example, in the case of Isabel shared below (age 6), she

was wearing blue gloves when I called. Attuning to this detail, I probed as to why. This resulted

in a rich interaction of play-based learning which she guided. During this conversation, Isabel

shared medical knowledge, asking me questions as her patient, and demonstrated care by placing

a band aid on me through the phone screen.

> *As Isabel answers the video call, I see she is wearing blue plastic gloves, I started*
> *the session by asking what those were for (Field notes)*
> Isabel: I am playing doctor with my dad/*Es que estoy jugando a la doctora con mi*
> *papi.*
> Maxie: With your dad? And how do you play?/*¿Con tu papá? ¿Y cómo se juega?*
> ...Isabel: Well, I asked Santa Claus for a toy, and Santa Claus brought me some
> doctor things, so I asked my mom for gloves and she gave them to me, so I am
> playing with my dad./*...Bueno, yo pedí a Santa Claus un juguete, y Santa Claus*
> *me trajo una cosa de doctora, entonces le pedí unos guantes a mi mami y me los*
> *dio, entonces estoy jugando con mi papi.*
> ...Maxie: Can we play/*¿Podemos jugar nosotros?*
> Isabel: I would like to be in the U.S. already to learn things about English, what to
> say in English, I want to learn English./*A mí ya me gustaría estar en Estados*
> *Unidos para aprender cosas de inglés, con qué hablar así de inglés, yo*
> *Quiero aprender inglés.*
> Maxie: Okay, if you want we can learn some words, those things that you have to
> the side, the blue ones, in Spanish they are called "guantes", in English they are
> called gloves./*Okay, si quieres podemos aprender unas palabras, esos que tienes*
> *al lado, los azules, en español se llaman guantes, en inglés se llaman gloves.*
> Isabel: Gloves. *(Said in English)*
> Maxie: That's it. Can you show me the doctor's paper, the paper you have. The
> paper is called "paper". So you have paper and gloves...What else is there?/*Así es.*
> *Muéstrame el papel de doctora, el papel que tienes. El papel se llama paper.*
> *Okay, entonces el papel y los guantes... ¿Qué más hay?*
> Isabel: A pencil and a paper/*Un lápiz y una hojita.*
> ...Maxie: Maybe we can play doctor and I can be your patient, if you want to./*Tal*
> *vez podemos jugar a la doctora y yo soy tu paciente, si quieres.*

Isabel: But how am I going to put the bandage on you? (laughter)/*Pero ¿cómo le voy a poner la vendita? (risas)*

Maxie: It's imaginary, you can ask me the questions and I can show you where I am hurting./*Es imaginario, me puedes hacer las preguntas y yo te puedo mostrar donde me duele*

...Isabel: Ok, I am going to do the tests. How old are you?/*Bueno, ya le voy a hacer las pruebas. ¿Cuántos años tiene?*

Maxie: I am 31 years old./*Tengo 31 años.*

Isabel: Okay, my dad is also 31 years old, I am going to tell him. Now, what is your name?/*Okay, mi papi también tiene 31 años, le voy a decir. Ahora ¿Cómo se llama?*

Maxie: My name is Maxie/*Me llamo Maxie. (Show her my name written on a piece of paper)*

...Maxie: I really hurt, doctor./*Es que me duele mucho, doctora.*

Isabel: A lot, we are going to put a bandage or pills./*Mucho, vamos a ponerle una vendita o pastillas.*

Maxie: It hurts me a lot here./*Me duele mucho aquí. (Pointing to my right arm)*

Isabel: I think that pills. There./*Yo creo que pastillas. Ahí.*

Maxie: Are you opening the bandage?/*Está abriendo la venda?*

Isabel: And this is how I put it on./*Y así se lo pego. (Demonstrates putting on a bandaid unwrapping it and placing it on the screen as if she was placing it on my arm)*

Maxie: You put it on me, thank you./*Y me lo pusiste, gracias.*

While Isabel expressed initial concern at not knowing how to play doctor at a distance, she responded well to the offer to 'imagine,' demonstrating her flexibility to get into character and act out the scenario. She also, unprompted, commented on her desire to arrive in the U.S. and learn English, acknowledging my positionality as an English speaker, after which I decided to teach her a few words related to the play acting we were engaged in. This data, built upon previous interactions with Isabel related to acts of caring and concern for health when she cared for her dolls and younger sister, adding context to how these acts relate to her experiences in-transit as a whole. They also demonstrate an example of health and caring related funds of knowledge that Isabel developed during her journey and through play.

Throughout the development of the research sessions with Isabel and the rest of the participants, I used this information intake and adjustment process frequently, posing reflective

questions such as: Does the child seem interested in what we are doing or are there ways I can make this session more engaging? Is there something else happening around them that may afford a unique data collection opportunity related to childrens' funds of knowledge? and, What did I hear from this child that might be important to expand upon in this or future sessions in order to deepen my understanding of their learning while in-transit? I always connected these experiences to my broader research questions.

I collected these notes through field jottings on a google document on my computer. I used my phone as the main device for connecting with participants propping it up against the screen so we could see each other while my computer captured the audio recording of our conversation. Below, I describe one such example of these jottings and shifting processes with Jenny (age 9) and Lalisa (age 12) during our third session together. During this interaction, I learned about how they took care of their youngest sibling while in Honduras, made new friends during their time in the shelter, and Jenny's interest in cooking—information which illustrated various informal learning opportunities while in-transit.

> *Jenny was sharing about her friends from the shelter and what they had in common.*
> Maxie: What types of things do you like?/*¿Qué cosas les gustan a ustedes?*
> Jenny: YouTube and playing sisters./*Youtube y jugar hermanas.*
> Maxie: How do you play?/*¿Cómo juegas?*
> ...Jenny: It's a person that could be a friend and they ask if they want to play "sisters" but the real sisters do not play./*Es una persona que puede ser amiga y se preguntan si quiere jugar a "hermanas", pero con las hermanas reales no juegan.*
> ...Lalisa: It's like saying that you are older people, you give yourselves an age, adolescents or older and you play that you go shopping or to buy clothes and lots of things, like you live together./*Es como decir que son personas mayores, ya se ponen su edad, adolescentes o mayores, y juegan como que van de compras o a comprar ropa y muchas cosas, como que viven juntas.*
> ...Maxie: I like that you invent games, can I play "sisters" with you?/*Me gusta que ustedes inventen muchos juegos, ¿puedo jugar "hermanas" con ustedes?*
> Lalisa/Jenny: Yes/*Sí.*
> ...Lalisa: First, we need to make a house./*Primero lo que hacíamos era hacer una casita.*

Maxie: Of what? What do I need?/*¿De qué? ¿Qué necesito?*

Lalisa: I don't know, sometimes we make it out of blankets and a stick./*No sé, a veces nosotros lo hacíamos de cobijas o lo hacíamos de palo.*

Maxie: How old are we?/*¿Cuántos años tenemos?*

Lalisa: Nineteen/*Diecinueve.*

They went to their room to gather blankets and I also grabbed a blanket and started to build a fort in my living room with some chairs. I showed them what I was building to make sure I was doing it right and they encouraged me. Once both of our houses were built, I continued to ask more questions.

Maxie: Ok, I am going to go inside. What happens next in the game?/*Bueno, yo me voy a meter adentro (see Image to the right of my fort). ¿Qué pasa después en el juego?*

...Lalisa: Sometimes they bring a kitchen or something like that, or there are kitchen toys and they make food./*A veces ellas traían como una cocinita y algo así, o hay juguetes que son de cocina y hacían como comida.*

Maxie: Sisters, what food do you want me to prepare in my kitchen? Jenny, what do you want me to prepare for you?/*Hermanas, ¿qué quieren que los prepare en mi cocina? Jenny, ¿qué quieres que te prepare?*

Jenny: Eggs/*Huevos.*

Maxie: Okay, I am going to go get some/*Okay, voy a traer.* (*I went to the refrigerator and came back with eggs to prepare*)

...Maxie: And how should I prepare them?/*¿Y cómo los preparo?*

Lalisa: Is that a real egg?/*¿Es un huevo de verdad?*

Maxie: It is a real egg, do you want it raw or mixed? How do you say it?/*Es un huevo de verdad. ¿Te gusta crudo o mezclados? ¿cómo se dice?*

Jenny: Scrambled eggs/*Huevos revueltos.*

Maxie: What spices do you want me to put in?/*¿Qué especias quieres que meta?*

Lalisa/Jenny: Salt/*Sal.*

Maxie: What else/*¿Qué más?*

Jenny: Ketchup/*Kétchup.*

...Maxie: I am going to show you now, one, two, three...(*turned the screen around to show them my egg creation, even though I did not actually cook it - we were practicing make believe*). And what do you bring for breakfast?/*Ya los voy a hacer mirar, a la una, a las dos, a las tres… ¿Y ustedes qué traen para el desayuno?*

Jenny: Milk!/*¡Leche!*

Maxie: Ok can you make it?/*Okay, la puedes preparar?* (*Jenny exits the fort to grab a cup, and fills it with actual milk from the refrigerator*)

Jenny: You have to add sugar/*Hay que echarle azúcar.*

Maxie: To the milk/*¿A la leche?*

Jenny: Yes, here is the milk./*Sí. Aquí está la leche.*

Maxie: So we have eggs with salt and milk with sugar./*Entonces tenemos huevos con sal y leche con azúcar.*

Lalisa: I did not put sugar, I did not bring sugar./*Yo no le eché azúcar, no traje azúcar.*

Maxie: My house is falling down!/*¡Se está cayendo mi casa!*

Jenny: Ours as well/*La de nosotras también.*
As our blankets were falling down, we decided to clean up and put everything away.

While I originally planned to discuss friendships they developed in-transit, the emergence of this game posed an opportunity to make the session more engaging and to learn through play. From within our respective "homes," we played, cooked food together, and shared across virtual and geographic contexts. Adapting the research conversation to this emerging context required flexibility. For example, playing across virtual and geographic contexts, as well as age groups— Lalisa was 12, Jenny 9, and myself 31, is not always simple to facilitate authentically, especially at a distance. However, doing so allowed them to see their interests reflected directly in the research design and positioned us to have future conversations which dove deeper into the points that emerged. For example, I learned that Jenny likes to cook for herself and her family and ensure that food is ready when her mom comes home from work late. The focus on 'sisters' also prompted later conversations regarding how they cared for and played with their youngest sibling from afar while they were traveling through Mexico. As such, this play-based, dramatization method opened up new opportunities to learn about how Jenny and Lalisa developed caregiving and family based funds of knowledge, and the ways in which they envisioned enacting these skills when they are older.

Research opportunities in a virtual environment

Previous scholarship employing participatory methods has primarily focused on in-person interactions and activities, with limited examples of their enactment in virtual environments (Gluckman, unpublished manuscript). While this aligns with my original research design, given COVID-related restrictions, I was motivated to reconsider the opportunities that participatory methods could hold during virtual interactions as a means of deconstructing power

relationships between researcher and participants. My aim was to generate spaces for co-construction and child-centered interactions. In response to the familiarity with and interests most of the children had in using phones for games, social media, and daily communication within local and transnational contexts, I made both self and child-driven changes in my methodological design and approach. In the examples below, I show how technology served as a mediating tool in data collection interactions, reflecting on how it offered opportunities for unique rapport building interactions and collection of data that may not have emerged during in-person, non-technology driven scenarios.

The first excerpt illustrates one example of how I shifted my research design to employ technology towards further engagement with participants. This arose during a session with four girls—when I called they appeared distracted and were all on cell phones. In response, I made an in-the-moment decision to invite them to use these phones to share more about themselves and their interests before diving into the topic of discussion for that week, which was to share what their ideal day would look like.

> *I started with a few quick questions. First I asked if they could share an image that made them laugh or smile (Figure 4.1, Message 1).*
> Maxie: It can be something cute, a photo, a gif, an emoji/*Puede ser algo lindo, una foto, un gif, un emoji.*
> Camila: Images of jokes?/*Imágenes de chiste?* (*They all got on their phone and while I wasn't sure if they were paying attention to me, I soon received an image with a joke from Leila which was a dog with his mouth open laughing showing all of his teeth*)
> Maxie: Okay, I have received something from Leila. Can you explain to me why this image made you laugh?/*Okay, ya recibí algo de Leila. ¿Puedes explicarme por qué esta imagen te hace reír?*
> *Once Leila responded, I then asked them to send me something that reflected how they felt about school in Mexico (Figure 4.1, Message 2), since I knew they had just finished their virtual classes for the day. I received emojis of yawning, sleeping, and of a sad clown.*
> *Thirdly, I asked them to describe their ideal day to me (Figure 4.1, Message 3)*
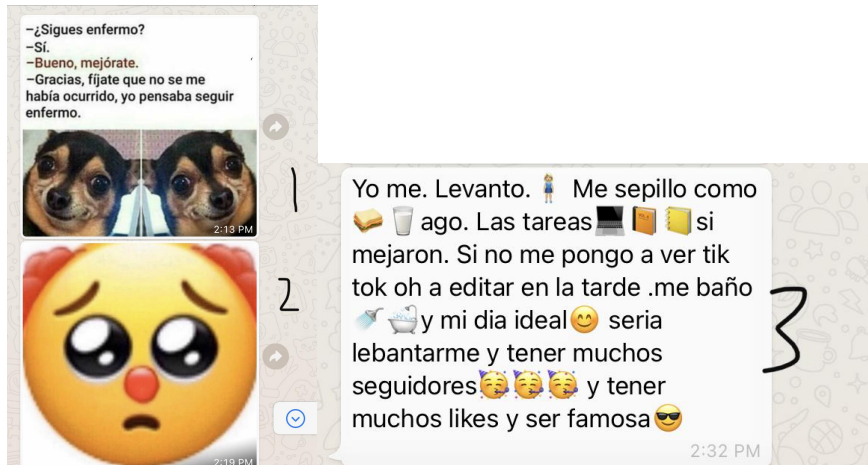
Figure 4.1.

Leila's Text-Message Exchange Part 1 & 2

Since I was receiving messages from all four girls at the same time, I was not able to ask follow-up questions to all. However, the information gathered offered varied information regarding humor, interests, and views towards school that I was able to follow-up on during later interactions. For example, as illustrated in Figure 4.1, Lelia's comments about her ideal day focused on editing TikTok videos, having a lot of followers, and becoming famous. In a later session, she shared various TikTok influencers that inspire her, taught me how to edit videos, and spoke about the staged nature of social media where people will often fight just to get attention. The four girls in the session quickly went from initial disinterest in the session to engaged participants, finding numerous videos, jokes, and memes to send to me during that session as well as at later dates. This also demonstrated how technology could be employed so that all participants, when engaging in multi-participant sessions, can have their voice heard without the risk of talking over one another or to address potential concerns with sharing something private.

The children who participated in the study also employed technology to invite me into their lives in different ways, demonstrating new activities they were involved in, interests, and skills/talents. In two examples, reflected in Figure 4.2 and 4.3, Santiago (age 13) and Steven (age

12) shared videos of themselves practicing a kickflip trick on a skateboard and BMX biking at the park.

Figure 4.2.

Santiago's Kick-Flip

Figure 4.3.

Steve's BMX Biking

During the art sessions, these children had described these interests and explained how practicing these sports helped them make friends with other kids while in Mexico, however, they wanted me to see it and take part in it from a distance. For Steven, this video (Figure 4.3) was on a YouTube channel he hosts with a friend he made in Mexico. He edits them for TikTok by adding special effects and music to play over the recorded image. After the final session of data collection and our closing celebration, he even asked his mom to call me while he was at the BMX park so I could see him live. This scenario reflects how Steven took ownership over the researcher-participant relationship, determining that he still wanted to engage even when the

formal research process had concluded—a desire that was important in considering my goal of reciprocity throughout this research and ethical removal from the field (Desmond, 2016).

Overall, while engaging in research in a virtual space imposed certain limitations in terms of building rapport and executing participatory activities, it also afforded opportunities to include novel methods and forms of expression which helped shift power dynamics in favor of participant-guided interactions. Over the course of data collection, participants shared countless music and TikTok videos, memes, and emojis through virtual platforms. They also used their cameras to show me new pets, take me on tours of their homes, and demonstrate their various talents and skills. This format also allowed me to engage with seventeen different children each week within their spaces without imposing myself upon their families, and placing them at any potential additional risk to the spread of COVID-19. This helped reduce research-related costs, including transportation, which may be a relevant consideration for emerging researchers. I employed minimal funds to ensure each family had sufficient internet for our calls and the appropriate artistic resources.

Shifting Dynamics of Power: The "So What"

While the previous section detailed two research strategies I employed to accompany participatory methods and support the transfer of ownership of the research process to children, this section interrogates the impact of such efforts on the data gathered and participants' experiences. Firstly, I demonstrate how children assumed the role of a teacher at various points of the process and recounted their story by sharing an array of interests, talents, and skills. I discuss how this afforded unique and rich data collection opportunities which centered the child and helped to further unpack the power dynamics between researcher and participant. From there, I present parents' opinions of the participatory storytelling methods used and the overall

research process, attending particularly to the positive socioemotional implications they noted in their children. I use these reflections to consider how participatory storytelling methods may contribute to processes of healing for children undergoing diverse processes of vulnerability and mobility, making a case for how these research practices might be expanded upon. I conclude by placing these perspectives into conversation with previous research which has argued that storytelling can contribute to processes of healing and promote well-being (Haight, 2001). As a whole, I interrogate how positioning children as leaders at the center of research processes can have positive affective and social consequences.

Children as teachers

Multiple opportunities emerged for participants to teach the researcher throughout the data collection process, shifting away from power dynamics towards child-centered design. Some of these situations were participant-guided where children either asked to or just started teaching me things that they knew about or liked to do. Others were researcher-prompted. Specifically, during the penultimate research session with each child, I posed an open-ended request for them to "teach me something." This prompt was added to my original design in response to the natural occurrences of children teaching me things and because it aligned well with my main research question for the study which focused on the informal learning and funds of knowledge children gain while undergoing diverse processes of transnational mobility. These interactions also aimed to counter unequal power relationships between adults and children, as a formal 'teacher' role—particularly in Honduras—is often held by someone older and viewed as a position of power. By positioning myself as a learner and children as the teachers, children were able to lead the interaction and determine what to share. While it is possible that children may have been influenced to a certain degree by adult presence, both by myself and their parents, I

believe that by playing games with them in prior sessions, I demonstrated my willingness to let their interests and desires drive the sessions.

The selection of knowledge, talents, and skills children chose to share reflects a vast array of experiences, ranging from sports, art and entertainment, beauty and esthetics, cooking or technology. While playing pretend in Isabel's doctor and Jenny's cooking scenarios, described above, reflect examples of how children taught me, below I share three additional experiences from sessions with Adriana (age 6), Mariana (age 15), and Leila (age 15). I focus on their confidence in assuming teaching roles and how these experiences reflected rich data collection opportunities to gain a greater understanding of each child's unique interests, experiences, and skills.

Adriana as a dance teacher

During our third call together, I asked Adriana if she would take me on a virtual tour of her home. When we arrived in the bedroom, I saw an exercise bike and asked her if she likes to exercise, to which she asked "do you want me to teach you some moves?/quieres que te enseñe unos pasos" At first I was not sure what she was just talking about, but I said yes and remembered that she was part of the dance group at her church so I put two and two together. She grabbed a tambourine off screen and started showing me some moves, shaking the tambourine. I grabbed a metal bowl from my kitchen thinking that if I tapped it it might make a similar noise. She started showing me a bunch of moves that included high knees, spins, stepping side to side and bringing the tambourine over your head in a circular motion...She went to ask her mom to put the music on and while she could hear it I could not, but she started dancing rapidly and I barely could keep up. As she danced I asked her to describe what she was doing, as I was initially only taking an audio recording. Soon, I started video recording just myself (Figure

4.4) to at least keep some record of the interaction. I also attempted to verbalize what I was doing

by narrating my steps. Below is a short excerpt from that narration:

> Adriana: Uh. It's called...I do not know the names, I just know the moves./*Eh. Se llama... es que yo no me sé los nombres, sólo me sé los pasos…*
> Adriana: This way. You stay with your hands this way. And then here. And you do a turn here, like this.../*Así. Quedas con las manos así. Y después acá. Y se da una vuelta aquí, así…*
> Maxie: Lifting the knee, Phew (rhythm)...Wow. Behind the back. I got lost (rhythm)/*Levantando la rodilla. ¡Puf! (ritmo)... Wow. Detrás de la espalda. Ya me perdí. (ritmo)*
> Maxie: Those are challenging tricks. Foot. Knee. Behind the foot (rhythm)...Jumping. Knee. Knee. Done. (Rhythm)./*Esos sí son trucos difíciles. Pie. Rodilla. Detrás del pie (ritmo)...Saltando. Rodilla. Rodilla. Ya.(ritmo)*

Figure 4.4.

Researcher Following Adriana's Dance Choreography

As Figure 4.4 illustrates, throughout the research process, but particularly when children

were teaching me, I attempted to participate and act along as much as possible. I found this to be

a key factor in keeping virtual data methods exciting, avoiding the potential awkwardness of me

staring at them through a screen, and engaging in reciprocal sharing as a way of building rapport.

In the case of Adriana, expressing my interest to dance with and learn from her opened up many

later conversations, including: her interest and skills with dance, playing instruments and

singing; the how her church dance group helped her build friends and community while in

transit; and her relationship with faith, as most of the music she shared was faith-based.

Leila as a video editor

During various sessions with Leila, including one interaction referenced in Figure 4.1

above, she shared how her interest in and connection to social media, in particular TikTok, as

well as her desire to have lots of followers and become famous, had developed during her time

in-transit through Mexico. After learning more about her interests and the videos she publishes—

edited compilations of videos of influencers she likes—she decided to teach me how to make my

own edited video. Prior to this interaction, she had directed me towards a free editing app which

I had downloaded to my phone.

> Maxie: I open the app, ready. Now what do I do?/*Abro la aplicación, listo. Ahora, ¿qué hago?*
> Leila: From there you exit, and then you look for a plus sign and then you go in there./*Luego ahí le sale, así como un más y se mete ahí.*
> Maxie: It says new project?/*¿Dice nuevo proyecto?*
> Leila: Yes/*Sí.*
> Maxie: Good. Now I choose photos or how?/*Bien. Ahora escojo fotos, ¿o cómo?*
> Leila: Choose the photos that you want and touch where it says "okay"/*Selecciona las fotos que se quiera y toca donde dice "okay".*
> Maxie: I am going to choose two/*Voy a escoger dos.*
> ...Maxie: I chose my photos, now what do I do?/*Seleccioné mis fotos, ahora, ¿qué hago?*
> Leila: Touch where it says "okay"/*Toca donde dice "okay".*
> Maxie: Okay.
> Leila: Then a page will appear where the photos will come up. You go in where it says "edit." Then an option called "animation" will show up./ *Luego le aparece una pantalla donde le van a salir las fotos. Se mete donde dice "edit". Luego le sale una opción que dice "animation".*
> Maxie: Animation? For me the edits it allows me to do are "rotate," "cut," make bigger or smaller" oh, effects?/*¿Animación? A mí en las ediciones me dice "hacerlo rotar", "cortarlo" "hacer más grande o más pequeño", ah, ¿efectos?*
> Leila: Aha. Then you go to where it says "animation"/*Ajá. Luego se mete donde dice "animación".*
> Maxie: Okay, I choose whatever animation?/*Okay. ¿Se escoge cualquier animación?*
> Leila: Yes, you can choose whichever one./*Sí, puede escoger cualquiera.*
> Maxie: Now what?/*¿Ahora qué?*
> Leila: Next you choose the music./*Luego selecciona la música.*
> Maxie: How do you choose the music?/*¿Cómo se selecciona la música?*

Leila: There it says "audio"/*Ahí dice "audio".*
Maxie: It only tells me...audio? Okay/*Me dice solamente... ¿audio? Okay.*
Leila: You can put whatever kind of music/*Se puede meter cualquier música.*
Maxie: Okay, I am going to put whatever music, just to move on...Ok I added music. What else can I do?/*Okay, voy a poner una música cualquiera, solamente para avanzar... Bien, puse una música. ¿Qué más puedo hacer?*
Leila: Next, up top there is a small arrow, you touch there./*Luego, arriba le sale una flechita, la toca ahí.*
Maxie: Is that to make it play?/*¿Es para poner play?*
Leila: It's to save/*Para guardar.*

As a follow-up to this teaching and learning session, I shared the video I created with her so she could give me feedback or recommendations during the next session. While I would rate my own video as extremely basic, she was incredibly supportive and encouraging. Moreover, her step-by-step instructions were very clear and, even at a distance, she was able to walk me through each step without any issues, demonstrating a strong handling of the digital literacy required to use the app and add numerous features to videos. The skills Lelia demonstrated, when recognized and harnessed, can serve as strong assets in her future educational experiences, as digital literacy has become increasingly ubiquitous in schools, in particular with the prolongation of distance learning during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Mariana as a Hairstylist

Throughout the four months I interacted with Mariana during the research process, she dyed her hair, and that of one of her brothers, a variety of colors. She shared her dream of being a stylist when she was older while making sure she earned enough money to take care of herself and her family. Connected to that interest, she decided to teach me how to dye my hair, but with a unique twist—all I needed was a piece of red tissue paper and some water, a trick she had learned from her grandma.

Mariana: We are going to need two pieces of tissue paper./*Vamos a necesitar dos pliegos de papel crepé.*

Maxie: I am going to look at what I have, I do not think I have that, but...yes I do, sort of! Okay, what else?/*Voy a ver qué tengo, no creo que tenga eso, pero... ¡Ah, sí tengo, más o menos! Okay, ¿Qué más?*

Mariana: We are going to apply it to your hair because you have it black, and on me it is not going to look very good because mine is red./*Lo vamos a aplicar en su cabello porque usted lo tiene negro, y entonces a mí no me va a quedar muy bien porque yo lo tengo rojo.*

Maxie: Okay.

Mariana: You are also going to need a container with water./*También vamos a necesitar un recipiente con agua.*

Maxie: Okay.

Mariana: Okay, so you are going to cut it in pieces, but large ones./*Bueno, entonces va a cortar los pedazos, pero en grande.*

Maxie: Like this, or bigger?/*¿Así? ¿Más grande?*

Mariana: Bigger, like this/*Más grande, así.*

Maxie: Okay.

Mariana: Like this one./*Así como este.*

Maxie: Okay.

Mariana: And now you adjust/.*Y ahora lo ajusta.*

Maxie: Okay, I only have one. Do I need many? I am going to rip it in parts. How many do I need?/*Okay, solo tengo uno. ¿Necesito muchos? los voy a romper en partes ¿Cuántos necesito?*

Mariana: But the tissue paper was red/*Pero era rojo el crepé.*

Maxie: Unfortunately I only have white at home (laughter). We are going to pretend./*Lastimosamente solo tengo blanco en casa (risa). Lo vamos a inventar.*

Mariana: It's not going to stay then./*No le va a quedar entonces.*

Maxie: Ok, it's ok. We are going to pretend, ok, I am ready./*Bueno, igual. Inventamos, okay, listo.*

Mariana: Now we put it in the water until it gets colored./*Ahora los echamos en el baño hasta que colore.*

Maxie: Ah, the water gets red./*Ah, se pone el agua roja.*

Mariana: Yes and you are going to move it./*Sí, y lo va a mover.*

Maxie: That dies the hair?/*¿Eso pinta el pelo?*

Mariana: It makes strands of color.../*Hacen los mechones de color...*

Maxie: Mine is white, so it is not going to work/*La mía es blanca entonces no va a funcionar.*

Tania: You can do it in a bunch of colors, as long as it is tissue paper.../*Se puede hacer en muchos colores, siempre y cuando sea crepé...*

Maxie: Ah wow. Mariana, how do you apply it to the hair?/*Ah, wow. ¿Mariana cómo lo aplicas al pelo?*

Tania: From top to bottom, until all the strands are really red./*De arriba abajo hasta que queden todos los mechones bien rojos.*

Mariana: Yes, we are going to put it on from here up top/*Sí, lo vamos a echar desde aquí arriba.*

Maxie: Okay, but are you doing it with a finger or some type of instrument./*Okay, ¿Pero lo haces con tu dedo o lo haces con algún instrumento?*

Mariana: I do it with gloves, but since I do not have any./*Lo hago con guantes, pero como no tengo.*
Maxie: Okay, it doesn't get everything stained./*Okay, no se mancha todo.*
Mariana: Here are the gloves./*Aquí están los guantes.*
Maxie: How long does this last? What you are doing with the tissue paper./*¿Cuánto dura esto? Lo que estás haciendo con el crepé.*
Mariana: A week or so./*Como una semana más o menos.*
Maxie: Those gloves appear a little bloody (laughter). You place it like you're massaging the hair. What are you doing? How did you learn this? I have never heard of this with tissue paper./*Esos guantes parecen un poco sangrando. (risa) Lo pones como de masaje al pelo ¿Qué es lo que hace? ¿Cómo aprendiste esto? Nunca había escuchado esto del crepé.*
Mariana: I have an aunt that also did this. She did it and died her hair this way.../*Es que una tía mía también lo hacía. Ella lo hacía y se lo pintaba así...*
Maxie: And it will not work with any other type of paper?/*¿Y no funciona con cualquier otro tipo de papel?*
Mariana: Only with tissue paper, that can be of any color, but must be tissue paper./*Solo con papel crepé, que sea de cualquier color, pero que sea papel crepé.*

Figure 4.5 demonstrates Mariana in action with a family friend, Tania, as the model whose hair was being dyed.

Figure 4.5.

Mariana Dying Hair

At one point in the interaction, Tania stepped in and tried to explain how it worked, showing the ways in which child-led interactions may sometimes be usurped by adults. To counter this influence, I intentionally directed my questions to Mariana so that she could take back the role of the teacher, which worked for the rest of the interaction. I include Figure 4.6 of

my white soggy tissue paper as an example of how the research process will not always go

exactly as planned and, in this case, it allowed me to ask additional questions so that Mariana

could explain to me 'why' it didn't work, further positioning her as the expert and leader during

this interaction. It was also one of the first times she took on the prime protagonist role in our

conversations, as her younger brothers Eduardo and Steven often spoke over her and

monopolized the conversations—illustrating the importance of creating spaces for each child to

lead and be the sole focus during a session, especially when working with multi-sibling families.

Figure 4.6.

Researcher's Failed Attempt at Hair Dye

Storytelling Contributes Socioemotional Support

The examples of children as teachers, demonstrated in the aforementioned narratives,

show how participatory storytelling methods supported my ability to make data collection a fun

and exciting process. Parents' reflections on the research process illuminated additional

socioemotional benefits that may have emerged. This builds upon previous scholarship that has

noted the potential healing impacts that storytelling can have towards generating strength,

enhancing self-esteem, and promoting well-being (Haight, 2001). I raise this point because,

while it was not studied systematically in my research, it poses important questions related to the role these methods may play in supporting the socioemotional health and development of migrant children.

In the case of Stephany (age 12), her mom Vanessa shared that the migration process and the confinement with the pandemic in particular, has been really challenging for Stephany, and that she would often break into tears for no apparent reason—something she did not do prior to leaving Honduras. When asked how Vanessa felt about the research process, she shared: "I could see that she was relaxed with you and this helped her a lot because now she no longer is always crying, spending one day depressed, maybe because of the confinement./*Yo pude ver que estaba relajada con usted y le ha ayudado bastante porque le ha quitado eso de que siempre pasaba llorando desde un día como deprimida, tal vez por el encierro.*" Vanessa believed that by creating a comfortable space for Stephany to express herself, she was able to release some of her negative emotions and feel less depressed. Mauricio, Isabel's dad, added that "it's good, so she can distract herself and forget everything that we have been doing through./*Está bien, para que se distraiga y ella se olvide todo lo que venimos pasando nosotros.*" This family was kidnapped prior to leaving Honduras and faced various hardships while in-transit. Her dad noted that by engaging in these art activities and conversation, Stephany was able to distract herself, which he viewed as a positive outlet.

In the case of Michelle, Isabel's mom, she shared that:

> "She tells me that she likes how you talk to her. It's not that I feel jealous or anything, but I feel it is strange because sometimes when I am mad and I am doing this quickly, I yell at her. And now I am trying to not yell at her as much and preferably I do not say anything at all...Yes, more because of all of that, because she tells me she likes how you talk to her, how you explain everything, so I feel grateful because she is learning a lot of thing, they are things that sometimes I do not have time to explain to her./*Ella me dice que le gusta como le habla usted. No es que yo me sienta celosa ni nada, pero siento que es raro porque*

cuando a veces yo estoy enojada o estoy haciendo las cosas a la carrera que las hago rápido, les gritó. Entonces ahora como que estoy tratando como de no gritarles tanto y mejor no les digo nada...Sí, más que todo por eso, pero ella me dice que a ella le gusta como le habla usted, cómo le explica y todo, entonces yo me siento agradecida porque ella está aprendiendo varias cosas, son cosas que a veces no me queda tiempo a mí para explicarlas."

While Michelle reflected on how Isabel enjoyed the process and learning a lot, she also commented on the way that I spoke with her. I found the mothers' self-reflection on her own personality and her desire to learn to be less easily angered particularly interesting, as it reveals how participatory research may have an impact not only on child participants, but also their family members who see and experience the examples of shared leadership and shifts in power dynamics.

While I pose these excerpts as examples of socioemotional benefits that may emerge from participatory methodologies, it is critical to note that I cannot wholly assume that these changes are a result of the participatory storytelling methods. These methods are also not absolved from potential challenges, including retraumatization as children undergo complex processes and experiences of vulnerability in-transit; however, it does indicate positive potential that should be explored further.

Discussion

Throughout this chapter, I foregrounded the voices of migrant children and their parents in analyzing the application of participatory storytelling methods in virtual environments as a means of shifting power dynamics from researcher 'on' to research 'with' participants. I analyzed how these methods, paired with intentional actions which prioritized flexibility and participant choice and centered the children as 'teachers' and leaders in designing data collection experiences, resulted in unique illustrations of children's informal learning.

My decision to unpack the role of participatory storytelling methods more deeply in terms of working with migrant children follows Vecchio and colleagues' scholarship (2017), which posit that centering child voices required methodological considerations that are "not only grounded in theory, but [that] question how, why and with whom research should be performed" (p. 133). Acutely aware of my own positionality in this research space, I sought to interrogate how these methods afforded or constrained rapport building and participant leadership while children were undergoing complex contexts of mobility and vulnerability. For example, as was illustrated in Isabel's experience playing doctor with me and Jenny and Lalisa's opportunity to build forts from a distance, approaching data collection interactions with flexibility and a play-based mindset allowed me to center the interests and environment of the children and opened up new spaces and ways of gathering insight into migrant children's informal educational experiences. In fact, this contrasted with my initial concerns that interacting with children in virtual spaces might present barriers to the naturally occurring opportunities to engage them in play which I had experienced through in-person pilot fieldwork. Despite the research taking place at a distance, children were still open to and excited by opportunities to play. My willingness to sit under a blanket fort, dance around, as well as actively participate in a myriad of other play-based scenarios virtually, contributed to developing rapport, and according to their parents, made the children excited for our weekly calls.

Engaging in research through virtual mediums also enhanced the relevance of the research process to children's everyday lives. Many of the participants had their own cell phones or spent most of the day on their parents' devices for virtual schooling or to play games—especially given the confinement they were experiencing during data collection occurring during COVID-19 restrictions. Communicating with children through WhatsApp, opened up channels

of communication between the researcher and participants in which power was shared. While I prompted Stephany, Rose, Leila, and Camila to share memes, videos, and images through WhatsApp, in general, the children in the study took it upon themselves to share multimedia with me directly, both within and outside of formal research interactions. In the case of Steven, his decision to call me while at the BMX park post-data collection illustrates how he assumed ownership over communication, bringing me further into his world and sharing interests at his discretion. This demonstrates how technology mediated greater participant-leadership throughout the research process.

At their core, participatory storytelling methods disrupt traditional power relations by opening spaces for those that are often marginalized from research processes to engage in the co-creation of knowledge (Crivello et al., 2009; Vecchio et al., 2017). In the current study, this was evident through various scenarios where children enacted roles as teachers to teach me about their knowledge, skills, and interests. Adriana's ability to remember complex dance choreography, Leila's video editing skills and experience with various social media platforms, and Mariana's ability to dye hair with common household products, reflect some of the rich funds of knowledge these children gained and practiced while in-transit. Moreover, they reflect talents that could support them in their academic and professional pursuits. Leila's digital literacy, for example, may help her transition more seamlessly into using technology in classroom spaces—a practice that has become increasingly prevalent globally since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Mariana's skills may support her in her dream career as an esthetician, helping her more readily achieve her goal of contributing to her family's financial wellbeing. In line with previous scholarship, welcoming these girls' backgrounds, experiences, and values into future classroom contexts can contribute to their sense of belonging and educational outcomes,

as well as generating more inclusive and culturally responsive classroom environments writ large (Ex. Arriaga Reynaga, 2019; Moll et al., 2005; Strickland et al., 2010).

As Panting (2016) notes, Central American migrant children negotiate trauma related to migration, deportation, or family separation—each which can have dramatic social, physical, and sociological implications for their socioemotional well-being, health, and identity inside and outside of schools. In the case of the children in the study, these experiences included fraught dynamics related to dangers such as kidnapping as well as depression and loneliness due to COVID-19 confinement. Reflections shared by the children's parents signal ways in which the study methods may have helped distract children from these lived realities and have a safe space to talk out their feelings. It is important to note, however, that in my approach, I was also highly attentive to the way in which I posed questions. I reviewed them with psychological personnel at shelter sites prior to my sessions with children and adapted them based upon participants' initial responses and the presence of any facial expressions that may have signaled discomfort. I sought to clarify certain points with parents to avoid lines of questioning that might result in negative psychological effects or prospective retraumatization. These ethical considerations in working with highly vulnerable minors (Denov et al., 2012; Sime, 2017), demonstrate the power of participatory storytelling methods when paired with appropriate researcher facilitation. Further research is needed to better understand the connection between participatory storytelling methods and children's socioemotional wellbeing; however, such connections do raise new possibilities for helping children mitigate and navigate complex and potentially traumatic experiences associated with their migratory journeys.

Conclusions and Recommendations

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Throughout the chapter, I highlighted the distinct ways in which the application of participatory storytelling methods afforded children with diverse opportunities and methods to tell their stories and guide the research process. I demonstrate how these methods, paired with researcher flexibility and a child-centered framing, helped break down traditional power dynamics between researcher and participant and increase the fidelity of findings to participant's own voice and experiences. Such methods also collectively contributed to the decolonization of knowledge production from populations that are often marginalized from academic spaces and production (Pain, 2004; Yeoh & Lam, 2006). Through my methodological choices, I sought to highlight how children demonstrated agency and served as key and competent actors in understanding and influencing their migratory trajectories. This adds to the sociology of childhood's body of literature (Matthews, 2007) as well as counters trends in migratory and education scholarship that frequently privilege adult-centric perspectives over that of children (Orellana et al., 2001 Vecchio et al., 2017). I also argue for greater inclusion of im/migrant student knowledge into scholarship and education spaces, demonstrating the ways in which participatory storytelling methods may support the co-construction of this knowledge development.

In alignment with these aims, relevant recommendations directed towards scholars and practitioners in transnational research contexts:

- Integrating participatory storytelling methods into research and educational environments can support the invitation of im/migrant students' backgrounds and informal learning experiences into formal academic spaces, further supporting their sense of belonging, wellbeing, health, and academic success.

- Adopting a flexible mindset, and being responsive to childrens' cues and emerging interests when employing participatory storytelling methods with children can help broker rapport and increase power sharing and co-creation which privileges child voice. Moreover, positioning oneself as a learner while interacting with children and inviting them to lead conversations and activities has been shown to further support the empowerment of children as leaders in the creation of knowledge (Oliveira & Gallo, 2021).

- Leveraging technology in research can provide various benefits including lowering costs for engaging with hard-to-reach populations and enhancing the relevance of methods when interacting with increasingly digitally literate youth populations. Doing so, however, requires thoughtful attention to critical ethical considerations associated with interactions in online spaces including consent, anonymity, and protection.

- Inviting and empowering im/migrant children to 'teach' adults about their knowledge and skills can provide unique opportunities to shift power dynamics towards child-centered and led interactions, generating new understandings of mobility, identity development, and learning while children undergo complex migratory trajectories.

- Further analyzing the positive socioemotional potential of participatory storytelling methods can support greater attention to and use of these methods, inviting greater participation of vulnerable and marginalized communities in migratory and educational scholarship.

Overall, as growing numbers of children undergo complex processes of mobility, both within the Central America-U.S. nexus and globally, more scholarship should center these children as

protagonists in their own stories. This requires the appropriate methodological choices and

design.

CHAPTER FIVE

Cross-Cutting Themes and Implications

As more children find themselves undergoing diverse processes of mobility within the Central America-U.S. nexus, it is of growing regional and global importance that researchers, educational practitioners, and policymakers develop a richer understanding of their lived experiences. As illustrated throughout this study, migrant children developed rich funds of knowledge while in-transit as a result of varying informal learning experiences along their migratory journeys. By engaging a toolkit of participatory storytelling methods and flexible research approaches, this study opened up spaces for children to co-construct knowledge regarding facets of the migratory journey that have seldom been explored.

In this chapter, I describe some of the cross-cutting themes that emerged across the three articles presented in this dissertation. These themes consider how children enacted agency over their migratory journeys, accrued a wealth of knowledge in-transit that they brought with them to new spaces and experiences, and developed their identities across borders. As I describe each theme, I embed additional excerpts using participant voice to ground my reflections within their stories and the lived realities of this community. While the stories of the nine families included in this study cannot be generalized to the Honduran migrant population as a whole, centering some of the perspectives from this growing population can help ensure that they are heard by educators, humanitarian organizations, and policymakers. After exploring the cross-cutting themes, I discuss relevant implications and recommendations for these audiences and conclude by sharing the ways in which I plan to put lessons from this dissertation into practice across disciplinary and geographic boundaries.

Cross-Cutting Themes

Children as Active Agents in Migratory Processes

In contrast with the predominant view in migratory and educational scholarship which positions children as passive actors or extras to adult-led migratory journeys, the children in this study actively made sense of their experiences, contributed to decision making, and engaged in family and community care roles. While in some cases these roles were ascribed by parents, such as older siblings being tasked with caring for younger ones, children also demonstrated in numerous ways how they took it upon themselves to ensure their family and community's safety and wellbeing while in-transit. Article 1 detailed various experiences ranging from Steven carrying luggage for his mother who was feeling faint during the journey, to Jenny learning how to cook so she could feed herself, her sister, and her mom when her mom got home from work late. These examples of child agency and duty of care were present across children of all ages in the study, including the youngest participants. For example, Isabel (age 6), taught her younger sister how to draw so that she would be ready for school once she was old enough to attend. Santiago (age 5) cared for his grandmother by providing her with massages, and Adriana (age 6) brought her mom pills when she was sick. In addition to these physical acts of care, the children in this study also offered their families socioemotional support. In response to Eunice's concern over her family's almost two-year prolonged asylum process, her children Milton, Nila, and Elson provided her reassurance that everything would be ok, drawing upon religious faith that God would take them out of Mexico.

> Eunice: Sometimes they tell me "no mom, do not worry, God is going to help us, God is going to take us out of here."/*A veces ellos me dicen "no mami, no te preocupes, Dios nos va a ayudar, Dios nos va a sacar de acá".*

Eunice expressed just how much her children's understanding meant to her, as in the beginning of their journey they blamed her for having to leave their home.

While these examples illustrate a family-oriented duty of care, other instances were also present which extended beyond the family unit. Throughout my fieldnotes, I identified numerous examples of children caring for other migrants in shelters or shared homes. In Camila's case, she was always found cradling a child, providing them with a pacifier, or inviting them to play; Lalisa and Jenny also brought the two-year old boy of their housemate into various research sessions while his dad was at work. In addition, Leonel was tasked with supporting his mom in looking after the shelter, which involved ensuring migrants cleaned up after themselves and providing them with access to the storage room when they requested. While Leonel and other children were not always satisfied with their additional responsibilities, they continued to assume these roles, viewing them as a way to support their parents throughout their journey.

Alongside these examples of care, children in this study also actively demonstrated how they made sense of their experiences, including the reasons for their family's migration. In Article 2, Milton, as well as other children, revealed their acute awareness of the dangers they faced in Honduras and the push-factors driving them north, which included but was not limited to violence, insecurity, discrimination, and economic hardships. Michelle reflected her surprise at her daughter Isabel's broad understanding of the dangers they faced at home, commenting on how Isabel's grandma was at risk of being killed:

> Michelle: She told me everyday that she wanted to return to Honduras...One day I got frustrated and I told her if we returned those men were going to kill us and things like that...and she got quiet that day and I remember she told me "If they are going to kill us, why did my Grandma go back? They are going to kill her./*Ella me decía todos los días que quería regresar a Honduras...Un día me frustre y le dije que si nosotros regresábamos esos hombres nos iban a matar y cosas así...y ella se calló ese día me acuerdo y me dijo "Y si nos van a matar ¿Por qué mi abuela se fue? A ella la van a matar."*

Isabel was very close to her grandma, as she raised Isabel since she was a baby while her parents were at work. Her grandma's absence—she returned to Honduras part of the way through their journey—had a substantial impact on Isabel. As a result, Isabel enacted agency in her family's journey by expressing her desire to return to Honduras. However, the family, who had been kidnapped, were now being pursued by a gang—a driving force for them fleeing Honduras and not returning. In Isabel's response to her mom, however, she makes sense of how the same reasons why they could not return could prospectively place her grandma in danger. Her reasoning demonstrates how she positioned herself at the center of her family's migratory decisions.

Other children in the study demonstrated evolving understandings of their migratory journeys. Some grappled with how different their lived experiences were from what they expected they would encounter enroute. As described in Article 2, Rose, Camila, and Stephany from the Gómez family initially believed that the border was open and an immigration official would quickly review their documents and then let them pass. However, once they found out that this was incorrect after spending a week in the hielera and being sent back to Mexico to wait for over 18 month, they were very critical of the lies their coyotes/guides told them to lure more migrants to embark on the journey. During their prolonged waiting period in Mexico, the Gómez children also evidenced emerging understandings of their rights as migrants, pushing back on numerous experiences of discrimination at the hands of police by hiding their money and noting that they could not get deported, as they had papers allowing them to remain in Mexico.

Taken as a whole, the experiences presented in this study demonstrate how, across stories, ages, and moments in-transit, migrant children from Honduras took on active roles as agents in their own migratory processes. As they were presented with new information and

experiences, they made sense of it and developed novel understandings of im/migration, discrimination, and care. From there, they acted to support their families and communities throughout their journeys. These findings suggest that research that centers children's perspectives may offer insights which expand understanding of the broader scope of migratory dynamics in which children are increasingly represented and participating. Moreover, it positions time in-transit as critical to fully understanding migratory dynamics and children's experiences and backgrounds—realities which they bring with them into new communities and educational spaces.

Children Gain Rich Knowledge While In-Transit

Across the three articles included in this dissertation, Honduran migrant children illustrated the rich experiences they had and knowledge they gained while undergoing diverse im/migratory processes. These informal learning opportunities, or funds of knowledge, developed as they interacted with, learned from, and became a part of a more global community (see Article 1). Children also developed specific politicized funds of knowledge associated with the im/migratory dynamics, dangers, and discrimination they experienced while enroute (see Article 2). For example, many of the children were living in shared spaces, such as migrant shelters and apartments, with non-family members for the first time—experiences which exposed them to new rules, social norms, friendships, and interests.

For Leila, Stephany, Camila, Rose, Jenny, and Lalisa, they lived in the same shelter for over a year and a half and developed shared interests, including KPop, anime, and social media platforms such as TikTok and Instagram. Through these forms of entertainment and online engagement, Article 1 and 3 illustrate how children developed various digital literacy knowledge and skills, including learning about copyright laws and online social dynamics, maneuvering

various apps and platforms to edit videos, and using online translation platforms to understand music in Korean and English. As the COVID-19 pandemic developed and many of the children moved out of the shelter to apartments in the outskirts of the city, these girls, as well as others, expanding their use of technology and social media as a means of maintaining connections they had built while in-transit and with family and friends that were separated across borders, as well as to develop new connections in global spaces. The latter was evident in the example of Leonel presented in Article 1, as his interest in playing online video games emerged in response to being bored and lonely. Using collaborative gaming, he was able to play with friends he had met at the shelter and make new connections with kids across three different continents and various languages—pushing him to diversify his cultural and linguistic repertoire. As a whole, these experiences with digital literacy reflect valuable skills that these children will carry with them into increasingly technologically rich academic and social spaces.

Time spent in-transit through Mexico, whether by train, bus, rafts, or walking, also afforded children ripe opportunities to develop new interests, connections, and understandings of geography and space. For Kevin and Steven, this was reflected in how they embedded themselves into the skateboarding and BMX cultures, respectively, of their local communities. Steven even created a shared YouTube channel with a Mexican friend which he used to start producing and publishing content of them practicing BMX. In another example, Isabel's many hours sharing buses with a group of Arab migrants generated a preference for a completely different genre of music—songs she requested over and over during our participatory sessions, connecting her to a set of more global ideas and inquiries. Given that im/migrant children have been found to often face experiences with nominal inclusion in new schooling environments

(Gitlin et al., 2013) the practice these children had in building new connections and friendships may prove useful skills for navigating new social contexts.

In Article 1, I also described how participants foregrounded positive experiences from their migratory journeys. For example, despite the train Camila travelled on being associated in scholarship with a wide array of dangers for migrants, her two most memorable moments in-transit were the beautiful flowers she saw from the top of the train cars and her excitement riding a train for the first time. Adriana also noted that the beautiful scenery and wonderful people she met while migrating were her most salient memories, despite experiencing family separation and other challenges while enroute. These examples illustrate that Honduran migrant children may reflect unique perceptions of geography and space while in-transit that diverge from common narratives that victimize them and center on the traumatic experiences associated with migration. While the effects of migration on children's well-being should not be discounted and policymakers and practitioners should ensure the utmost protections for children's rights and provide appropriate psychosocial support as challenges arise, findings from this study suggest that children possess diverse forms of knowledge and nuanced understandings of their experiences that need to be considered. This can ensure that the support provided to children is comprehensive and responsive to their unique journeys.

As detailed in Article 2, through additional confrontations with danger, im/migratory dynamics, and discrimination, the children in this study developed politicized funds of knowledge which supported them in shifting their perceptions, building resilience, and developing strategies to confront adversity. For example, in two excerpts, the Gómez and Rogriguez children asked me to "cross them" into the U.S. by car or suitcase, demonstrating emerging understandings of legality, human smuggling, and privilege. The older siblings placed

me in a position of power as an American who can freely cross the border, while also taking it upon themselves to educate their younger siblings as to how this action could prospectively get me into trouble.

In terms of developing resilience and strategies to confront danger, Mariana expressed the need to learn Mexican slang to avoid being bothered by police who regularly surveilled her—a practice that other children in the study also engaged in to avoid discrimination and deportation. In another example, the Montaño family chose to stay in the house more often to avoid the violence in their broader neighborhood, which Milton shared was more dangerous than where they lived in Honduras. As the families in this study continue to undergo im/migratory dynamics and associated experiences with danger and discrimination (even as many have transitioned into the U.S. to await asylum processsess), these politicized funds of knowledge can help them navigate similar dynamics they may face inside schools and in their communities writ large.

In summary, the findings detailed throughout this dissertation reflect the diverse ways in which Honduran migrant children developed a wealth of knowledge and skills while in-transit through informal educational experiences. These findings counter deficit framings that often position im/migrant children as behind or lacking knowledge when they enter formal schooling spaces. They help to broaden understanding of what constitutes "learning" and is thus valued within the context of formal education.

Children Develop Identities Across Borders

Throughout this study, the 17 children who shared their stories demonstrated various ways in which their identities developed while they traversed geographic, linguistic, cultural, technological, and ideological borders. They sustained, shifted, and strengthened their sense of

self as Hondurans and as a part of a global community, developed diverse global interests and cultural beliefs and practices, and discovered new ideas as to what they wanted to be when they grew up. Throughout the participatory sessions, children like Camila, Lalisa, and Jenny, expressed pride in their identities as Honduran and migrants, and shared that they were strong people who had experienced a lot. Lalisa, for example, wanted her future teacher to know that her identity as a migrant did not make her a bad person, adding that she believes we are all the same as humans. This demonstrated how she positioned herself as an integral part of a global community. Other children also reflected fondly on their home country. Building upon the findings presented in Article 2, Isabel discussed how she maintained a strong connection to Honduras, despite being far away.

> Maxie: You sleep with a flag in your pillow?/*¿Duermes con una bandera en una almohada?*
> Isabel: Yes I put the drawing to the side and I sleep./*Sí, al lado pongo el dibujo y duermo.*
> Maxie: Why do you sleep with it?/*¿Por qué duermes con ello?*
> Isabel: My country, I miss my country, it's been a while that I haven't visited my country.... Here is a little big and Honduras is a little small. It is the only country that is smaller./*Mi país, yo extraño mi país, y hace días no voy donde él, donde mi país...Aquí es un poquito más grande y Honduras es un poco más pequeño. Es el único país más pequeño.*

As Isabel's last comment illustrates, some of the children's understanding of identity and connections to Honduras or to Mexico took shape through comparisons between what they knew and their new experiences enroute.

Articles 1 and 3 also foreground how children identified more strongly with and enacted roles as a part of the global community. In the case of Lalisa, she developed knowledge regarding recycling and saving the polar bears and shared her belief that it was her responsibility to teach others how to take care of the environment. Leila and Steven also showed interest in connecting with others on a larger scale by creating and sharing content through TikTok and

YouTube, with the aim of gaining social media followers, interactions, and becoming famous. As these examples illustrate, children's access to technology, either through their parents' phones or their own personal ones, connected them to communities and interests far beyond their immediate physical surroundings. This exposure likely contributed to children's responses when asked about their futures. They shared plans to travel and live around the world— the most commonly referenced places were Korea, Colombia, and the U.S. While the U.S. was the final destination for all nine families in the study, Kevin's comments in Article 1 demonstrate how he positioned himself as more than a migrant, adding the importance of his identity as a skateboarder—a hobby he had developed while in-transit in Mexico. As Borjian and colleagues (2016) note, it is important that educators acknowledge migrant children's hybrid identities as they offer opportunities to develop students' sense of self as well as cultural capital wealth.

The Honduran migrant children in this study also developed new cultural beliefs and language practices during their time in-transit. In terms of religious practices, Leonel and Kevin became more disconnected from their Evangelical faith after spending two years living in a Catholic shelter, where they were required to attend church three times a day to receive a meal ticket. Isabel, on the other hand, kept asking her parents to let her attend church in Monterrey, a reality which her mother suggested was likely connected to the association Isabel had made between religion and spending time with her dad Mauricio while in-transit. When they were in Mexico City, he would read to her from the Bible all of the time, however, when they arrived in Monterrey and he had to work more, he often came home tired and did not have time to read. Mauricio's interest in faith was something that emerged while in-transit as a response to a harrowing experience of his family being kidnapped in Honduras. For Adriana and her family, their Christian faith was a way of building community in-transit, as her dad often found work

teaching church choirs and bands. When Adriana reflected on her most memorable experiences in-transit, she drew a pastor who had housed them in Tapachula for almost a year. She also sent me numerous faith-based songs and taught me some choreography from her church dance group where she performed every Sunday—demonstrating the importance of faith in her migratory story.

Beyond religion and faith, children developed new linguistic patterns and practices in their daily lives while in-transit. Elson, for example, shared how he would watch YouTube videos numerous times to help him learn English. He commented that this was a way to help avoid being bullied once in the U.S., communicating a knowledge of discriminatory practices that he may face as a migrant. Jenny, during one session, attempted to teach me Korean, sharing how her desire to learn about Korean culture emerged through interactions with other girls in the migrant shelter and by watching KPop programs on Mexican TV. This interest became a large part of her identity, as she shared wanting to become a famous KPop singer when she grew up. Her sister Lalisa also identified strongly with this linguistic and cultural curiosity, expressing that her ideal day consisted of "waking up and getting a scholarship to study in Asia/*Levantarme y conseguirme una beca para irme a estudiar a Asia*." Adding to these findings, which were explored in Article 1, Adriana shared her enthusiasm towards learning English as a means of supporting her in her future career goals and abilities to provide for her family:

> Maxie: What motivates you to study English/*¿Qué es lo que te motiva a estudiar inglés?*
> Adriana: To go to work and help my parents./*Para ir al trabajo y ayudar a mis padres.*
> Maxie: Wow that is great! How are you going to help them?/*¡Hay que bueno! ¿Y cómo les vas a ayudar?*
> Adriana: Well working in a kitchen...I am going to provide them with food./*Pues, trabajar en cocina...Yo les voy a dar de comer…*
> Maxie: In what type of restaurant do you want to work?/*¿Y en qué tipo de restaurante quieres trabajar?*

Adriana: As a stylist (laughter)/*Pues estilista (risas)...*
Maxie: Now you are going to be a stylist as well?/*Ahora vas a ser también estilista.*
Adriana: Yes...doing hair, makeup and that./*Sí...Haciendo peinados, pintando y eso.*

While she originally expressed a desire to work as a chef, she added that she wants to be a stylist. At one point of the data collection, she taught me how to put on make-up. While her interests were diverse, what was central to her identity was the importance of providing for her family. Mariana echoed this commitment, expressing a desire to work in finance so that she could "be an independent woman who could help to take care of [her] family/*ser una mujer independiente quien puede ayudar a mantener a [her] familia.*" Camila and Milton, among others, noted that they wanted to earn money to buy their parents a home, take them on trips, or in the case of Rose in Article 2, even buy her family papers to get into the U.S.

When asked how they imagined their lives in one, five, and ten years, children described scenarios that involved an array of interests and careers, from being a doctor (Isabel) or a DJ (Steven), to a famous soccer player (Eduardo, Nila), an architect (Milton), a nanny (Stephany), or a skateboarder/policeman (Kevin). These findings build on prior scholarship that has illustrated the diverse effects of migratory journeys on children's identity formation and academic and professional aspirations and success (Abrego, 2014). Some of the children in this study developed their career interests from their experiences in Honduras. For example, Milton actually had an opportunity to try out a new job as a welder while living in a shelter. Through this experience, he discovered that he really did not like the job because it was a lot of work and could ruin one's eyes, demonstrating an opportunity for informal learning that may influence his future career plans. While the visions each child presented for the future were diverse, they consistently envisioned themselves studying for at least five more years, and in many cases,

beyond ten years, depending on their age. This was even the case for Santiago, who had not yet had the opportunity to attend school, as well as for Mariana, Steven, and Eduardo, who had spent three years out of school while in-transit. This detail is particularly important as it signals how children's identity as a student remained central throughout their migratory journey. It demonstrates the high likelihood that they will traverse different formal educational spaces while they continue their migratory journey—a point I build upon in the following section.

Implications

Based on lessons learned from the cross cutting themes and methodological considerations from this study, several implications emerged for researchers, practitioners, and policymaker audiences. I present these below accompanied by relevant recommendations.

Implications for Researchers

Despite the growing presence of children engaging in diverse migratory trajectories, their voices continue to remain relatively sparse in migratory and educational scholarship (Pain, 2004; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Schmidt, 2017; Yeoh & Lam, 2006). In the context of Central American children migrants' experiences, this marginalization is even more pronounced, as media messaging primarily portrays them as victims and criminals (Catalano, 2017; Vogt, 2018). These negative framings can contribute to exacerbating pre-existing anti-immigrant rhetoric within and outside of classroom spaces. Research which favorably positions im/migrant children as leaders in research processes and as rich in knowledge and experiences has the potential to re-shape deficit narratives.

For example, this study demonstrates the importance of centering child voice as a means of gaining a deeper understanding of both time spent in-transit and the unique ways in which children make sense of and develop throughout their journeys. By engaging migrant children's

diverse funds of knowledge (Gallo & Link, 2012; Moll et al., 2005), the findings from this study suggest the need for a broader conceptualization of learning which includes informal social, cultural, linguistic, and political knowledge and skills developed both inside and outside of formal educational environments. Considering that funds of knowledge have been found to support im/migrant children's engagement in educational spaces as well as their well-being writ large (Moll et al., 2005), pursuit of further scholarship is needed to continue to expand upon these theoretical frameworks in relation to Central American migrants during prolonged periods in-transit.

Methodologically, this study leveraged a diverse toolkit of participatory storytelling methods (Torres & Carte, 2012) which were not previously employed with migrant children in Central America (Gluckman, unpublished manuscript). Employing and analyzing the use of these methods in Article 3, I offered deeper insights into the constraints and affordances of participatory storytelling methods when working with highly mobile populations undergoing complex situations of vulnerability. For example, this design deconstructed traditional research-participant power dynamics, positioning children as co-leaders during research sessions and tackling potential challenges related to my positionality as a white, American scholar. Moreover, technologically mediated data collection afforded opportunities for participants to guide conversations and interactions, often through informal opportunities to engage in play from a distance. They also demonstrated the digital knowledge and skills children developed while in-transit.

Based on the theoretical and methodological insights emerging from this study, migratory and educational scholars should consider further the inclusion of child voice when seeking to understand the impacts of transnational mobility. As children continue to engage in migratory

processes within the Central America-U.S. nexus and worldwide, it is critical to position them as central agents and actors in their own journeys and stories. When employing participatory storytelling methods with children, adopting a flexible mindset and being responsive to children's cues and emerging interests may help broker rapport and increase power sharing and co-creation which privileges child voice. Moreover, positioning oneself as a learner when interacting with children and inviting them to lead interactions has been shown to help empower children as authorities in their own right and as leaders in the creation of knowledge (Oliveira & Gallo, 2021). Inviting and empowering im/migrant children to 'teach' adults about their knowledge and skills can present unique opportunities to shift power dynamics towards child-centered and child-led interactions. This can generate new understandings of mobility, identity formation, and learning while children undergo complex migratory trajectories.

Leveraging technology when interacting with populations experiencing complex processes of mobility can also present low-cost alternatives to engage with hard-to-reach populations. Technologically mediated interactions may also enhance the relevance of methods, especially when working with digitally literate children and youth. However, ensuring the utmost protection for vulnerable populations requires thoughtful attention to critical ethical considerations associated with interactions in online spaces, including consent and anonymity. As such, future scholarship should also continue to unpack the positive socio-affective potential of participatory storytelling methods signaled in this study. This practice can support greater attention to and use of these methods, inviting greater participation of vulnerable and marginalized communities in migratory and educational scholarship.

Implications for Educational Practitioners

All 17 children in this study expressed desires to continue their education within the next year. Since every family has since transitioned to living in the U.S. pending im/migration processes, the children will likely find themselves in U.S. schools in the near future. Most of the children were able to keep pace with age-appropriate grade levels while in-transit, and will continue along their formal educational trajectories. At the same time, these experiences were marked by differing degrees of educational consistency, quality, and inclusion, particularly in relation to distance learning during COVID-19. For children such as the Rodriguez children, they will arrive years behind based on traditional academic criteria due to their experiences of exclusion while in-transit. Educators who receive these students or other im/migrant children must be prepared to welcome them and incorporate their unique backgrounds into formal academic spaces. To do so successfully requires educators to reframe deficit narratives, which position im/migrant children as low, behind, or in need of additional support (Hopkins et al., 2019), and to practice which centers on the rich informal educational experiences and funds of knowledge children have gained while in-transit and bring with them to schools.

For example, many school districts in the U.S. have implemented technology initiatives which provide each student with a device, demonstrating the ubiquitousness and growth in technology assisted classroom instruction. As such, the comfort and skills these migrant children developed with technology through social media and entertainment use while in-transit serve may support their success in employing these devices for formal academic purposes. Moreover, the way in which technology was used by these children to maintain connections with family members and friends from afar, present relevant development practices for their academic continuity as scholarship has connected the maintenance of transnational ties to students' social

capital, academic and social success, and emotional development (Borjian & Padilla, 2010; de la Piedra & Araujo, 2012; Lucic, 2016).

The educational commitment the parents of these children demonstrated while in-transit and their expressed interests in their children continuing these trajectories once in the U.S., also serves to counter perspectives that frame im/migrant parents as less interested in their children's schooling (Quiocho & Daoud, 2006). By viewing im/migrant children and their families as actively interested in furthering their education, this study calls upon educators to invite parents in as key partners in these processes. Educational systems, curriculum, and practices should be adapted to ensure the most receptive and supportive environments exist to meet these students' unique needs.

Understanding children's experience in-transit is critical to fully understanding these needs. Study participants spent an average of 22 months in-transit, a period that reflects a considerable portion of their lives, particularly for those like Santiago who left Honduras before they were old enough to remember. During this time, these children confronted diverse and fraught experiences, including discrimination, danger, and uncertaint—lived realities which have influenced their identity formation, well-being, and future goals. For some, these experiences strengthened their sense of self, produced new knowledge related to maneuvering complex political and social dynamics, and supported them in developing resilience when confronting discrimination and danger. Children also developed rich linguistic, cultural, and digital skills and resources through interactions with new communities and spaces. Building upon prior scholarship, this study suggests that inviting these lived experiences and children's funds of knowledge into classroom environments can contribute to increasing students' educational

outcomes (Moll et al., 2005) and generating more culturally responsive and equitable environments (Strickland et al., 2010).

Taking these reflections into account, practitioners who may serve Central American im/migrant children during their educational and migratory trajectories should consider how to make formal curricula and pedagogical practices more responsive to these students. For example, considering the incremental presence of students of Central American origin entering schools in the U.S., it is important to attend to the relative absence of their voices and experiences in formal curriculum (Lavandez, 2008). As increasing rates of Central American children are also entering into Mexican schools, similar considerations should be made within this education system, which has been found to demonstrate limited considerations for students with diverse backgrounds (Franco García, 2017; Zúñiga & Hamann, 2006). Integrating participatory storytelling methods into educational environments may be one way of inviting im/migrant students' backgrounds and informal learning experiences into formal academic environments, supporting their sense of belonging, wellbeing, health, and academic success.

Anti-immigrant rhetoric has been found to be increasingly mirrored in schools (Ee & Gandara, 2019). As such, it is important that educators and support systems go beyond fulfilling their obligation to provide every child with an education, instead working to actively counter biases, support inclusion, and attend to these students' social and emotional needs. As Catalano (2017) posits, once an educational community is aware of the damaging effect anti-immigration ideology and rhetoric can have on children, educators can begin to be more intentional about their language and practices to ensure a welcoming atmosphere for all students. Moreover, given that im/migrant children may experience ongoing and uncertain im/migration processes alongside their educational trajectories, educators should consider how these realities may impact

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their experiences within schools. Creating welcoming and safe spaces for children to share their politicized funds of knowledge, for example, may result in additional support during challenging times and an increase in their sense of safety and inclusion in schools.

To promote successful inclusion in formal academic spaces, educators and educational systems must consider how to provide wraparound support to address non-academic needs that influence their likelihood to persist and succeed in schools. This may include, but is not limited to, psychosocial and nutrition services, transportation subsidies, and guarantee of safe living conditions. Alongside these considerations, educators who serve im/migrant students may benefit from training associated with trauma-informed care. This can help them to identify and address children's socioemotional needs and mitigate prospective negative outcomes for educational continuity and completion.

As growing numbers of Central American children engage in diverse migratory trajectories across transnational borders, educational curriculum and practices must shift to adequately support and prepare children for international futures. For example, while the children in this study crossed into the U.S. after the conclusion of this study, their im/migration processes are ongoing and uncertain. They may obtain asylum status which would enable them to remain in the U.S., however, in 2019 only 3.2% (2,351) Honduran asylum seekers' cases were approved (DHS, 2020). Current delays in the court systems mean that this process may take years to be resolved. Children may also be forcibly returned or choose to return to Honduras or Mexico for a variety of reasons. Given the complexities and uncertainties of their journeys, it is critical that educators across the Central American-U.S. nexus adequately prepare for these students' arrival.

Implications for Policymakers

The stories and experiences presented throughout the study position identity formation as an ongoing process that takes place across borders. This further highlights the importance of acknowledging and understanding children's migration experiences in-transit. As Heidbrink (2020) posited, these experiences can offer insight into the impacts of transnational dynamics, including migration management and securitization, which shape the supports provided to migrants and the dangers they face while enroute. For the particular population under review, this study offers insights into how the interaction of the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP), which required migrants to wait in Mexican pending asylum processes in the U.S., associated prolonged periods in-transit, and the COVID-19 pandemic shaped child learning and development. While the children in this study reflect a small subset of the estimated 16,000 children sent back to Mexico under MPP (Cooke et al., 2019), their experiences help us begin to understand the effects of this policy from a child-centered perspective. Findings from this dissertation showed how conditions of uncertainty and insecurity, especially as they relate to the im/migratory processes, and enhanced migrant policing, can influence children's sense of self, interests, and wellbeing. They will carry these realities with them into their new communities and schools.

Woven throughout these narratives, we can also begin to evaluate to what extent legal and humanitarian protections were enacted to serve this population on behalf of U.S., Mexican, and Central American actors. In particular, this study interrogates children's experiences within the context of Monterrey, Nuevo León, a relatively new site of transit and settlement for Central American migrant families. As such, the reflections of children and their families on the conditions of Monterrey migrant shelters and safety in surrounding communities offer considerations for improving conditions for migrant children in these spaces. Moreover,

children's experiences with discrimination inside and outside of schools throughout Mexico and the dangers they faced throughout their migratory journey signal areas where policymakers should direct additional protections. Transnational collaborations are needed to ensure that children's rights are upheld and their needs are met in Monterrey as well as across the Central America-U.S. nexus.

To ensure equitable education opportunities for all im/migrant children, educational and migratory policy should be attentive to and informed by children's unique perspectives. This knowledge can result in more relevant and responsive actions when attending to im/migrant children within and outside of educational and shelter spaces. For example, within educational systems, district and school leadership should consider providing mandatory training for all staff. This can sensitize them to the demographics of migrant populations they might serve, as well as their rights, experiences, and prospective needs. Such an approach favors asset-based teaching strategies which bring in migrant children's backgrounds, beliefs, and funds of knowledge.

Migratory policymakers should also consider investing in the creation of child-friendly spaces in migrant shelters. As detailed in this study and supported by prior scholarship, migrant shelters are rich sites of informal learning such as social, linguistic, and cultural interactions and negotiations (Vogt, 2018). However, given historical migratory trends, most shelters were originally conceptualized and designed to serve single male adults. These spaces must be adjusted to ensure adequate protection and support to the growing populations of families and children shelters now serve. Incorporating migrant children's voices into these processes can ensure these efforts are more attuned to these populations' unique needs.

Finally, considering the uncertain nature of current U.S. im/migration policies, such as is the case with MPP 2.0 in response to continued increases in Central American families arriving

at the U.S.-Mexico border (Kumar, 2021), policymakers should take into account the impacts of MPP and prolonged periods in-transit on child migrants. MPP, as well as other policies that may require Central American asylum seekers to wait in Mexico or another country while their claims are processed, may promise specialized attention and protections for migrants. As Article 2 in particular reflects, however, these are implemented with wavering fidelity and success. To uphold a commitment to human rights as legally promised, the U.S. government must interrogate how these policies may be placing children in enhanced contexts of vulnerability and then respond accordingly.

Conclusion

This study unpacked the informal political, social, emotional, cultural, and linguistic learning opportunities that Honduran migrant children engaged in while in-transit. By highlighting facets of the migratory journey that have seldom been explored from an asset-based framing, children's migration can be seen as more than just an interruption in their educational trajectory, but as an experience in which they develop a wealth of knowledge that they bring with them to future educational contexts. Helping educators better understand im/migrant students and sharing tools with them to provide students with an inclusive education, can improve children's academic outcomes and sense of belonging, as well as contribute to greater cross-cultural understanding amongst their peers and the school at large. While this work's immediate scope centers on Honduran communities in Mexican contexts, it has broader implications for the reception and success of current and future im/migrant students across the U.S.-Central American nexus, highlighting the power of storytelling as a tool for children to exert agency, counter deficit narratives, and heal. As such, I am committed to placing this work into dialogue with various researchers, practitioners, policy, and community audiences.

In terms of research outputs, Article 1 has been accepted to be included in a special issue of *Childhood and Society*, and Article 3 has been accepted as a book chapter for The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Participatory Inquiry in Transnational Research Contexts. I plan to submit Article 2 to the *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education Journal* or *Children's Geographies* for review to ensure this work is put into conversation with international and multidisciplinary scholarship. Alongside these publications, I am connected with policy actors, advocates, and organizations in Honduras, Mexico, and the U.S.. I will share this study with them and pay for open-access as needed to ensure equitable dissemination. For practitioners, I plan to circulate this work amongst the networks of educators, nonprofits, and migrant shelters who serve im/migrant students across Latin America and the U.S., including those who I have had the privilege to collaborate with through my roles as an educator, consultant, and volunteer.

To ensure that these materials are accessible to Spanish-speaking audiences, I will translate this concluding chapter for broader circulation. I also plan to record and add subtitles to my dissertation presentation to share with these audiences, as well as the families featured in this study. Sharing this work with im/migrant communities who have contributed to its conceptualization and the data discussed in the study is of the utmost importance, as this work would not be possible without them. As such, I plan to offer each of the nine families a printed copy of this work with a personalized letter as a small token of my gratitude for all of the time spent and stories shared with me. I am also actively involved in a follow-up study that follows three of these families during their first year in U.S. schools, documenting these experiences and providing varied support and advocacy on their behalf to maneuver complex educational climates and im/migration processes.

As I move forward in my career, I take many important lessons from this dissertation and the opportunities to participate in these families' lives. Amongst them, I foreground the importance of critical participatory and emancipatory work with im/migrant communities. Moving forward, I possess a greater knowledge of and comfort with employing participatory methodologies, engaging in ethical work through virtual mediums, and co-constructing knowledge with children. I will bring these skills into the international development space. I also feel more empowered to work in partnership with diverse community stakeholders, an action which is critical to serving as a change agent, particularly given my positionality within spaces serving communities in contexts of vulnerability. Overall, I learned to be more flexible and responsive in my plans and work, to take myself a bit less seriously, and to have fun. To all of those who contributed to this journey, I am eternally grateful and humbled.

Session	Themes	Proposed Method(s)	Initial Prompts	Follow-up Prompts or Questions to ask While Engaging in Art
Planned Sessions				
1	Family	Drawing	Can you draw a picture of your family? Can you describe the picture? (Family funds of knowledge)	Do you have any siblings? What is your relationship like with your siblings? How do you treat each other? Is there anyone not in your drawing that you also consider family? What can you tell me about them? (Family funds of knowledge) Can you describe how you communicate with your family that isn't with you? with your friends? (Language/Technology funds of knowledge)
2	Home - Honduras	Drawing	Can you tell me a little bit about where you are from? What was it like growing up there? Can you draw a picture of what your home looked like before in Honduras? (Geography/Sense of Place and Space funds of knowledge)	Tell me about the types of chores or tasks around your home you were responsible for or how you helped around the house? (Childcare/Work funds of knowledge) Did you have an outside area/garden? What were some of the things that you like to do outside? Has your family ever grown things? Tell me about farmers, what do you know about farmers? (Agriculture funds of knowledge)
3	Home - Mexico	Show & Tell, Photography	Where have you been staying? What has that experience been like for you? Can you draw a picture of your home right now OR (if Video is available) show me your home right now? (Geography/Sense of Place and Space funds of knowledge)	What objects/tools/things are important to you? (show and/or take a picture of) (Geography/Sense of Place and Space) What objects are with you now that you started the journey with? (Technology funds of knowledge) Who takes care of you currently? Who has taken care of you in the past? (Health funds of knowledge) Is there anyone you take care of? (Childcare funds of knowledge)

4	Journey	Map Making	Can you draw me a map of your journey OR draw me a picture of 3 places you have been? (Geography funds of knowledge)	Is this the first time you have left your home? If not, can you tell me a bit about where else you have gone? If so, what was that first day like when you left? Could you tell me about your journey since you left Honduras? (Geography funds of knowledge) Have you met anyone of interest since you left your home? Can you tell me about them? Have you made any friends on your journey you would like to talk about? What can you tell me about them? How do you define friendship or what makes them a good friend (Friendship/Companionship funds of knowledge)
5	Journey - Part 2	Group Brainstorm (if there are multiple children); Venn Diagram	Can you tell me things you liked or didn't like about where you were from and where you are now? — word cloud) (Entertainment funds of knowledge; Sense of Place and Space)	Have you tried any new food since you left home? What do you think about it? What did you eat at home? What do you eat here? What are your favorite foods at home? What are your favorite foods here? Are there any foods that you miss? (Cooking funds of knowledge)
6	Future	Timelines/Drawing	Can you draw/describe what you think your life might look like in 1 year? 5 years? 10 years? Where are you, what are you doing, who are you with?	
7	Academic /Formal Schooling	Dramatization, Photography, or Drawing	Did you attend school or are you attending school? If so, can you tell me a bit about your experiences? What about your school now? (Formal Schooling funds of knowledge)	
8	A day in the life	Comic creation; drawing	Can you share pictures/make a schedule of what you do on a given day?	
9	Expression - Music	Music/Dance	Would you like to put on some music? If so, what would you like to listen to? Can you help me make a dance? - Why did you choose that move (Art funds of knowledge)	
10	Entertainment	No preplanned method	The next time I come we are going to have some free time, what would you like to do? (Entertainment funds of knowledge)	
Added Sessions				

11	Appreciation	Letter writing	What is it that you appreciate about _ (member of family)? Brainstorm together and then invite them to write letters to whomever they want in appreciation (physically present or not and explain why they appreciate them). (Family funds of knowledge)	
12	Likes	Photography; Screen Shots	Can you screen shot or take a picture or share a video of 3-5 things you like? (Entertainment funds of knowledge)	Can you explain how long you have liked these things, what it is you like about them? Who do you like to do it with?
13	Teach me something	Video	What is something that you would want to teach me? What materials would I need? Can you please teach me how to do that?	
14	Future educator	Storytelling	If you could talk to your future teacher, what would you want them to know about you (About your likes, your travels, what you have learned, and what you are going to need help with in the future)? (Formal Schooling funds of knowledge)	

*Note. General questions were posed, as relevant, while children were engaging in participatory activities, including: What would you like to share about what you created? Who would you like to share your creations with? If we were creating an audience, who would you like to be a part of it? If we had a magic video, who would you like to be here with us? Would you like to put on some music (while we are working)? If so, what would you like to listen to?

Funds of Knowledge	Sample Excerpt
New funds of knowledge emerged through this study	
Duty of Care	Diana: My son and him rub my back, but he is very heavy./*Me soban la espalda mi hijo y él, pero él es muy pesado.* Maxie: Your grandson [Santiago]?/*¿El nieto [Santiago]?* Diana: Yes, he is very heavy. Yesterday he pushed on me a few times, hitting me with his fist, which left me in more pain/*Sí, muy pesado. Ayer me dio unos golpes que me dejó más adolorida, me dio así, puñetazos.* Maxie: It was to help you but it was too hard./*Para ayudarte, pero. Demasiado fuerte.* Diana: Yes, but he hit me hard./*Sí, pero me dio muy duro.*
Digital Literacy	Maxie: Who do you send the videos to that you create?*¿A quién mandas los videos que creas?* Leila: No one. I just uploaded them to TikTok/*A nadie. Sólo los subo a TikTok.* Maxie: How many followers do you have?/*¿Cuántos seguidores tienes?* Leila: Like 1,800.../*Como mil ochenta...* Leila: Sometimes they put hearts, sometimes they put that they love it, or they only give it a like./*A veces ponen corazones, o ponen me encanta, o sólo le dan like.* Maxie: How do you feel when they do that?/*¿Cómo te sientes cuando hacen eso?* Leila: Good/*Bien.* Maxie: Does it motivate you to make more videos/*¿Te motiva a querer hacer más videos?* Leila: Yes.../*Sí...*
Global Culture	Elson: (singing in English) I listen to a piece and then I repeat it and repat it until I learn it, that's how I do it./*(cantando en inglés) Escucho un pedazo y después lo repito y lo repito hasta que me lo aprendo, y así voy.* Maxie: Okay, is the song on Youtube?/*Okay, ¿en YouTube o dónde está la canción?* Elson: Yes, on Youtube/*En YouTube…* Maxie: Why do you need to learn English?/*¿Por qué necesitas poder hablar inglés?* Elson: So that when we are there I will know what they are saying and they will not make fun of us./*Para que cuando estemos allá no se burlen de nosotros, para saber qué dicen.*
Perceptions of Geography and Space	Isabel: It is different because in Honduras there are not parks and in Mexico there are parks. I am not sure if they sell waffles here, but in Honduras they do so that is also why it is different/ *Porque es más distinto, en Honduras no hay parque y aquí [en México] sí hay parques, no sé si aquí venden waffles y ahí en Honduras sí venden y por eso es distinto.*
Funds of Knowledge established in prior literature	
Economics	Michelle: Because for Children's Day here, we didn't [have money], and I remember that that day I started to cry because I always used to celebrated her at school. All the mothers brought gifts to school and each parent gave them to the teacher, but not this year. This year how could I? With the pandemic and us here, it couldn't do it. So I explained to her [Isabel], and since she is now more understanding, I told her "look there is no money" and she just said ... "later" she said, "when there is [money]."/ *Porque para el día del niño de aquí nosotros no, y yo me acuerdo que ese día yo me puse a llorar porque yo para las fechas del día del niño, en la escuela a ella siempre le celebraban, todas las madres llevaban regalos a la escuela y que cada padre se lo diera o la maestra, y ya este año no. Este año ¿Cómo? Con la pandemia y nosotros aquí, no se podía. Entonces yo le expliqué a ella [Isabel], ya ahora como que está más comprensiva, yo le digo "Mire que no hay dinero" y ella ya solo se queda… "Después" dice, "Cuando haya" dice.*

Agriculture/Environment	Nila: There are some mosquitos that go underground and you can't even see them./*Que unos mosquitos se meten entre las tierras y uno no los puede ver.* Elson: Some insects/*Unos insectos.* Maxie: Seriously? I didn't know that. So there are mosquitos hidden here?/*¡¿En serio?! Yo no sabía eso. ¿Entonces hay mosquitos escondidos aquí?* Elson: Some insects./*Unos insectos.* Nila: In the ground/*En la tierra.* Maxie: Should we be afraid of those insects?/*¿Hay que tener miedo de esos insectos?* Elson: And they go inside your skin./*Y se meten dentro del cuerpo.* Maxie: They go in my skin! And what happens?/*¡Se meten dentro de mi cuerpo! ¿y qué pasa?* Elson: They reproduce.../*Se reproducen...* Milton: They make nests in the skin./*Se le hacen nidos en la piel.*
Sports	Maxie: So, what do you do with the skateboard?/*Bueno, ¿y qué haces con la patineta?* Kevin: Trick./*Hago trucos.* Maxie: Like what?/*¿Cómo cuáles?* Kevin: Let's see, I do one where I flip the skateboard and land without losing it./*A ver, hago uno que le doy vuelta a la patineta y caigo sin perderla...* Maxie: Okay. How did you learn to skateboard?/*Okay. ¿Cómo aprendiste a manejar la patineta?* Kevin: Here there is a park called Fundidora. We used to go there to walk and I saw the people who were skateboarding and I liked it so I asked my mom to buy me one./*Es que aquí hay un parque grande que se llama Fundidora. Allá íbamos a caminar y yo miraba a la gente que llevaba patineta, me gustó y le pedí a mi mami que me compre una.*
Technology	When I was calling Adriana it was not going through because she had "deactivated the data/*desactivado los datos"* to play a game on the phone that takes up a lot of internet. She was so concerned that I was not able to call and that she was late but she was able to figure it out and resolve it on her own. (Excerpt from field notes)
Religion	Michelle: Yes that's correct. [Isabel] tells [her dad]. When we were in Mexico City it was because I didn't work much, he only worked three days a week. So he has a little book that talks about God and he would read it to her. He would read to her every day (from the bible) when I went to Doctors Without Borders, he stayed with her all day, and he read to them, and she liked that. But here he doesn't. Since we came here, he was only here for two days before he went to work./*Sí, es cierto. Ella [Isabel] se lo dice a él. Cuando estábamos en la Ciudad de México era porque no trabajaba mucho, solo trabajaba tres días por semana. Entonces él tiene un librito que habla de Dios y a ella se lo leía. A ella le leía todos los días (de la biblia) cuando yo iba a médicos sin fronteras, él se quedaba con ella todo el día, y les leía, y a ella le gustaba eso. Ya aquí, no. Aquí desde que vinimos solo estuvo dos días él aquí y a trabajar.*
Language	Isabel: In Mexico they say 'churro' and also in Honduras. While in Mexico they actually say Sabritas and in Honduras they say 'churro.'/*Se dice en México churro, y también en Honduras. Bueno, se dice en México Sabritas. Y en Honduras se llama churro.* Maxie: Are they the same? Do they taste the same?/*¿Y son iguales? ¿Saben igual?* Isabel: No, they aren't the same./*No, no son iguales.* Maxie: Which one is better, the one from Honduras or Mexico?/*¿Cuál es mejor la de Honduras o la de México?* Isabel: I like the ones from Honduras because they are tasty./*Me gusta como saben las de Honduras porque saben ricos.*
Health	Vanessa: Since we have been here Rose only likes to be laying down, while there she used to play a lot. Now she spends more time sleeping than anything else./*Rose hasta ahora que estamos acá le gusta estar sólo acostada, porque allá pasaba siempre jugando. Es hasta ahora, pasa más tiempo durmiendo que otra cosa.*

Childcare	Milton: I help my siblings with their homework, the food my mom makes./*Yo ayuda a mis hermanos con las tareas, la comida la deja hecha mi mamá...* Milton: I teach them the meaning of a word, looking it up on the phone and tell them to write that down./*Como el significado de una palabra, la busco ahí en el celular y les digo que escriban eso.*
Art/Movement/Dance	I asked Lalisa what songs she wanted to dance to, so I could practice them. She shared this one https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghUjmkl1U8Q. While I was watching them, and trying to follow along she said "you have to watch it first to learn it/*tienes que mirarlo primero para aprenderlo*" so I did that, then she stopped me part way through the first song and said "you have to watch a part of it and practice it before going on the next part so that you learn it well./*tienes que mirar una parte y practicarlo antes de avanzar con el siguiente parte para que lo aprendes bien.*" I asked her which one of the dancers she follows to which she said "when you are dancing by yourself you can choose from all of them who you want to follow./*cuando estas bailando sola puedes escoger de todo y quien quieres seguir.*" (Excerpt from fieldnotes)
Cooking	Isabel: When my mom is sick or something or if she wants to sleep, I make food for my sister./*Es cuando mi mamá va a estar enferma o algo... o si quiere dormir, y yo le hago la comida a mi hermana.*
Entertainment	Leonel: There is one that sings, Marshmello or Alan Walker. It is electronic music.../*Hay una también que la canta, Marshmello o Alan Walker. Se trata de música electrónica...* Maxie: Okay. There are many songs [on Youtube]. How did you learn about these people?/ *Okay. Hay muchas canciones [en Youtube]. ¿Y cómo supiste de estas personas?* Leonel: Well when I look at music on Youtube, I saw that and it drew my attention, I wanted to put it on and I liked it./*Bueno, yo sólo, cuando estaba viendo música en YouTube, miré eso, me llamó la atención, lo quise poner y me gustó.*
Friendship/Companionship	Lalisa showed me that in her room were two framed pictures that they decorated on a table next to the bed. One was her and Stephany, another girl from the shelter where they lived. The other one was the mom and the two girls. They had decorated them with stickers and placed them out on display (this probably was a shelter activity). On the table there was also a gold shinny happy new year hat and when I asked what they did for new years she said that "the families from the shelter came and we made food and spent time together./*las familias del albergue venían y hicimos comida y pasamos juntos*" (Excerpt from field notes)
Family	Maxie: Can you share with me if there is anything in your home that is important to you?/*¿Me puedes explicar si hay algo en tu casa que es importante para ti?* Leila: Our family./*A nuestra familia.* Maxie: It isn't something physical it is from the heart, right? Tell me, why is that so important to you?/*No es algo físico, es del corazón ¿verdad? Cuéntame por qué es tan importante para ti.* Leila: Because we get along well and we always tell each other everything./*Porque nos llevamos bien y porque siempre nos contamos todo.* Maxie: What does it mean to tell everything? That there are no secrets between you?/*¿Qué significa contar todo? ¿No hay secretos entre ustedes?* Leila: Sometimes there are between siblings, but not between mom and dad./*A veces sí, entre hermanos, pero entre papá y mamá no.* Maxie: How did you build such a trusting relationship as a family?/*¿Cómo construiste esta relación de tanta confianza con tu familia?* Leila: They always have told me that I have to share how I feel./*Siempre me han dicho que tengo que decir lo que siento…* Maxie: And during these times in Mexico, how has the relationship been in comparison to when you were in Honduras?/*Y en estos momentos en México, ¿cómo ha sido la relación de la familia en comparación de cuando estaban en Honduras?* Leila: Different. There we spoke more and here we barely talk./*Diferente. Allá hablamos más y aquí casi no hablamos.*

Maxie: Why do you think that is?/*¿Por qué crees que es así?*
Leila: Maybe because they are busy./*A lo mejor pasan muy ocupados.*

Work	Maxie: Are you selling clothes that don't fit you or old clothes to buy the tick-tock outfit?/*¿Estás vendiendo ropa que no te queda o ropa vieja para comprar traje tik-tok, ¿cómo es?* Isabel: It's so they will buy me the tick-tock outfit./*Es para que me compre la ropa del tik-tok.* Maxie: And how much are you selling it for?/*¿Y a cuánto la estás vendiendo?* Isabel: I am selling it so that I have money, I do not have much so I am going to sell everyday./*Lo estoy vendiendo para que tenga dinero, no tengo mucho entonces voy a vender todos los días.* Maxie: Can you show me what you are selling?/*¿Puedes mostrarme lo que estás vendiendo?* Isabel: Here I have clothes, I told my dad and my mom that the clothes don't fit me./*Aquí tengo ropa, le dije a mi papá y a mi mamá que si no me queda la ropa.* Maxie: And the toys too?/*¿Y los juguetes también?* Isabel: I am also going to sell them./*También los voy a vender.* Maxie: How much are you going to sell each thing at?/*¿A cuánto se vende cada cosa?* Isabel: Some are...this is 200 [pesos], and this one is 100, and this one 200. And all of the toys. There I have my bear because I am playing with it. The clothes are here, everything is here./*Algunos a…. este vale 200, este vale 100 y esté 200. Y todos los juguetes. Ahí tengo mi oso porque estoy jugando con ese. Aquí está la ropa, todo está ahí.*

Appendix C

<u>Background Literature on Participatory Methods Employed</u>

Method	Description or Prior Research and References
Drawing	Illustrations of children's views of their current & future lives (Orellana et al., 2001) Drawings of their hometown and what they imagined the U.S. to look like (Torres & Carte, 2012) Children from families separated across borders were asked to draw a picture of their family, then a picture of how the child imagined Mexico or the USA, and their house (Oliviera, 2018; 2019) Drawings to describe transnational children's concept of home (Mand, 2010) Drawing things that are important to them (White et al., 2010)
Map Making	Making maps of places they go in their communities (Orellana et al., 2001) Maps of their environments and experiences (Suárez-Cabrera, 2015) "Mapas Vivos" (Live maps) created collectively in groups to narrate community experiences and build a communal understanding of space and land. (Moreno Medrano & Corral Guillé, 2019)
Photography	Provide opportunities for refugees to share through photos their experiences of resettlement in the U.S. and play an integral part in public voice (McBrien & Day, 2012) Photograph what is important to them, scrapbooking, & explaining their selection of images (White et al., 2010) Immigrant children in school contexts were invited to take pictures to share their story of entering school in a new country for the first time. Photography served as a non linguistic vehicle to tell stories, removing barriers for these English Learners (Kirova & Emme, 2006)
Stories/Narratives (With & without technology)	Written narratives compiled into a digital powerpoint storybook of their journey to the U.S. (Tello et al., 2017) Young children (3-5) asked to tell stories with the support of emojis (Fane et al., 2018) Writing stories of their experiences serving as translators for their families (Orellana, 2009) Writing "about me" description narratives (Orellana, 2015) Soap box presenting where children could stand up on a box and tell a story to the group or share something at their will (Orellana, 2015) "Mini-essays" on topics of migration, the U.S., and their hometowns (Torres & Carte, 2012)
Letters	Letter exchanges between children with facilitators/university students and other children in an after-school program context (Orellana, 2015)
Fotonovela/Photo voice/Photo Elicitation	Children share images and accompanying stories of what they encountered when entering a new classroom (Kirova & Emme, 2015) Digital-documentary, tableau, & digital-image manipulation and reflection on children's peer relationships (Emme et al., 2006) Digital storytelling of things that are important to them (Vecchio et al., 2017) Children took photos and then engaged in photo narration while their teachers listened and observed (Strickland et al., 2010) The process of photo elicitation (where children independently take pictures and then are asked to explain those photos) may offer insight into ideas that adults may otherwise not

have access too as children can take photos on their own terms without the researcher present (Due et al., 2014)

Dance	Performance of experiences through movement (Sonn et al., 2013) Dance was seen and utilized as entertainment, enjoyment, and a space of release for refugee children (Kenny, 2018)
Dramatization	Generate stories of child vulnerability and to select 'actors' to act out the stories, with a crisis, and to find a resolution through the drama (Veale, 2005)
Timelines	Children's descriptions of what they thought they would be doing at a given age (Orellana et al., 2001)
Group Brainstorm	Used 'post-it' notes and chart paper to share what they like and do not like about their country of origin (Hopkins & Hill, 2008)
Music	Participatory music making workshops (Kenny, 2016; 2018) "The bringing together of asylum seekers through music and singing enabled storytelling, self-expression and movement, and was at the very core of the contribution of the musical activities to their mental health and wellbeing" (Kenny, 2018, p. 138) Collective music-making workshops "can provide children with a potential space for "belonging", social inclusion and integration…[and] opportunities to gain agency and control through musical choices, leadership opportunities, [and] performance and creative challenges" (Kenny, 2016, p. 109) Power of music to develop identity, specifically in communal spaces. "While detention centers are uncertain and transient spaces, the practice of music with asylum seekers transformed these rooms into fixed cultural space" (Kenny, 2016, p. 125)
Life History/Oral History	Trace trajectories & challenges encountered when transnational students (re)enrolled in Mexican schools (Román González & Carrillo Cantú, 2017) Transnational students' trajectories & agency (Román González et al., 2016) Oral histories of experiences migrating as minors (Mayers & Freedman, 2019)

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