Everyday Ruptures: Children, Youth, and Migration in Global Perspective. Cati Coe, Rachel R. Reynolds, Deborah A. Boehm, Julia Meredith Hess, and Heather Rae-Espinoza, eds. Nashville: Vanderbilt. 2011. vii + 230pp.

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Everyday Ruptures: Children, Youth, and Migration in Global Perspective explores currently overlooked situations involving children and global migration. Each chapter portrays complex "everyday ruptures" facing children and caretakers involved in migration. The authors point out that "migration is inherently characterized by rupture – a break, change, distance, division – and yet at the same time it necessarily includes the everyday: even in, during, or perhaps because of cases of acute disruption, everyday social life persists" (p. 1).

One goal of the volume is to underscore the importance of incorporating children, "who are often at this nexus of rupture and the everyday" (p. 1), into analyses of migration. This includes children who are "left behind" (p. 115), others who migrate "physically unaccompanied" (p. 178) whose families are "left behind" (p. 4), and transnational migrant children who may physically move between nation-states or may in other ways be connected to multiple locations. One key finding of the book is that migration and separation that seem like a disjuncture can co-occur with cultural reproduction and experiences of continuity in the lives of some children and families in some circumstances. For example, families in the sending country may be proud and gain stature if members, even youth, migrate; families in sending countries including children may benefit financially and keep in contact by phone; and children participate in migration decisions.

Two chapters by Naomi Tyrrell and Julia Meredith Hess respectively focus on children and youth's agency in their experiences of migration. Tyrrell explores the degree to which child migrants in Britain have agency in migration decisions. She finds that almost half of her sample of children were consulted or participated in decisions to migrate, but even those who were more actively involved were not always aware of the full extent of their parents' motivation for migrating. The "best interests of children" (p. 33), a key theme throughout the book, was commonly cited among parents who allowed their children only limited participation in migration decisions. Hess looks at the agency behind Tibetan youth's use of hip-hop and how apparent ruptures may in fact be "continuities in disguise" (p. 40). She shows how youth in the Tibetan diaspora use this new aesthetic to express an identity formed by their multiple and transnational connections, which include the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan government-in-exile, and daily life in new communities.

The next two chapters by Susan Shepler and Maarit Forde emphasize the importance of local perspectives to understand kinship ties across borders. Shepler takes issue with assumptions that arise from the international human rights framework about

children's "best interests." Talking with children who fled Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire and end up in situations of "*emergency* fosterage" (p. 69, italics original) with new families in Guinea, Shepler finds that many are "content with their living arrangements" (p. 76) and in fact wish to stay. These reports of children and their caretakers contrast with relief agencies' ideas of a child's best interest (reunification if possible), and encourage expansion of other studies of fosterage, which often look only at exchanges and agreements made between adults. Forde looks at transnational Caribbean migrants, the importance of reciprocity, and how economic motivations are not enough to account for all "child shifting" that takes place (p. 83). As she points out, "the receiving households are not necessarily economically better off than the sending ones" (p. 84). Forde urges expanding our notions of kinship beyond biological relatedness, to include different forms of kinship ties such as "ritually constituted families" (p. 85), which are central to the experiences of many Caribbean migrants.

Cati Coe's and Heather Rae-Espinoza's chapters explore the emotional experiences of children who are "left behind" (p. 15) when their parents migrate. Coe emphasizes the need to historically situate the tensions in Ghanaian transnational families regarding "reciprocities of care" (p. 98) and understand how family life has been negotiated over time. Despite children's reports of emotional pain caused by missing their migrant parent or distrust of new caregivers, Coe challenges the idea that physical separation inevitably disturbs the nuclear family goal. For example, the migration of a father can enable his wife and children to live together and not "in a compound house with 'other people'" (p. 107) who create tension. Emotions respond to social change; emotional responses of children also can be a means of facilitating continuous emotional attachment with the now absent nuclear family. Rae-Espinoza looks at the experiences and emotions of children of Ecuadorian émigrés. She illustrates relatively successful accommodations. For many children, material objects sent to Ecuador and phone calls from abroad serve as alternatives to parents being physically present and help sustain emotional bonds. Other children redefine family roles and construct personally significant narratives to make themselves feel secure. In contrast to popular beliefs that "left behind" children of émigrés are inevitably negatively impacted, Rae-Espinoza argues that a focus on individual variation shows how "children are active in their socialization" (p. 137) and find ways of coping.

The final three chapters address the ways in which states create ruptures and continuities in the everyday lives of migrants and their families. Edmund T. Hamann and Víctor Zúñiga focus on the ruptures that are present for many transnational students in Mexico and the U.S. in the routine act of attending school. While transnational students may experience attachment to multiple nation-states, and those who identify with their parents' country of origin tend to perform better, schools actively discourage students from identifying in this way (p. 159). Hamann and Zúñiga contend that teachers usually have scarce knowledge of, or interest in, their transnational students' experiences; this can contribute to and perhaps reinforce the pressures of these ruptures.

Deborah Boehm describes the experiences of undocumented children in the U.S. or those of citizen children of unauthorized parents. The former live in the midst of

exclusion and uncertainty despite long-term participation in their communities, while the latter face obstacles related to their family members' illegal status. When parents of U.S. citizen children are deported, for example, some children are forced to leave their lives in the U.S. and move to a country where they may have never been. Boehm emphasizes the ways in which U.S. policies shape the experiences not only of a solitary migrant, but also of entire families, regardless of each member's legal status.

In a similar vein, Núria Empez Vidal looks at how Spanish immigration law influences the lives and experiences of unaccompanied Moroccan children in Spain and their families. Most Moroccan migrant children are barred from entering Spain and some die trying. Among those who do make it, many become squatters (p. 184), leaving them without state protections, and others are sent back to Morocco for supposed "family reunification" (p. 184). Yet, as Shepler's study also reveals, laws that set out to protect children often fail to do so. For instance, Empez Vidal found that unaccompanied Moroccan boys who are sent back to families in Morocco attempt to migrate again. A family member residing in Spain, regardless of their legal or social status, can have positive life changing consequences for kin in Morocco, boosting the social status of those in Morocco. For this reason, the decisions, experiences, and actions of children are important, as they may directly impact the lives of their families in the sending country.

Everyday Ruptures: Children, Youth, and Migration in Global Perspective shows the value of gathering qualitative evidence about migration and families, and including children themselves in the conversation. Including the full context, experiences, and meaning systems affecting children and parents facing migration make these papers very relevant for those in psychological anthropology who study children, families and family change, and issues of globalization and migration around the world. The chapters illuminate what it means to be a child, parent, and caretaker in the context of migration today. Outcomes of migration affect whole families, not only individual children. The chapters emphasize that children's outcomes are not uniformly negative, but rather consist of continuities as well as ruptures. There can be positive results for child and family well being along with the difficulties involved.