

## Children on the Move in the Developing World: Sharing Research Findings

### Paper Abstracts

**Mariama Awumbila**

**Coming And Going: Migration and Livelihood Strategies of Female Youth in Accra, Ghana**

In recent times, a major migration pattern from north to south in Ghana has been that of female youth, moving independent of family, largely towards the cities of Accra and Kumasi. Young girls from rural areas, particularly the from the three northern regions move to markets in urban centres to serve as kayayei, girl porters who carry goods on their heads for a negotiated fee. Away from support from their home communities and families, most end up living and working under very poor conditions and are exposed to both physical and reproductive health risks. The paper examines the characteristics of young female migrants working as head load porters (kayayei) in two markets in Accra and their livelihood strategies as they move into the wage market. It also examines the processes through which migration is used to address livelihood needs through an analysis of the intersecting social relations of gender, poverty and vulnerability. It discusses the survival strategies used to overcome poverty and to deal with issues of risk and vulnerability especially in respect of their reproductive and health rights. The implications for migration policies and poverty reduction strategies are discussed.

**Lorraine van Blerk**

**Poverty, migration and sex work: youth transitions in Ethiopia**

Despite an emerging body of work on youth transitions, research has yet to explore the often unconventional routes to adulthood for young people marginalised through poverty. By drawing on interviews with 60 young commercial sex workers in Ethiopia, this paper explores the connections between poverty, migration and sex work and demonstrates that sex work provides a risky alternative, but often successful, path to independence for some rural–urban migrants. The paper concludes by offering recommendations for policies that seek to support young sex workers by enabling them to maintain their independence while seeking different employment

**Lorenzo Bordonaro**

**From home to the street: Cape Verdean street children as independent child migrants**

Within the children-right framework, street children are usually victimized and portrayed as passive and vulnerable offspring enduring a horrible fate. Little attention is commonly paid to the children's own motivations for moving and staying in the street. Interviews with street children and former street-children in Cape Verde revealed instead that for most of them running away to the street had been a choice - even though within limited life-chances - and that children enjoyed most aspects of street-life. Most of them declared that they prefer staying in the street rather than at home or in institutions. My point is not to give a romanticized picture of street life. Street children are not romantic heroes, and I don't want to overlook social and economic constraints or the difficulties they endure in the street. Indeed street children, like most independent child migrants, originate under conditions of poverty, family violence and similar situations of distress. But even under these circumstances, I always found considerable evidence of children's autonomy in decision-making. This is why in this paper I will maintain that street children's running away from home to the street is a particular form of independent migration revealing children's 'thin' or 'tactical' agency. What turns children into street children is a matter of displacement and a peculiar economic relationship with the urban space: it is their being 'out of their place', their autonomous movement from the periphery towards the centre, their illicit presence in a space that is not theirs, that make us define them as such. Considering street children as independent child migrants helps us to understand their moving to the street as a form of agency, moving from victimization to an actor-centred perspective that allows us to better understand children's motivations.

**Ellie Brown**

**"Behind Closed Doors" – The vulnerability of the child within the household and Child Migration into Domestic Work in Cambodia**

This article examines patterns of migration of child domestic workers in Cambodia. There has been a lack of research on internal patterns of migration within the country, particularly for labour exploitation, as there has been a strong focus of research on trafficking for sexual exploitation. Migration is often represented as being an economic decision, with the migrants' vulnerability inherent in the journey itself.

This paper argues that patterns of social vulnerability within the household inform the decisions to migrate during childhood and later on in the child's life trajectory. Migration into domestic work is strongly gendered, and is most often a rural to urban phenomenon. Strong concerns by the child's family for the child's vulnerability inform the patterns of migration, as these most often occur through familial networks. However, child migrants are also often vulnerable to abuse within their households and will sometimes migrate to escape risk of sexual or physical abuse. Relationship to relatives appeared to increase the risk of abuse and exploitation in the destination points. The paper explores some of the implications of vulnerability of girl child domestic workers on their life trajectories, particularly evidence of a link between migration into domestic work and later, into sexual exploitation.

**Adriana Castaldo and Gunjan Sondhi**

### **Child Migration in National Surveys**

In recent years, as part of the overall increasing importance that the topic of migration - from and within developing countries - acquired globally, it has been amply acknowledged that improving the availability and the quality of data on migration flows and the characteristics of worldwide migrants is key to the achievement of an informed and sound design of migration policies. This applies both in the areas of the migration of adult individuals, as well as children.<sup>1</sup> However, although the quantification of child and youth migration has been recognised as a crucial area where academic and non-academic research presents clear gaps, much more efforts have been placed so far into generating new global data, or improving existing data, on adult migration.<sup>2</sup> A similar argument applies in relation to the analysis of quantitative data on child migration and the analysis of the links between child migration and poverty. In fact, quantitative research investigating the causes and consequences of migration and its links with poverty, as well as development and inequality, at a country level and at the global level, has flourished in recent years in the fields of geography, economics and other social sciences disciplines. However, this mostly occurred in relation to the movements of adults.

In the attempt to fill in the existing gap on the availability and use of quantitative data on child migration, we have developed a unique catalogue (or database) of existing national-level household surveys and censuses in developing countries that contain information about child migration, and have been used or can be used to analyse this particular migration phenomenon. This database forms an integral part of the two-component catalogue "Migration in National Surveys" (MiNS), which currently provides access to 166 surveys, and highlights the migration information and data that can be found in 86 of these surveys, under two separate tabs, "general" and "child". The surveys are divided by survey type and to date include Living Standards Measurement Surveys (LSMS), Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), Integrated Surveys (IS), Population and Housing Census (PHC) and Child Labour Surveys (CLS).

The construction of the MiNS catalogue builds on previous work that the Migration DRC carried out in 2006, which started with the compilation of a list of nationally representative household surveys in developing countries containing information about migration. This list subsequently formed the basis for an earlier version of the MiNS catalogue that did not contain a child component and was published on the website of the Migration DRC in September 2007.<sup>3</sup>

This paper uses part of the data collected in the MiNS catalogue as the main tool to investigate how the theme of child migration is treated in some of the existing household surveys and censuses; how this data has been and could be used in the study of child migration; and to address issues of data quality and access to data. In doing so the paper also describes the objectives, the structure and the content of the catalogue. Ultimately, based on this preliminary research we attempt to draw some conclusions on how the child migration content, the surveys' design and the use of the data under concern could be improved. We need to emphasise that although the catalogue currently provides access to data from CLS and IS surveys, this part of the database is still under construction, thus the analysis and conclusion of this particular study are only based on LSMS surveys, DHS surveys and censuses.

**Marisa O Ensor**

**Migration Policy, Social Protection and Autonomous Child Migrants: Examples from the Americas and Southern Europe**

The movement of children across national borders, prompted by increasing developmental, demographic and socio-economic disparities between the different regions of the world, is a phenomenon of increasing relevance to global public policy. Europe currently matches North America in its significance as a region of immigration. This situation is expected to persist as both Europe and the U.S. continue to recruit younger migrants to fill the rising labor and skills shortages. While empirical research confirms the increasing involvement of children in autonomous migration processes in both of these regions, policy-makers have paid insufficient attention to questions regarding their experience as migrants, the effects of immigration policies on children, and the kinds of social protection mechanisms available to them as a result.

Using the case of Central American migrant children in the U.S and North African migrant children in Spain as primary examples, this paper analyzes the link between migration policy, social protection and children as autonomous agents in migration processes. I argue for a holistic approach that places autonomous child migrants in the broader context of the political, legal and cultural factors that frame their migration experience and examines children's own agency, not just their position as dependents.

**Kasia Grabska**

**Myth of lost Boys: the interconnection of forced and voluntary migration**

Lost Boys of Sudan, a group of South Sudanese children who was subjected to military recruitment in the 1980s during the civil war, military trainings in the camps in Ethiopia and then in 1991 endured a horrendous walk from Ethiopia to the border of northern Kenya are one of the most famous and celebrated examples of the experiences of (forced) migration by children. In 2000, a group of over 3,000 of Sudanese boys was resettled to the United States from the refugee camp in Kakuma, northern Kenya, and hence their horrific journey through war and exile came to the attention of the world. Although their experiences have been recently subject to much publicity and attention resulting in several books, films and Phd studies, the actual reasons, experiences and effects of migratory trajectories of lost boys remain little understood. Subjected to the conditions of civil war, hunger, poverty and insecurity as well as manipulated by the military leaders, these boys however in many cases had albeit limited range of options in terms of determining their future. Their experiences often inspired other young boys to follow suit their migratory trajectories.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork in refugee camps of Kakuma and then following the lives of some of the 'lost boys' who were not resettled to the US and instead returned to Sudan, this paper attempts to unpack some of the myths surrounding the phenomenon of Lost Boys of Sudan. It questions the interconnections and linkages between forced and voluntary migration while analyzing the decision making, reasons, circumstances and experiences of migratory journeys of the Sudanese boys. By analyzing these contradictions and conflicts, a very complex picture of the South Sudanese children (forced) migrants emerges while the distinction between what constitutes forced and voluntary becomes blurred. This paper highlights the agency of the children who although often faced with horrific war and brutality were nonetheless able to strategize and take decisions considering their best options in pursuing livelihoods and securing future for their families.

**Iman Hashim**

**Gendering Children's Migration:  
the impact of gender on processes and experiences of migration**

Migration, traditionally, has been conceptualised and theorised through reference to adult men's movement, with women and child migrants typically seen to be merely following the primary male migrant. This, in part, has led to the invisibilizing of independent children's migration. Where attention has been paid to girls' and boys' movement away from their homes, the gender-neutrality of the terms both parent and child has tended to belie the importance of gender on the processes surrounding and the experiences of migration. As a result, very little is known about the differing roles that fathers and mothers play in their children's migration, the impact of the value, role and embeddedness of girls and boys in their home communities on girls' and boys' choices and ability to migrate, as well as their experiences of migration. This paper will seek to explore these issues in one particular context by drawing upon research carried out in Ghana. It will argue that in order to better understand the differences in girls' and boys' experiences surrounding migration not only does attention need to be paid to the gender of both children and parents, but also to the interplay of gender and family structure with the wider social and economic environment.

**Karin Heissler**

**Children's Migration for Work: A Value-Laden and Policed Symbol of Belonging**

The global policy and programming agenda on and for children is largely responsible for creating and encouraging an image that children working away from their homes are trafficked, forced, and powerless. Children who leave the 'private' sphere of the home and who migrate without their parents for the 'public' sphere of work are widely perceived of having been forced or having no 'choice' due to poverty, harmful social practices and/or a breakdown in values. The discussion is often singularly about trafficking as an increasing phenomenon, with no sense of proportion, let alone reliability of data.

From my four village fieldwork sites in Bangladesh, children's migration for work is the exception and not the norm, and girls and boys who migrate for work comprise a minority of the overall population of children. This is broadly because paid work is available locally for boys so migration for work is not seen as necessary. In contrast, migration for work is seen as shameful behaviour for girls, so most do not go. The value system as expressed through notions of honour and shame is powerful in shaping choice and decision-making. Using empirical data derived from discussions and observation, I engage with the assumption that children's migration for work reflects rupture and is symbolic of a breakdown in values. My findings show children's migration for work instead as a profoundly value-laden process representative of attachment to and membership in the household and community.

From a gendered, aged and socially constructed threshold in the life course, children come to learn about the value system and apply notions of honour and shame to choice and decision-making. The value system is embedded in social and economic life and is policed by gossips, predominantly older women. Girls' and boys' choices and decisions (including about migration for work) are self-policed because of the fear of being 'talked about.' On-going social and economic change in rural Bangladesh pushes up against the value system, which responds and adapts, but not without tension and contradiction. Children's migration for work provides 'space' for children to exercise constrained agency. The 'space' provides some flexibility in interpretation and policing the value system, however; there are still boundaries that, if crossed, may in fact result in permanent rupture from the home community.

**Roy B.C. Huijsmans**

**Independent child migration: Insights, blind-spots and dilemmas arising from household survey data**

This paper draws on ongoing PhD research conducted with children and young people from a Lao village situated on the border with Thailand, and near the Lao capital Vientiane. The research concentrates primarily on the area of work which includes migrant work in Thailand and in various places in the Lao PDR.

This paper focuses on the migration part of the research. It starts with a discussion about local and (inter)national definitions of children and how this relates to migration of young people. Next, the paper presents a first analysis of the research material of young migrants. Migration of young people is found to be relatively wide-spread, with specific family histories at times playing a role in its distribution. Further, the various forms of migration by young people are analysed, and parallels and differences are drawn between migration to Thailand and the Lao capital of Vientiane.

**Neil Howard**

**An Ethnographic Account of Independent Child Migration in Benin**

This paper explores the reasons for which children independently migrate in Benin. It is inspired by the evident disjunct between the dominant discursive representations of 'child trafficking' and the multiple and overlapping realities of independent child migrants in the country. It is based on detailed participant observation and 60 interviews, 30 with children and 30 with adults, carried out over a 3-month period from July-September 2007. Using a deontological theoretical framework that challenges the assumptions in dominant western understandings of family, children, childhood, mobility, structure and agency, the paper begins by briefly outlining the different Beninese social conceptions of both family life and migration, in order to offer a context to the life-worlds of Beninese adults and children. It then builds on this context to discuss the reasons for which children migrate in search of work in Benin, highlighting two distinct trends: decisions made by families, on the behalf of the child and his or her family, and decisions made by children themselves based on their own understandings of their life-worlds. The paper draws on the notion of the inter-generational contract to explain the different types of child decision, namely the collaborative, the compromise and the conflictual. The conclusion is drawn that independent child migration in Benin is an ever-changing but deeply embedded social reality and that standard international civil society characterisations of it are both simplistic and ill-informed.

**Vegard Iversen**

**Now and back then: child labour migration through the lens of South-Indian work life histories**

Using a primary data set comprising the worklife histories of 95 child labour migrants from Coastal and Central Karnataka who migrated to Mumbai, Bangalore and other destinations sometimes between 1935 and 2004, we study persistence, change and spatial variation in the incidence and causes of child labour migration, in the nature of intrahousehold agreement and dissent that preceded these migration events, in the negotiations and tactics through which these disagreements were resolved, in mechanisms of labour market entry and in the workplace experiences and other migration outcomes awaiting these young migrants. While migration prior to 1975 usually was from the Coastal belt, often was caused by financial distress and mostly involved migration to small South-Indian eating places in Bombay, the more recent migration episodes often involves what we describe as educational misfits. Further, while chronic poverty and illness shocks along with the allure of migration and city life appear to have been persistent migration causes throughout the time period covered, there is a growing tendency for household financial distress to be caused by marriage related expenses. In spite of their young age at leaving home, our informants' verdict is usually of migration as a transformative experience that changed attitudes and provided rich scope for acquiring new work-related and other skills, including languages. We also show how early migrants to Bombay were uniquely placed in the sense that migration for work also improved educational opportunities. Migration's scope for being transformative, we suggest, is intimately linked to leisure becoming a reality and varies distinctly across time, destinations and jobs. Specific limitations are pinpointed for those who migrated early, for agricultural labourers whose social lives often are confined to caste fellows from the same or surrounding villages and for girls working as domestic servants, whose mobility and scope for interaction is restricted to those belonging to the employer's family.

**Mélanie Jacquemin**

**Changes in the domestic labour market for female young migrants over the last 30 years: The case of child and young domestic workers in Abidjan**

My paper will focus on girls aged 9-20 who migrate to work as domestics in Abidjan, the economic capital of Ivory Coast. Child/youth migration will here be considered in its larger sense, including movements from rural areas (in Ivory Coast and border countries) to Abidjan; movements from smaller cities to Abidjan, and even internal movements within Abidjan; but also girls' return migrations when they are 17-20, that is, after they have worked at least two years as domestics and often much longer. Qualitative surveys actually show a high mobility of child and adolescent domestic workers. It is still difficult to know the exact numbers of these migrants, but demographic statistics reveal a conspicuous over-representation of girls aged 10-19 in Abidjan in relation to boys in the same age group and to other female age groups. This demographic phenomenon has been persistent since the first general population census (1955). It is linked to socio-economic changes in Abidjan, especially to women's increasing participation in (informal) economic activities under a deepening economic recession.

Whereas it has recently raised new attention as an important case of trafficking in children, domestic child labour migration remains a neglected field of research. Yet, it is a challenge to develop deeper analysis of these migration patterns in Africa today, by going beyond the classical thesis of child fosterage and "family solidarity", as well as beyond the hyperbole of mere economic constraints and child trafficking.

Based on 3 periods of fieldwork (1999-2001), the paper will describe significant changes which occurred, over the last 40 years, in the urban domestic labour market and in processes of putting migrant girls to domestic work.

It will address the following questions. How do the different actors involved in girls' migration conceptualise the practice? What is the economic impact of this type of migration (for the young migrants, for their parents, for intermediaries, for urban households)? How can we improve procedures for generating data, in order to integrate them within larger policy concerns for child migration, female labour and children's rights? And last but certainly not least, what could be done for child migrants' and working children's voice to be heard and seriously taken into consideration?

**Sumaiya Khair**

**In Search of Alternatives: Child Migration for Work**

This paper seeks to examine the specificities of the position of independent child migrants and analyses the dynamics of migration and its effect on children. It highlights the impact of child migrants' entry into the highly diversified urban labour market and assesses how they respond to various exigencies therein. Based on findings from interviews with independent child migrants, the paper looks at decision-making and migration processes, the involvement of social networks, situation children at the place of destination, working conditions and children's perception of migration for work. Given current shifts in the stereotypical notion of children's apparent dependence and helplessness, the paper underscores the need for policy makers to recognise children as a separate constituency with rights of their own and include the issue of child migration in policy planning and development discourses in Bangladesh.

**Zosa De Sas Kropiwnicki**

**The strategic agency of migrant adolescent prostitutes in Cape Town, South Africa**

This paper analyses the perceptions, experiences and decisions of migrant adolescent prostitutes in Cape Town, South Africa. On the basis of eleven months of qualitative doctoral field work conducted between July 2003 and May 2004 this paper criticises sensationalist and politicised constructions of the 'powerless victim' that have pervaded public and academic discourses on child sexual exploitation. This construction does not reflect the highly individual and contextualised choices, capacities and competencies of female adolescent prostitutes who intentionally develop complex strategies and draw upon diverse resources to exercise their agency alone, with or through others in everyday power struggles. For many adolescent prostitutes, these strategies centre on migration as a means by which they can secure their own survival, fulfill interpersonal duties and enhance their sense of power and control in relation to other actors, in contexts characterised by high levels of violence, poverty and social dislocation.



**Stephen Kwankye and Cynthia Tagoe**

**Sustainable return of independent child migrants into their home communities in Northern Ghana**

This study was a follow up to an earlier study conducted in 2005 that recommended the need to study return child migrants to their communities of origin in northern Ghana as an area of study that was yet to attract research attention. The overarching objective then was to examine a sample of 300 return migrants interviewed from two main districts of origin of child migrants in the Northern Region of Ghana in a random survey to analyse the extent to which their return and subsequent re-integration is sustainable. The study is therefore part of a broader study that looked at both return migrants and non-migrants from the two districts in the Northern Region but focuses mainly on the return migrants with a few references to non-migrants. It combines quantitative (cross-tabulations and logistic regression analysis using the SPSS) and qualitative information collected through focus group discussions and in-depth interviews to present the findings.

Among other things, the study finds that although the females are more likely to make savings towards their return, the resources sent home by the males are more valuable to support efforts towards sustainable return and re-integration into the home communities. Again, migrants who migrated at relatively older ages and others who stayed relatively longer at the destination areas are more likely to report having benefited from migrating down south compared to their counterparts who either migrated at much younger ages or stayed relatively shorter durations at the destination area. Yet, those who benefited from migrating down south are those who are more likely to indicate their desire to migrate again, consequently, negating any suggestion of sustainable return. In contrast, those who failed to achieve any economic progress through migration were more likely to indicate their intention not to migrate again. Unfortunately, these people are not in a position to make contributions towards community development as they lack the necessary economic resources to do so, a situation that could compel them to migrate again, thereby ruling out any drive towards sustainable return and re-integration. The study, therefore, calls for some longitudinal study to be able to examine the migration trajectories to be able to see how in the long run, they translate into sustainable return and transformation of their home communities.

**Gillian Mann**

**'Finding a Life': Migration, Displacement and Family Separation Amongst Congolese Boys and Girls in Dar es Salaam**

In the literature on economic migration, those boys and girls who travel and live apart from their parents are described as 'independent child migrants'. In contrast, the literature on refugees and internally displaced people uses the term 'separated children' to describe those boys and girls who live without their families. This work tends to assume that children have inadvertently or unintentionally become separated from their parents or others who usually look after them. Such children are considered to be at extreme disadvantage vis-à-vis their peers who have been accompanied by their parents throughout the experience of flight. To date, the emphasis of research, policy and practice has been on the significant economic, social and emotional challenges that face boys and girls in this situation. In this paper, I seek to challenge these assumptions through an ethnographic account of the social worlds of Congolese children living in Dar es Salaam. Some of these boys and girls are 'separated' refugees and others are 'independent' migrants; many are both at the same time. My first aim is to draw attention to the considerable overlap in the experiences of these two categories of children. In so doing, I will interrogate the way these two bodies of literature conceptualise the capacities and vulnerabilities of those children whose lives they seek to describe and understand. My second, and more fundamental, aim is to show the formidable challenges that Congolese refugee children face in their lives in Dar es Salaam, and in so doing to draw attention to those aspects of life that are different - and not necessarily more difficult - for those children who live without their parents. By suggesting that in certain circumstances, it is not necessarily easier to be with one's parents than it is to be alone or with peers, my objective is to emphasise how social and cultural context plays a critical role in framing the effects of war, and migration, on children.

Cecilie Øien

### **Insight through Hindsight: The Stories of Adult Angolans who Came to Portugal as Child Migrants**

In this paper I reflect on the experiences of adult Angolans who came to Portugal as child migrants. In an ongoing project on child migration and kinship care, I am concerned with defining different patterns of child migration, variations in care arrangements and kinship practices related to looking after growing children. I also interview kindergarten staff, youth club workers, council social workers and people engaged in migrant associations about their perceptions of differences between Portuguese and Angolan educational and fostering practices. However, at the heart of this project is my desire to understand the experiences and views of child migrants and their care-takers. Grown-ups who came to Portugal as children or youth look at their experience in hindsight, but often also construct their life stories around a notion migration as 'disruption'. Most of these stories start with describing the decision-making process regarding the child's migration. Before the child left Angola, parents, grandparents or other care-takers would have considered their children's future, in particular the educational possibilities they would have in Portugal contra Angola. Migration thus represented a means in these families' imaginaries to fulfil larger "life-making projects" (cf. Åkesson 2004, Carling 2002).

None of my interlocutors report having taken this decision themselves, but a few of them reported they had thought it would be exciting and adventurous while in most stories it seems like they cannot backtrack what were their original emotions and thoughts connected to the "fateful moment" (Giddens 1991) this has come to represent in their lives. Not having spoken to any of the parents of these former child migrants, I wonder what thoughts they had in regard to the effect it would have on their children's lives, and not least on their future relation. Many of these child migrants have never returned to Angola or even been able to visit their families there. There are many reasons for this, but their perception of their own lives is that these relationships have suffered disruption. Gay Becker writes that "disruption to life is constant to human experience" (1997:190), but that it is "when expectations about the course of life are not met, people experience inner chaos and disruption. Such disruptions represent loss of future" (Becker 1997:4). Personal narratives are a way to rework experience, and as Becker writes, they "arise out of a desire to have a life display coherence" (1997:12). Coherence would in the cases I work with be created by understanding why parents 'sent me away', why one could not live together and who where responsible for the bad things that happened along the road. It is insight and rationalisation emerging from the lives these people live today as Angolans and citizens in Portugal.

I thus argue that transnational child migration represents us with challenges very different from grown-up migration as these are migrants live through demanding changes in their life course in which they are expected to become responsible adults according to Angolan values, at the same time as they need to find a way to fit into Portuguese society. In hindsight these stories are attempts at transcending the gap between then and now, Angola and Portugal, and between childhood, youth and adulthood. Whereas migration offered their care-takers to hope for a better future for their children, the migrants themselves ended up living through experiences that often dismissed their own hopes for the future. Yet, instead of defining migration as a process of loss, I claim that in re-interpreting their experiences from the vantage point of the present, these former child migrants try to make sense of the world and their place within it (cf. Turton 2005) – in terms of belonging, relatedness and the relationship both with both their families and the society they live in.

The paper explores these issues through ethnographic examples

**Dorte Thorsen**

**From craving money to looking ahead. A study of young labour migrants in the informal economy in Burkina Faso**

This paper focuses on independent child migrants and their fields of social relations. Through analysing a small number of detailed case studies following child migrants' diverse paths from itinerant street work common in their early migration career, the paper aims to explore the kinds of experiences and aspirations that shape rural children and young youth's decision-making in the urban labour market. In addition to the case studies presented, the paper is based on ethnographic material produced in interviews, conversation, and observation with more than 120 young migrants during fieldwork of a total of 12 months between 2005-2008 in Ouagadougou and Abidjan and in their area of origin, Bisa ko, in south-eastern Burkina Faso. In the paper I argue that child migrants rarely get stuck in low-status itinerant street work as some of the literature on street children suggests. In the case of young Bisa migrants, a mixture of adverse experiences of difficulties in finding employment and of being cheated of wages and parents' or other kin's assistance in finding informal apprenticeship or opportunities to migrate further, pushes them on to other types of work. Moreover, the paper demonstrates that child migrants' perceptions of suffering do not disconcert them to the extent of returning home for good. Decisions to return home are only temporary and often related to health problems. As soon as the young migrant or a sick parent has regained health, they leave on migration again.

**Shahin Yaqub**

**Mainstreaming Children in Migration Policy: How Census Data can Help Examples of Argentina, Chile and South Africa**

Intrahousehold cleavages in migration have been framed mainly in terms of gender. Relatively little attention has been given to the 'generations' aspect. Moreover there has been little incorporation in migration research that childhood is a biologically distinct and socially constructed experience (parallel to why gender leads to distinctive male and female experiences of migration).

Childhood is a dynamic life-stage with fast evolving human capacities, and has spatially and temporally varying social norms and obligations.

Quantitative migration research can help develop more child-centred perspectives. Child migrants are diverse, but are commonly lumped together. A differentiated perspective on children's migration is needed for research, policy and programme development. Basic quantitative information towards this is lacking, even at the country-level, e.g. age-structure, gender, education levels, and whether children are with parents or migrating independently.

The paper will provide a profile of child migrants in Argentina, Chile and South Africa using census microdata. It will estimate the scale of children's migration in these countries, and describe migrant children's varied social and economic characteristics. It will contribute to filling research gaps by:

- focusing on middle-income destination countries (most research exists on high-income countries)
- offering comparative analysis across three countries, distinguishing (if data allows) independent child migrants from children accompanying migrant parents (most data conflates these very different child-contexts)
- including (and distinguishing) internal migration as well as international migration (evidence suggests internal migration is more linked to the poorest households, and may involve more situations where children are vulnerable).

Additionally the paper will contribute to methodology by assessing existing migration statistics, and by documenting issues from the data analysis itself.

**Aida Orgocka**

**Can we tell children "Do not migrate"? - Programmatic challenges from the field**

A common perception among general population and specialists is that NGOs have heartily embraced the child trafficking discourse and attracted unjustified funding. Through misplaced zealousness, in the process of addressing child trafficking, they may create problems for children, especially child economic migrants thought to be less at risk than imagined. In contrast, I bring the experience of an NGO working in northern Albania that has tried to address a few of the real problems that make child economic migrants choose smuggling/illegal migration to leave their country. Three projects on child illegal migration, informed by capabilities approach, are used to discuss several programmatic challenges including: (1) designing and funding projects on child illegal migration; (2) implementation of such projects in view of community ownership and sustainability; and (3) constraints of funding for further programming.

**Emma Crewe**

**Challenging violence against child migrants: some experiences of Child Hope in Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Peru**

**Bill Bell and Daniela Reale**

**Issues and responses in Save the Children's work on children on the move**

**Abdou Ndao**

**Following the Trails of Children and youth in West Africa: Ethnography of the Benin-Togo-Ghana-Nigeria axis**