

A case study of the border town of Ressano Garcia

Strengthening Child Protection Systems for Unaccompanied Migrant Children in Mozambique

Author: Andrea Verdasco

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Correspondence should be addressed to:

UNICEF Office of Research - Innocenti
Piazza SS. Annunziata, 12
50122 Florence, Italy
Tel: (+39) 055 20 330
Fax: (+39) 055 2033 220
florence@unicef.org
www.unicef-irc.org

STRENGTHENING CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEMS FOR UNACCOMPANIED MIGRANT CHILDREN IN MOZAMBIQUE: A CASE STUDY OF THE BORDER TOWN OF RESSANO GARCIA

Andrea Verdasco

Research Fellow, UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti, Florence, Italy

Abstract. This research sets out to understand the why, how and with whom of rural-urban internal migration of children to Ressano Garcia, a border town between Mozambique and South Africa. It addresses the overarching research question of how to strengthen child protection systems for unaccompanied migrant children. By identifying children’s reasons for migrating, it identifies the main risks they encounter once they start living and working in Ressano Garcia. These include: lack of access to educational opportunities, exposure to child labour exploitation, trafficking and smuggling. This paper argues that child protection systems must respond to the unique situation of migrant children’s needs. Child protection and migration policies need to strike a balance between discouraging unsafe migration, which has the potential to expose children to violence, and ensuring that systems are in place for safe migration at all stages of their journey. It provides a set of specific policies to address the needs of unaccompanied migrant children in Mozambique.

Keywords: child protection, child labour, trafficking, rural-urban migration, poverty, qualitative research, Mozambique

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ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CCPC	Community Committee for Child Protection
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DPMAS	Provincial Directorate of Women and Social Action of the Republic of Mozambique
EFA	Education for All
FBO	Faith-Based Organization
GoM	Government of Mozambique
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estatística</i> (National Institute of Statistics)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MINEC	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Mozambique
MINED	Ministry of Education of the Republic of Mozambique
MINT	Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Mozambique
MISAU	Ministry of Health of the Republic of Mozambique
MMAS	Ministry of Women and Social Action of the Republic of Mozambique
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PACOV	Plan of Action for Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PGF	<i>Polícia Guarda Fronteira</i> (Border Guard Police)
PGR	<i>Procuradoria-Geral da República</i> (National Prosecuting Authority)
SDMAS	District Services of Women and Social Affairs
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

GLOSSARY OF PORTUGUESE AND CHANGANA* TERMS

Word	Definition
<i>aldeia</i>	small village
<i>babá</i>	a girl who carries out domestic work and takes care of young children in a host family
<i>bairro</i>	neighbourhood
<i>barraca</i>	small stand on the street side selling a variety of goods
<i>bolinho</i>	home-made pastry
<i>chapa</i>	small buses
<i>machamba</i>	farming land
<i>mareyane</i>	smuggler
<i>matrícula</i>	school fee
<i>metical</i>	currency of Mozambique (1USD = 29 MTZ)
<i>muquero</i>	smuggling of goods from South Africa to Mozambique
<i>patrão/ patroa</i>	employer (also called <i>tio/tia</i>)
<i>rapariga</i>	young adolescent girl
<i>rapaz</i>	young adolescent boy
<i>vendedores ambulantes</i>	itinerant vendors

* Changana is the main language spoken in the Southern region of Mozambique; it is the ethnic language of the Tsongas, and one of the 11 official languages of South Africa.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research sets out to understand the why, how and with whom of rural-urban internal migration of children to the Mozambique border town of Ressano Garcia. In doing so, it aims to address the overarching research question of how to strengthen child protection systems for unaccompanied migrant children. Research took place at the border town of Ressano Garcia and in the Mozambican capital city of Maputo, between July and September 2012. Following a thorough analysis of the qualitative data, engaging with the current debate on migration and child protection issues, this paper critically assesses the current interconnected 'protective actors' and protection mechanisms and provides recommendations. Under a qualitative child participatory approach, children and their views are placed at the centre of the research. Research participants also include protective actors that are the cornerstone of child protection mechanisms, including: civil society organizations (CSOs) in both Ressano Garcia and Maputo, and government officials at local, district, provincial and central level, thus allowing for a triangulation of sources.

Based on a push-pull analysis (Lee, 1966), children arriving at the border town between Mozambique and South Africa reported being 'pushed' to migrate to escape rural poverty and due to their condition as orphans and/or in stepfamilies. Children are 'pulled' into Ressano Garcia attracted by the prospects of work and regaining access to education; children established a causal link between the two dimensions. The cultural component of labour migration and the passage towards adulthood sit between push and pull factors, reinforcing a continuum in the forced and voluntary decision-making of children migrating to Ressano Garcia. The migratory routes to Ressano Garcia originate in the rural areas of the three southern provinces of Mozambique – including Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo – where the children worked on the *machambas* (farming land). Children migrated either with other children, also qualifying as a pull factor, or with an adult who, in some cases, had promised a job and access to education. Using a continuum approach, this understanding of the situation indicates that child protection systems should exist at the place of origin and at the different stages of the migration journey. Unaccompanied migrant children to Ressano Garcia are typically male, aged between 14 and 17 years old, with primary schooling, from a low or very low socio-economic background, and lack the financial means to pay the costs of education.

On arriving in Ressano Garcia, children's hopes and promises are not fulfilled. Most of the migrant children are engaged in child labour: they have low-paid or unpaid jobs and work between 10 and 12 hours a day. They have no access to educational opportunities. In one third of cases, the final destination of the children interviewed was South Africa; this places them at risk of being smuggled and/or trafficked across the border by *mareyanes* (smugglers).

Key findings include:

Unaccompanied migrant children are poor. Children who come from poor rural backgrounds use migration as a strategy to escape food insecurity, abuse and violence.

Unaccompanied migrant children can fall victim to trafficking. In some cases, deception is used to transport or receive children. Placed in a position of vulnerability, they are more likely to become victims of trafficking for economic exploitation.

Unaccompanied migrant children are unable to regain access to education. Children are pulled to Ressano Garcia with the hope of regaining access to schooling. The exploitative labour conditions together with the focus of the Government of Mozambique on primary education have detrimental effects on children's right to secondary education, leaving children unprotected.

Unaccompanied migrant children in Ressano Garcia suffer exploitative labour conditions. Children migrate to Ressano Garcia with the hope of finding a paid job. Upon arrival, children may be exploited, working 10- to 12-hour days for low or no pay, suffering exposure to further risks and impacting their chances of regaining access to education. The informal nature of children's work provides an opportunity for employers to exploit them.

Cultural norms play a key role in incentivizing unaccompanied migrant children to migrate. In between the push-pull dichotomy lies the cultural value of migration. Beyond poverty or the desire to go back to school, the historic value of migrating to gain status on approaching adulthood plays a decisive role in children's migration.

Migration policies to deter movement place unaccompanied migrant children at greater risk. Migration policies have tended to focus on deterring movement. Strict control has the unintended consequence of children exposing themselves to greater risks to overcome these barriers. Unaccompanied migrant children migrate irrespective of policies intended as deterrents.

Unaccompanied migrant children migrate to places where they have a reference. Children migrating to Ressano Garcia and those who admitted to wanting to cross the border to South Africa already have a reference, in many cases a relative, in the place of destination.

Child protection mechanisms require stronger government accountability. The current system in place in Ressano Garcia is led by civil society, namely through a faith-based organization with a long history of upholding children's protection in the town, the Scalabrinian Sisters. Local government lacks the financial means and human resources – and could foster greater political will – to act. In some cases, government officials at the border showed a negative attitude towards unaccompanied migrant children, placing them at greater risk by putting them in detention or regarding them as a problem rather than their responsibility.

National policy recommendations to achieve the goal of strengthening the current child protection system include:

- increased spending on social protection for vulnerable children
- creation and formalization of youth employment (at both origin and destination)
- elimination of barriers to secondary education
- stronger implementation of the trafficking law to prosecute traffickers, and
- sensitization of families and communities to the risks of migration.

Policy recommendations to address the particular needs of unaccompanied migrant children in Ressano Garcia include:

- increased access to birth registration
- issuance of poverty certificates (social protection)
- engagement in identifying unaccompanied migrant children and developing a protection role for community leaders
- sensitization of employers, officials and children to the risks of migration
- prosecution of employers and traffickers of children
- extended awareness-raising campaigns
- increased presence of social workers
- provision of alternatives to formal schooling such as vocational training
- increased capacity-building of border officials
- increased use of preventive tools including radio
- further research to map emerging internal migration and trafficking routes
- increased efforts by the National Prosecuting Authority to address child migration and trafficking.

Finally, an integrated child protection system is needed throughout the migratory process, with a strengthened role for stakeholders and accountability at all levels. Additional human resources and stronger accountability from all key protective actors would help to strike a balance between discouraging unsafe migration, which has the potential to expose children to abuse, exploitation and trafficking, and ensuring systems are in place for safe migration at all stages.

INTRODUCTION

Children’s migration is complex and multifaceted: the journey of a migrant child from rural areas to the border town of Ressano Garcia in Mozambique may start with a voluntary decision that turns into a situation of exploitation, which is potentially further aggravated by irregular cross-border movement into South Africa (O’Connell and Farrow, 2007).

Child protection responses often neglect the impact that migration can have on children’s vulnerability and resilience, and fail to adequately meet migrant children’s needs and circumstances (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2011; Reale, 2008). In contrast to children who spend their childhood with their parents, millions of children around the world are without parental care¹ (O’Connell and Farrow, 2007). Under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), governments have the duty to develop child protection systems for all children (Article 20). Migrant children are especially vulnerable, and those living on borders particularly so (Palmary, 2009). In this context, this research paper aims to understand and critically assess the current child protection mechanisms for internal migrant children travelling unaccompanied to the border town of Ressano Garcia. The overarching goal is to contribute to the strengthening of a child protection system for unaccompanied migrant children.

Guided by the principle of the ‘best interests of the child’ (Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 3), prioritizing children’s views and perspectives represents best practice in developing a coherent and integrated child protection system that responds to the needs of unaccompanied

¹ Accurate statistics on children on the move around the world are difficult to obtain; UNICEF (2010) estimates that millions of children around the world have been separated from their families.

migrant children. Following a qualitative approach, children's voices were placed at the centre of the research. This paper holds that an integrated approach² is required to respond to child protection needs; a holistic child protection system involves bringing together different protective actors and breaking down the barriers between institutions so that they may work in a collaborative and coordinated manner. Thus, all key stakeholders were included in the research.

Building stronger protection systems for unaccompanied migrant children requires protective responses at all stages of the migratory journey. It demands a coordinated response³ at multiple levels, linking all of the phases to child protection systems (Feynerol, 2011; Reale, 2008). Despite the focus of this study on the place of destination, Ressano Garcia, migration processes are not linear, and in some cases the child may return to the place of origin or continue the migration journey, potentially crossing an international border to South Africa (de Haan, 2000). Moving away from compartmentalization and towards creating a holistic child protection system, following a continuum approach, child protection mechanisms should be linked to the earlier, and potentially also the latter, stages of migration (Dottridge, 2008).

Protection systems for unaccompanied migrant children consist of a set of laws, regulations, policies and services that address all forms of violence against children who migrate unaccompanied (Save the Children, 2007a). A three-pronged approach is needed to build a child protection system: prevention, protection and prosecution are the cornerstones required. This paper finds that a response at these three levels will provide a robust protective environment for unaccompanied migrant children.

This paper moves away from classifying children into multiple categories and towards a systems-based approach,⁴ arguing that children who fall into less researched categories are rendered invisible and fall through the cracks of policy debates (Bissell, 2008). This shift moves away from a focus on distinct forms of abuse and exploitation to a more comprehensive approach that recognizes the multidimensional nature of children's vulnerabilities (Barrientos et al., 2013). This argument is based on the reality of children in Ressano Garcia. A migrant child may initially make a voluntary decision to migrate in order to seek opportunities to improve access to rights. This may, however, develop into a forced movement that increases the vulnerability of the child and potentially result in the child becoming a victim of trafficking.

Migration, whether forced or voluntary, is structural to the political history of Mozambique and its evolving political economy of migration (Synge, 1997).⁵ The number of children on the move within Mozambique and crossing the country's borders is unclear. Nevertheless, this figure could potentially increase rapidly due to the extractive industries emerging in the northern provinces of Tete and Cabo Delgado (Castel-Branco, 2011). This research is therefore a timely attempt to further strengthen the efforts undertaken by the Government of Mozambique, civil society organizations (CSOs) and key stakeholders working in the field to build an effective child protection system for unaccompanied internal migrant children in Mozambique. This paper argues that if

² See Appendix I: Glossary for definition.

³ The challenge of doing so is greater when two or more countries are involved: see for example UNICEF (2005).

⁴ This approach recognizes that responding to the protection needs of children by categorizing them can leave a child without access to protection rights if he or she fails to be identified as 'trafficked'. The approach attempts to ensure that, irrespective of 'categories', all children should have the right to protection by ensuring that both formal and less formal child protection systems are strengthened (UNICEF, 2012).

⁵ During the Mozambique Civil War, from 1977 to 1992, approximately 2 million people took refuge in neighbouring countries and an estimated 3 million people were internally displaced (Synge, 1997).

children in Ressano Garcia were provided for, and protected they would not be exposed to greater abuse and violence by crossing the border through irregular channels. Thus, monitoring children's internal migratory movements should be prioritized. The aim of the research is to produce information that can potentially be applied to other growing towns⁶ in Mozambique.

This paper is divided into three sections. Following a description of the research methodology, Part I sets the stage by establishing the working definition of unaccompanied migrant children and why the need for this research. It frames the analysis in the context of Mozambique and gives a brief overview of the current debates in terms of child protection mechanisms for unaccompanied migrant children. Part II describes the research undertaken between July and September 2012 in Ressano Garcia, a town on the border between Mozambique and South Africa. This section provides qualitative evidence to address the pressing questions of *why*, *how* and *with whom* do unaccompanied migrant children migrate? This leads to the profiling of *who* are the children that migrate. It then provides an analysis of the main risks and vulnerabilities that children face based on key findings from empirical evidence. Following the children's assessment of migration, the second part concludes by addressing the issue of the invisibility of migrant girls. Based on the key findings of the analysis, Part III undertakes a critical assessment of the current protection mechanisms using a multilayered and systems-based approach, shedding light on the range of protective instruments that a network of protective actors can implement. The paper then draws conclusions based on the key findings, and provides a set of recommendations with policy implications for the main actors including the Government of Mozambique and CSOs, emphasizing the need to undertake further research to fully address the evolving and pressing matter of internal migration undertaken by unaccompanied migrant children in Mozambique.

METHODOLOGY

Following a literature review on the issue of child migration in the southern African region, and specifically in Mozambique, a set of general themes was identified to guide the development of the methodology tools. The two main research sites were the town of Ressano Garcia and the capital city of Maputo. The section that follows details the research fieldwork that took place between July and September 2012.

Using a qualitative child participatory approach,⁷ with the aim of strengthening child protection mechanisms for unaccompanied internal migrant children, children were placed at the centre of the research. To better assess existing mechanisms and advocate for further protection, research participants also included the 'protective actors' who are at the cornerstone of the child protection mechanisms – for example, CSOs and government officials at local, district, provincial and central level. This triangulation of sources enabled the cross-checking of information and elicited a more thorough understanding of the current multilayered network of protective actors.⁸

⁶ Namely, along the Nacala and Beira transport corridors; see IOM (2012).

⁷ Based on Save the Children's research gaps and research recommendations, as identified by their mapping exercise (Save the Children, forthcoming).

⁸ See Appendix II for a full list of participants and dates and venues of interviews.

Ethical issues

The fundamental principles of research ethics that apply when doing research with children and adults were adhered to throughout the research process.⁹ The principle of 'do no harm' guided the entire research process. If research was considered in any way harmful, or potentially harmful, to anyone it was stopped immediately and adjustments were made to how the research was conducted. This was the case when interviewing girls on the main road who did not want to be seen talking to researchers at length out of fear of their employers' reaction.

Interviews were carried out by the author with the aid of two community volunteers acting as interpreters. To the extent possible, only one researcher would talk to the child, to minimize the challenges arising from the differences in power between child and interviewer-adult. To obtain consent from children with no parental care, the objectives and reasons for the research were explained; extra care was taken to explain why the researchers were there, why the child was being interviewed and how the information was to be used (Morrow, 2009).¹⁰ Only when the child understood the scope and consequences of the research did the researchers take notes.¹¹ When interviewing adults, the researcher would use the respondent's work place. Adult participants were asked to sign a consent form; in the case of government officials, a copy of the government authorization to undertake the research was also provided. Most of the interviews with adults were recorded once the consent of the respondents had been obtained. To protect the rights of research participants, and to ensure complete privacy, the names of all children have been changed and those of CSO participants omitted.

Methodological tools

Using a qualitative research method,¹² the aim is that the findings – while not representative of the larger situation of migrant children in Mozambique – are transferable to different settings and contexts of internal migrant children on the move (Morgan, 2007)¹³ and allow for a rich, in-depth understanding of the child protection mechanisms for internal migrant children in Mozambique. The following methodological tools were used during the fieldwork research stage:

(i) *Observations*.¹⁴ During the time spent in Ressano Garcia, unstructured participant observation was a key tool that enabled a stronger appreciation of the situation to be formed, cross-checking of the information obtained from the various sources, and the development of the indicators to be tested. A researcher's diary was used to record these observations. Between August and September 2012, the author remained at the border for a total of three weeks, allowing for a sound appreciation of the dynamics among the children and between the children and adults to be formed.

⁹ These principles include: 'do no harm', obtain informed consent from respondents, and protect and respect the privacy of all respondents (Bryman, 2001).

¹⁰ The researcher would clearly explain that no direct benefit would result and that no harm would come from not participating.

¹¹ A strategy used by the researcher to make the child feel comfortable was to ask the child to write his or her full name and age and to compliment him/her.

¹² Qualitative research seeks an understanding of behaviour, values and beliefs. It seeks close involvement with the people being researched.

¹³ This advocacy of transferability arises from a pragmatic focus on what people can do with the knowledge produced and not on abstract arguments about the possibility or impossibility of generalizability (Morgan, 2007).

¹⁴ Observation is the foundation of all scientific work, whether in the physical or social sciences. In social sciences, it is the first method used in field research and it continues to be used throughout the whole duration of fieldwork (Bryman, 2001).

(ii) *Semi-structured interviews*¹⁵ with children. Following a set of guidelines (see appendix 2), a total of 60 semi-structured interviews were conducted with internal migrant children in Ressano Garcia with the support of two community volunteers whose mother tongue is Changana and who were knowledgeable of the surroundings and not perceived as ‘outsiders’. The author, with the help of the two community volunteers, carried out 42 of the 60 semi-structured interviews. Interviews were conducted during the children’s working day, both on the road to the border and at the train station, each interview lasting 20 minutes on average. The Scalabrinian Sisters, the key protective actor in Ressano Garcia, carried out the remainder of the interviews in a safe environment where children were able to give longer narratives of their situation since they were not at work. Children who felt comfortable speaking Portuguese did so; otherwise children spoke in their mother tongue, Changana, and the interviews were translated. The format used aimed to allow for an analysis and understanding of the following issues: the reasons to migrate, the migration journey, how and with whom children migrate, what their day-to-day life in Ressano Garcia is like, school attendance prior to and following migration, their potential likelihood of crossing the border and their hopes for the future.

A convenience sample¹⁶ of 60 children were interviewed and this was complemented by a ‘snowball effect’¹⁷ whereby, when children were interviewed they would then go and tell their peers about it, in many instances their brothers and cousins, so they too would come and tell their story. Despite the reduced sample (n=60), the findings can be used as a basis to inform on child protection mechanisms for unaccompanied migrant children, and on the roles of the different protective actors. Only 6 of the 60 children interviewed were girls, and acquiring this number was only possible by using a biased sample: all of the girls that were seen selling on the street were approached.

(iii) *Semi-structured interviews with key adult informants*. Nine interviews were conducted at government level: six with key government protective actors at the border including immigration, police and border guard police. This helped to elicit first-hand knowledge of the interconnected referral system at the border, as explored in the mapping of service providers research (Save the Children, forthcoming). At district level, the District General Attorney was interviewed; at provincial level, the Provincial Directorate of Women and Social Action (DPMAS) was involved; and at central level, the National Prosecuting Authority (Procuradoria-Geral da República; PGR) was the key informant. Regarding CSO informants, a total of six interviews were conducted in Ressano Garcia and in Maputo with key CSOs.

(iv) *Recording and reporting data*: the interviews conducted with children at the border followed a ‘least intrusive’ approach, where, as much as possible, no props were used (including paper and pen) so as to allow the child to talk freely. Only interviews with adults were recorded, with the consent of informants, and then transcribed verbatim. All interviews were coded and analysed

¹⁵ An advantage of the unstructured nature of qualitative enquiry is that it offers the prospect of flexibility; the order and phrasing of the questions can change during the course of the research, as was the case here (ibid.).

¹⁶ A convenience sample is a sample that is available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility (ibid.).

¹⁷ A form of convenience sampling whereby the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people relevant to the research who then allow access to and establish more contacts (ibid.).

following a grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) analysis,¹⁸ where inductive coding allowed for sub-themes to appear setting the structure of the paper (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Challenges and limitations

- Given that children were interviewed during their working hours the length of the interview had to be closely observed, at 20 minutes.
- The perception of the researcher as an 'outsider', acting as a barrier, was overcome during the course of the fieldwork, and the rapport with children and other members of the population 'normalized' the researcher's presence.
- The issue of the language barrier when interviewing children was overcome with the aid of community volunteers, despite disruptions in the communication flow. The language barrier may have consequences for the research since concepts in one language can be understood differently in another language (Van Nes et al., 2010), as is the case between Changana and Portuguese.¹⁹

¹⁸ The idea is to become grounded in the data and to allow understanding to emerge from close study of the texts; "coding is analysis" (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

¹⁹ Beyond the problematic nature of meanings changing across different languages, it is also about the status of the languages involved and the status of the users of the language within the translation (Temple and Young, 2004).

PART I: SETTING THE STAGE

This section provides a working definition of the children at the centre of the research. This is followed by the rationale for the need to undertake this research on children without parental care migrating internally in the current evolving context of Mozambique. This first part concludes with a description of the political economy of migration in Ressano Garcia, setting the stage for the analysis that follows in the next section.

1.1 Who are the unaccompanied migrant children of this research?

‘Children on the move’, ‘independent migrant children’ and ‘separated children’ are but a few of the many terms used when discussing the issue of children migrating without parental care (Dottridge, 2008; Reale 2008). For the purposes of this research, which focuses solely on children migrating within Mozambique and without parental protection, the term unaccompanied migrant children is used to refer to:

“Children, as defined by article 1 of the CRC,²⁰ who have been separated from both parents, or their legal caregiver, but not necessarily from other relatives, who are moving for a variety of reasons, voluntarily or involuntarily, and whose movement places them at increased risk of different forms of exploitation and abuse.”²¹

– Save the Children (2007b); Committee on the Rights of the Child General Comment No.6 (2005)

To set the basis for an informed discussion, it is crucial to establish a set of definitions that will be used throughout this research paper as parameters and benchmarks for engaging in building and strengthening child protection systems for unaccompanied migrant children in Mozambique. In the context of strengthening child protection systems the definitions used place the ‘best interests of the child’ at the forefront of any child protection mechanism, as established by the Constitution of Mozambique (2004) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Under a human rights approach, the key legal instruments used to establish the definitions at national level include the Trafficking Act (6/2008), the Children’s Act (7/2008), the Juvenile Justice Act (8/2008) and the Labour Act (23/2007). Appendix I provides a glossary of the key concepts used throughout the paper.

1.2 Why the need to focus on *internal* migration of *unaccompanied* children *within* Mozambique?

Child protection interventions and policies, in the context of Mozambique and the southern African region, have had a strong focus on cross-border movement. Despite the numbers of internal migrant children who fall victim to abuse, violence and trafficking being larger than those of Mozambican children that cross borders (Serra, 2006), research and policy have focused predominantly on the forced movement of children across borders,²² with little attention paid to the internal movement of children (Dottridge, 2008). If children in Ressano Garcia were protected and provided for, they may not readily expose themselves to the risk of greater abuse and violence

²⁰ See Appendix I: Glossary.

²¹ This focus takes into account the diversity of the group, including age, gender, ethnicity, motivations and other factors affecting their vulnerability and resilience (Dottridge, 2008).

²² See, for example, UNICEF (2005), IOM (2003) and Koen et al. (2000).

by crossing the border through irregular channels. The study of internal migratory movements for children needs to be prioritized.

Moreover, migrant children have typically been studied in the context of a family unit. Children travelling unaccompanied have largely been overlooked, falling between the cracks of larger debates (Bissell, 2008; Reale, 2008). Selective advocacy activity around particular sub-groups of unaccompanied child migrants such as street children or refugees has distorted perceptions of child migration and served to render invisible child migrants who do not fall into these categories, as is the case with some unaccompanied migrant children (O'Connell and Farrow, 2007).

Furthermore, the debate on child protection systems for migrant children revolves around the gap between migrant rights organizations that do not focus on child's rights, and children's organizations that sometimes have insufficient knowledge of migrant children's rights to intervene effectively (Palmary, 2009). This research project aims to bridge this gap and bring these two perspectives closer together.

The current child protection debate around migrant children poses the question of whether protecting children means dissuading them from migrating or preparing them for a future in such a way that the risks they are likely to encounter will be reduced (Dottridge, 2008). This paper argues that such a dichotomy does not address the needs of unaccompanied migrant children and that efforts should focus on placing the emphasis on a safer migration.²³

Although unaccompanied migrant children are generally vulnerable, those migrating to the borders are particularly so. Part of the rationale for children migrating to these border towns is the concentration of services in the urban areas and the seemingly better opportunities there for school and health care (Palmary, 2009). Thus, this research focuses on those children migrating to a border town who are particularly vulnerable to the potential risks presented by migration.

Finally, and perhaps more importantly, the dearth of data in this area, together with the evolving nature of migration and migratory routes for internal unaccompanied migrant children calls for rigorous research to inform the different stakeholders: families, communities, civil society and the Government of Mozambique. This is ever more important in the changing political economy of Mozambique due to the emergence of extractive industries, a development that is transforming Mozambique's long record of dependence on external actors for aid (Hanlon and Smart, 2008).

1.3 Context: Ressano Garcia, 'a land of migrants'

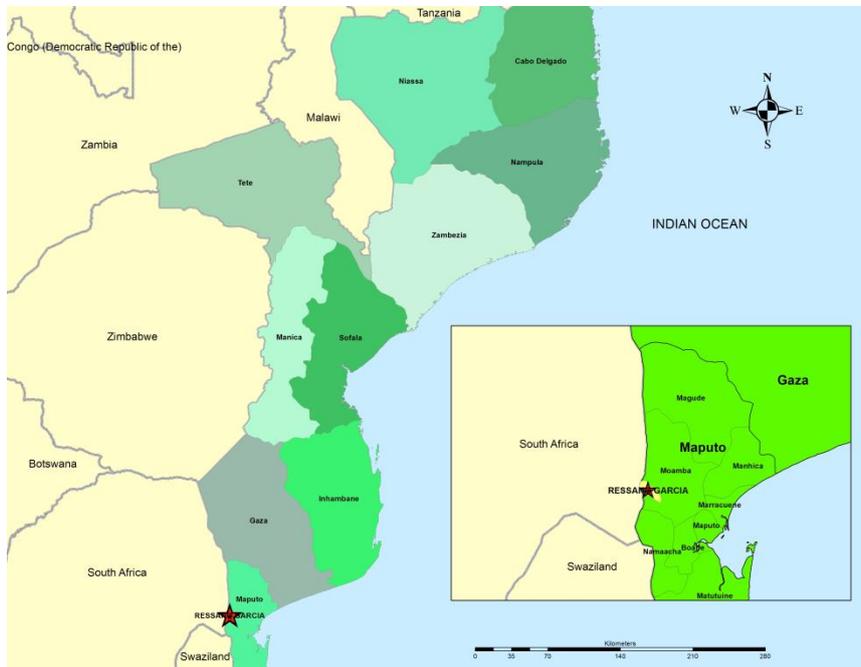
"Ressano is and has always been a land of migrants."

– Civil society informant

The border town of Ressano Garcia is located in the south-west of Mozambique, in the province of Maputo, in the district of Moamba, 95km from the capital city of Maputo. On approaching the border, the semi-lush vegetation disperses and gives way to sand, which dominates the landscape.

²³ This paper will mainly focus on the migratory stage where the child has arrived at a destination. However, recommendations will also include child protection measures at all of the different stages of the migratory journey so as to ensure a continuum of action.

The dryness of the physical surroundings differs greatly from the hustle and bustle experienced on arrival at Ressano Garcia, the town on the border between Mozambique and South Africa.²⁴



Map of Mozambique showing location of Ressano Garcia

When the civil war came to an end, approximately 2 million refugees made their way back to a country devastated by conflict (Synge, 1997). At the time, the most important border of Mozambique was chiefly concerned with the so-called ‘lost children’ – children who were returning unaccompanied, unaware of the location of their parents or close relatives. At the time, the town suffered from severe food insecurity, a problem that persists today, albeit to a lesser extent. Ressano Garcia was the point of arrival.

“Ressano was the sign of hope for the future.”

– Civil society organization informant, Ressano Garcia

Ressano Garcia is the most important border of the country.²⁵ It has the largest migratory flows, where 5,000 people on average cross the border. The flow of migration will peak at 13,000 over weekends.²⁶ It is an evolving and growing town; in the past few years the landscape has changed from one of bare mountains to one full of newly constructed houses.

“When I first arrived it was more ‘depressing’, the houses were extremely precarious, made of *caniço*²⁷ and during the rainy season the houses would flood and be completely destroyed

²⁴ In the border of South Africa, it is the Lebombo border.

²⁵ Mozambique has 53 border points (IOM, 2013) in the south of the country; the main ones include Namaacha (border with Swaziland), Ponta d’Ouro (border with South Africa) and Ressano Garcia.

²⁶ Interview with Chief of Immigration at the Ressano Garcia border post, 13 August 2012.

²⁷ A type of reed that grows locally.

by the water. Houses today are made of blocks.”

– Civil society organization informant, Ressano Garcia

This growth and ceaseless movement has meant an increase in the main source of income for Ressano Garcia – its informal economy. This is one of the main pull factors for the migration of migrant children, as will be further analysed in the paper. The border town has the potential to grow at an increased rate as it is currently under consideration by the Government of Mozambique to become a *município* (municipality). This would result in greater investment in infrastructure and economic development and would also bring about an increase in migration flows.

Ressano Garcia is a ‘booming town’, with an official estimated population of 8,977 people. As it is a population ‘on the move’, a more realistic population estimate is 15,000 people;²⁸ including miners, traders, tourists and undocumented migrants, who will only stay for a few days or hours whilst ‘doing business’ at the border. Ressano Garcia has long been considered an important commercial focal point; during the colonial period,²⁹ it was a trade focal point. Evidence of this is the railway line that links Mozambique to South Africa, with trains connecting Maputo and Komatipoort.

Ressano Garcia is divided into four neighbourhoods³⁰ and five villages. It has a hierarchical structure in which community leaders report to the Secretary of the neighbourhoods, who in turn reports to the Chief of the Vila of Ressano Garcia. The Chief also oversees the work undertaken by the strong presence of police, immigration and border guard police. Ressano Garcia has one hospital, nine primary schools in the neighbourhoods and four primary schools in the villages, plus one public secondary school that was built in 2005.

Today, one of the biggest concerns in Ressano Garcia is the large amount of rubbish on the streets, where goats and chickens roam. During the rainy season, this rubbish causes waterborne diseases, including diarrhoea and cholera. In the dry season, the biggest concern for the population of Ressano Garcia is scarcity of water. The Incomati River is the main water source for the population.³¹ Another source of concern for the population of Ressano Garcia is the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS, which affects 26 per cent of the population.

On an average day, the access road (EN4) to South Africa is buzzing with cars, trucks and other vehicles. A few metres before reaching the border post, the side of the road is filled with *barracas* (small stores on the streets) where women (generally) sell all kinds of goods including fruits, drinks and *bolinhos* (home-made pastry). The main road to the border post is filled with people; at the heart of this informal economy are the unaccompanied migrant children working as street vendors. They sell goods from large plastic containers, one in each hand, holding up to 10kg on each side: carrying oranges, apples, eggs, *bolinhos*, fried fish or slingshots.³² In response to the growing demand by waiting motorists for goods and services, small business owners, informal traders and unaccompanied migrant children sell their goods. They provide for those waiting to take next *chapa* (small buses) to Maputo and for those waiting to cross the border to South Africa.

²⁸ Interview with the Chief of the Administrative Post of Ressano Garcia, 13 September 2012.

²⁹ Mozambique was a colony of Portugal from 1885 to 1975.

³⁰ Neighbourhoods in Ressano Garcia include: Eduardo Mondlane, Accordos de Lusaka, 25 de Junho and 4 de Outubro.

³¹ There is a reservoir water project that, if approved, will provide water for 20,000 people (interview with Chief of Post, 13 September 2012).

³² When carrying oranges, children will also carry a knife for the client to use to peel the skin, and the boiled eggs are peeled and salted on the spot.

PART II: SITUATION ANALYSIS

This part begins by answering the key questions of *why*, *how* and *with whom* unaccompanied migrant children migrate, including the routes they take. This will lead to an assessment of the main risks and vulnerabilities that the children face. Reinforcing the child participatory approach, the children's assessment of their own migration will follow to finally address the issue of the invisibility of migrant girls.

2.1 Why do children migrate?

When children leave home unaccompanied, be it from Inharrime, Chokwe or Xai-Xai, an array of contributing factors³³ play a decisive role. The following section seeks to understand the rationale behind children's decisions to migrate, thus helping to shape the profile of unaccompanied migrant children and hence the protective environment they require. For the purposes of clarity and analysis, Lee's push-pull analysis (Lee, 1966) is used. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that the reasons behind children's migratory processes are multiple and interconnected (Palmary, 2009; Save the Children, 2007c) and this model, to an extent, oversimplifies the complexity of the migratory phenomenon, since forced and voluntary migration do not have clear-cut boundaries but are rather on a continuum.

2.1.1 Push factors

"I was working in the *machambas* (farming land) in Massinga, my mum and dad died. I had to leave because I had no money; I was suffering. It was poverty that drove me to Ressano."

– Nelson, 15 years old

Rural poverty

Of the 60 children interviewed, 54 came from rural areas.³⁴ Rural poverty remains high in Mozambique: of the country's estimated population at more than 24 million (INE, 2013), 80 per cent live in rural areas, and 54.7 per cent of the rural population are living below the poverty line (INE, 2013). Despite subsistence agriculture being the main source of income and food security for rural families, agricultural productivity remains very low. Smallholders depend on traditional farming methods, low-yield seed varieties and manual cultivation techniques (Hanlon and Smart, 2008). Rural poverty is one of the main drivers for rural to urban migration in Mozambique and is intimately linked to food insecurity. As Yaqub (2009) argues, children reach out to migration as a response to poverty. Thus, a poor rural background is the context for unaccompanied migrant children's place of origin.

Orphanhood

Linked to poverty and food insecurity is the issue of orphanhood, a problem that affects 2.1 million children in Mozambique (UNICEF, 2010).³⁵ The prevalence of HIV/AIDS³⁶ leads to children heading

³³ Contributing factors refer to factors that contribute to a situation of vulnerability; this terminology comes as a reaction to the deterministic undertone of the term "root causes" oversimplifying the factors 'contributing' to a situation of trafficking (UNICEF Technical Concept Note, 2012).

³⁴ The remaining children came from urban (Matola) or semi-urban (Xai-Xai) areas.

³⁵ The Government of Mozambique defines an orphan as any child of 18 years old or younger who has lost one or both parents (PACOV, 2006).

³⁶ The number of people living with HIV in Mozambique is 1.4 million, of which 200,000 are children between the ages of 0 and 14 (UNAIDS, 2009). HIV affects more women (13.1 per cent) than men (9.2 per cent) and its incidence is highest in the southern provinces

households and being ‘forced’ into child labour to earn income for the family. Fifty-seven of the 60 children interviewed reported to have been working in their place of origin. They worked on the *machambas* (farming land) and helped with domestic tasks; they were child labourers.³⁷ The fact that the Mozambican population is very young – more than half of the country’s population are children – places great pressure on children to work, and the situation is worsened by the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS (UNICEF, 2010). Children who have lost one or both parents are in a more vulnerable situation and face more risks. Nineteen of the children interviewed were orphans (32 per cent). Thus a third of the sample population of unaccompanied migrant children in Ressano Garcia came from orphaned families, who had lost at least one parent.

Stepfamilies

In the case of children who have lost one parent, family breakdown can cause further problems. When parents separate and one or both parents remarry, the stepfather or stepmother may not accept the child(ren) from the previous union. This non-acceptance places the child at risk of suffering violence and abuse.³⁸

“When my parents separated, my mum and I went to live with another man. My mum had three children with this man. My stepfather was beating me with a cane. I then went to live with my grandfather but he drinks and he would lose control.”

– Jorge, 14 years old

In this context, children are ‘forced’ to migrate.

Push-pull factor: Cultural norms and behaviour

The historic and cultural value of migration for Mozambicans (Serra, 2008), especially those from poor rural backgrounds, is another contributing factor that lies on the continuum between push factor and pull factor. Looking through a cultural lens, there is a strong tradition of labour migration in the transition from childhood to adulthood (Mapengo, 2011; Yaqub, 2009).

“Prior to engaging in the migration process, children are perceived as community members that will bring a surplus value to the household.”

– Civil society organization informant

The evolving political economy of Mozambique, as it opens up to the market economy (Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Castel-Branco, 2011), has led to an increase in internal migration. The cultural value of migration was evidenced in children’s discourse where they reported that they were no longer perceived as children but were urged to migrate in order to enter adulthood.

“My grandparents told me I was now an adult ... and that I had to leave and migrate.”

– Pedro, 17 years old

CSO informants attribute children’s decision to migrate to the cultural motivation of children to access adulthood and the long history of migration that is integral to Mozambican people. Cultural

(INSIDA, 2009). The GoM makes no distinction in terms of social protection between children orphaned due to parents who have died of HIV/AIDS and other orphans (PACOV, 2006).

³⁷ According to national figures, 24.3 per cent of children living in rural areas start working as young as 7 years old (IFTRAB, 2010).

³⁸ The issue of family breakdown is intimately related to HIV/AIDS.

norms and traditions contribute to women and children being trapped in poverty and, in turn, this increases their vulnerability to abuse and exploitation.³⁹

2.1.2 Pull factors

Migrant children's decision to migrate to Ressano Garcia also has a 'voluntary' component, whereby children's push and pull factors become intertwined.

Access to employment and education opportunities

"I wanted to find a job so as to be able to continue with my studies, so I decided to come here."

– João, 15 years old

Children reported migrating because of two interlinked factors: they migrate in search of a job opportunity to earn money with the objective of investing it in regaining access to education. Thus, because unaccompanied migrant children create a causal link between finding a means of subsistence and going to school, they become part of Ressano Garcia's informal economy in order to regain their right to an education.⁴⁰

When children were asked why they left their place of origin, one salient pull factor was the possibility of regaining access to education. Fifty-five of the children responded positively when asked if they would like to go back to school. Furthermore, the children related education to their biggest dreams. When asked, "What is your biggest dream?" "Going back to school" was the most common response. Children understand the value of education. In children's discourse, the push factor of having no money and escaping poverty was emphasized in some cases; in other cases, children portrayed it as a pull factor, using a positive discourse around leaving the place of origin to look for employment.

Educational attainment prior to migration

In order to assess the risk that migrant children face of being unable to regain access to education upon migrating, it is important to first understand the educational attainment of children prior to embarking on their journey. The following chart shows the grade of education completed prior to arrival at Ressano Garcia.

³⁹ In Mozambique, it is common practice that members of the extended family seize property and belongings that children or widows should inherit, leaving them with nothing of real value and completely dependent on the extended family (Reale, 2008).

⁴⁰ As established in Mozambique's Children's Act (Article 38) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 28).

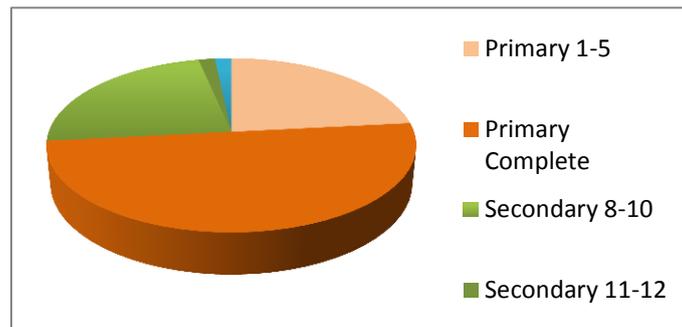


Figure 1: Level of educational attainment of unaccompanied migrant children⁴¹

The most significant finding portrayed in the chart is that more than 50 per cent of the migrant children interviewed (31 out of 60) were unable to continue studying upon completion of primary education. The analysis shows that once children attain an 8th Grade secondary school education, they drop out of school. This has two potential explanations: the first is lack of money to pay for the direct and indirect costs related to staying at school; the second is that many rural areas only have primary schools (UNICEF, 2010).⁴² Hence, children may not have the option to continue their secondary studies unless they migrate. Overall, the children interviewed stopped studying at different points, but the clear majority did so after completing their primary education. It is in the transition from primary to secondary education that the majority of unaccompanied migrant children migrate. Thus, Mozambique’s educational policies are intimately linked to children’s decision to migrate.

“I stopped studying when I was in 8th class. I didn’t have money to pay for the school material, so my uncle brought me here to work.”

– Joaquim, 16 years old

In the case of the migrant children of Ressano Garcia, it is the first factor that triggers migration. Poor families and orphaned children are unable to bear educational costs upon reaching secondary school level. The reality for chronically poor families in rural settings hinders them from making a cost-benefit analysis to understand the economic value of children going on to higher education.⁴³ Additionally, national empirical data evidences the late entry into school with over-age learners in primary education (MICS, 2008); this is true for the migrant children in Ressano Garcia.

Poverty, orphanhood and stepfamilies have been identified as the main push factors for children’s forced migratory movement to Ressano Garcia. Children reported escaping hunger as well as abuse. Thus, children trapped in a cycle of poverty reach out to migration as a potentially life-saving mechanism and coping strategy. Children are pulled towards Ressano Garcia with the hope or, in some cases, the promise of having a job and access to educational opportunities. A third

⁴¹ Primary education is divided into two cycles: the first cycle (EP1) comprises 1st to 5th Grade; the second cycle (EP2) includes 6th and 7th Grade. All seven grades are known as Complete Primary Education (EPC). Secondary education is divided into ESG1 (Grades 8 to10) and ESG2 (Grades 11 and 12).

⁴² The drop-out in attendance in the transition from primary to secondary education is a national phenomenon. MICS (2008) data show that 79 per cent of children in rural areas attend school, whereas only one in five secondary school-age children attend secondary school.

⁴³ Following a neoclassical approach, measuring education in terms of rates of return, the expected private and social costs are calculated against future benefits as a result of human capital investment. The assets, in the form of capital, that children obtain at school are greater than the costs, hence families would invest in human capital.

interlinked factor, (discussed in section 2.2), is the fact that the children already know someone, a relative or friend, in Ressano Garcia. The cultural component of migration and the passage towards adulthood sits between a push and a pull factor, hence creating a continuum in the forced and voluntary decision of children to migrate to Ressano Garcia. The interrelated factors provide for a continuum approach, blurring the push-pull dichotomy and reinforcing the need to protect all children, including those who may begin their migration journey voluntarily.

2.2 How and with whom do children migrate?

Uncovering *how* and *with whom* migrant children undertake the journey provides for a stronger understanding of the risks and vulnerabilities they face upon arrival at their destination, Ressano Garcia.

Children's journey

"I took the *chapa* from Inharrime to Maputo, and then in Maputo I took the train."

– Luiz, 16 years old

When leaving their rural hometowns in Maxixe (506km from the border with South Africa), Inharrime (422km from the border) in the province of Inhambane, or Chokwe (212km from the border) in the province of Gaza, children use different means to arrive in Ressano Garcia. In the majority of cases, children reported to have arrived by *chapa* as their main means of transportation; the train was the second most reported option.⁴⁴

In children's decision to migrate, a salient factor that impacts on children's protective environment is *with whom* do unaccompanied migrant children migrate.

'Unaccompanied' refers to the fact that no parent, or guardian, accompanies the child on the journey; but it does not necessarily mean that they travel alone. Of the 60 children interviewed, 16 did the journey by themselves. The majority of these children already had a relative, in most cases their brother or cousin, in Ressano Garcia. This is another pull factor to be considered in the aforementioned push-pull analysis.

Two trends emerge from among the 44 children who migrated with someone. The first trend is children that travel with children, indicating the use of peer networks in their decision to migrate.

"My older brother, my cousin and me, we all left together to come to Ressano, then my brother continued to South Africa."

– Armando, 16 years old

There are, however, some children who migrate with an adult, a *tio* or *tia* (uncle or aunt, sometimes by name only) who is not necessarily a relative.⁴⁵ One of the boys who was suffering abuse at home decided to leave with his older *vizinha* (neighbour) for whom he now works in Ressano Garcia.

⁴⁴ In Ressano Garcia, there is a constant arrival and departure of *chapas*. The cost from Ressano Garcia to the capital city of Maputo is equivalent to USD \$3.5 (100 *meticaís*). The train is the cheapest way to travel to Ressano Garcia from Maputo, at USD \$0.5 (15 *meticaís*).

⁴⁵ Children in Mozambique describe adults as 'uncles' and 'aunties'; they are actually community members or strangers (Save the Children, 2009).

“I left Massinga with my brother, we travelled by *chapa* to Maputo, there the auntie picked me up and we travelled together to Ressano.”

– Lucio, 16 years old

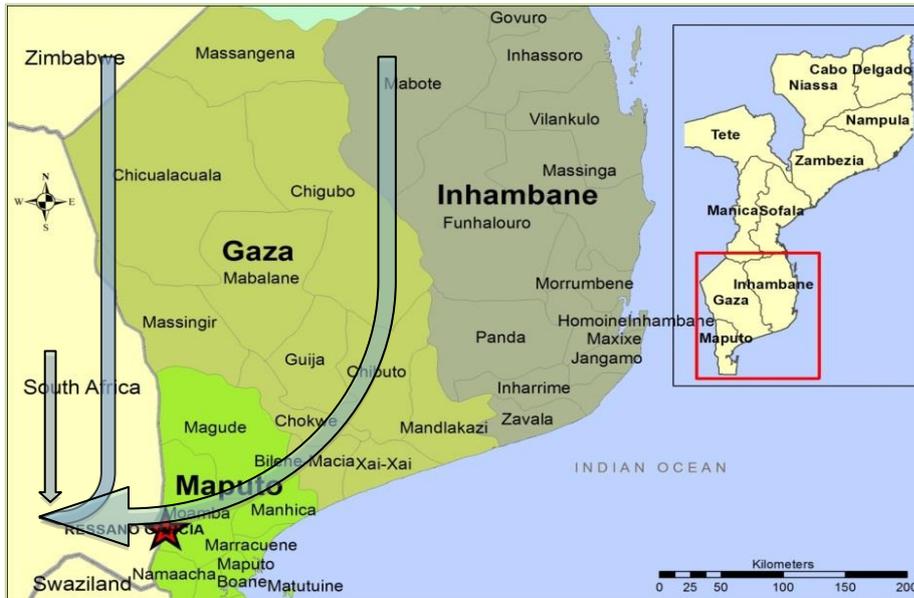
There are cases in which the child is moving in the company of an adult who may be an acquaintance of the family or a community member, but who will benefit from the child upon arrival. When children migrate with an adult who is not their parent or guardian – whereby they are “recruited and transported” given “their position of vulnerability” – what emerges are the first signs of potential trafficking for exploitation, as established by the internationally ratified Palermo Protocol (2000) and by Mozambique’s Trafficking Act (2008).⁴⁶

2.3 What routes do children take?

The migratory routes that unaccompanied migrant children take are important in understanding where they migrate from, how far they will migrate and how often they stop during their journey. This then helps in building protective mechanisms tailored to these routes.

In the case of the children arriving at Ressano Garcia, the journey undertaken involves children migrating from the three most southern provinces: Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo. Of the 60 children interviewed, the majority 38 children (64 per cent) came from Inhambane, travelling on average 500km; 16 children (26 per cent) came from Gaza, travelling on average 220km; and 6 children (10 per cent) came from Maputo province, travelling on average 80km. Those travelling from Gaza and Maputo reported that they had not stopped, whereas eight of the unaccompanied children migrating from Inhambane stopped in Maputo, at a relative’s or friend’s house, for more than seven days before continuing their journey to Ressano Garcia. The reason for this stepped migration was linked to children having a close relative in Maputo. When children were asked why they continued the journey to Ressano Garcia, they reported having a close relative – a brother, cousin or uncle – in Ressano Garcia. The map below shows the different routes children take when leaving their rural hometowns to arrive in Maputo. The width of the arrow reflects the number of children who come from each of the different provinces.

⁴⁶ See Glossary: Appendix I for exact definitions.



Migratory routes of unaccompanied migrant children to Ressano Garcia

Most of the children interviewed came from: Inharrime and Massinga in Inhambane; Chibuto and Xai-Xai in Gaza; and Matola in Maputo province. Hence, the interviewed children migrated from the three southern provinces of Mozambique that have together made up a labour exporting region for more 150 years (De Vletter, 2006). In rural, southern Mozambique, the climate is drier, the soils are poor and natural disasters such as flooding and drought are periodic occurrences (De Vletter, 2006). Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo are among the six provinces⁴⁷ in the country that have the highest food insecurity levels (Government of Mozambique, 2012).

2.4 Profile: Who are the migrant children of Ressano Garcia?

From the 60 children interviewed, and based on the previous analysis of the contributing push-pull factors for children to migrate, a general pattern emerged. In terms of age and gender factors, children migrating to Ressano Garcia are typically between 14 and 17 years of age and male; the youngest child interviewed was 12, and only 6 of the 60 children interviewed were girls.⁴⁸

Children typically come from a poor or very poor rural background, are orphans of at least one parent and/or come from stepfamilies. The length of children’s stay in Ressano Garcia varied greatly, from arriving “last week” to staying for more than six months.

⁴⁷ The other three most severely affected provinces are Tete, Sofala and Manica (Government of Mozambique, 2012).

⁴⁸ This is a biased sample given that researchers approached all unaccompanied girls seen working (see section 2.7 on the invisibility of girls).

Box 1: Snapshot profile of a migrant child in Ressano Garcia

Age: 14 to 17 years old

Gender: Male

Place of Origin: Rural areas in Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo provinces

Average level of education: Completed primary education (7th Grade)

Family structure: Oldest child of a large family, with an average of four to six siblings

Stepfamily: Stepmother or stepfather in two thirds of cases

Orphanhood: Orphan in one third of cases

Occupation at place of origin: Working on the machambas (farming land)

Occupation in Ressano Garcia: Street vendor

2.5 Risks and vulnerabilities

“Children arrive thinking this is *El Dorado*.”

– Chief of Ressano Garcia

In child protection, risks are understood as the likelihood of a negative outcome or incidence of violence, abuse or exploitation, while vulnerability is understood as openness or exposure to these risks. Risks can be identified at family, community, societal and structural levels, and it is most commonly the interplay of different risk factors and vulnerabilities that lead to harm (Barrientos et al., 2013).⁴⁹ Upon arrival, what are the main risks that unaccompanied migrant children face? Based on observations and interviews, four key risks were identified. These are the risks of: child labour, falling victim to trafficking, loss of access to education, and being smuggled into South Africa.

2.5.1 Child labour

Upon arrival at Ressano Garcia, unaccompanied migrant children start working. In order to understand the outcome of children’s migration and the potential risks they may face, it is important to assess their living and working conditions in Ressano Garcia. What are labour conditions upon arrival?

Migrant children in Ressano Garcia work under exploitative child labour conditions. Of the 60 children interviewed, 11 were under 15 years of age, the youngest was 12 years old. On average, children work 10 to 12 hours per day. Children reported that they work in the streets, mainly as street vendors, and also do domestic tasks. The long working day is true for both out-of-school children and for the fewer cases of children who regain access to schooling. In addition, children

⁴⁹ See Appendix I: Glossary for definitions.

reported that they either receive no payment or very low pay; on average, children are promised a salary that ranges from USD \$27 to \$29 per month (800 to 1000 meticaís).

One of the biggest concerns of the migrant child labourers is their relationship with their employer. Children reported being scared of the *tias*. They also expressed a strong fear of losing their jobs and constantly referred to the fear of not selling all of their products. Coerced by their employers, children will sell their products inside the border area, past the fences patrolled by Immigration and Customs, where trade is forbidden but demand is greater. Unaccompanied migrant children will be arrested and taken to the police station. Children were also seen selling alcoholic drinks, rendering them more vulnerable. Health hazards faced by these children include: carrying heavy weights, the risk of being attacked by crocodiles when fetching water from the Incomati River and the risk of being run over by trucks, especially at dusk.

The labour conditions of child migrants portray, to an extent, the situation of child labour in Mozambique. Unaccompanied children represent 27.2 per cent of child labourers in Mozambique (IFTRAB, 2010). According to national data, these children are among the 12.4 per cent of child labourers in Mozambique who work more than the maximum seven-hour working day stipulated for children. They are also among the 84 per cent of children who do domestic chores without receiving any remuneration (IFTRAB, 2010). National data report that 68.3 per cent of child labourers in Mozambique classify their working relationship with their employer as 'good' (IFTRAB, 2010); this is not the case in Ressano Garcia, however, as the findings show that the children suffer from exploitative conditions.

The employers of these young children are in breach of international, regional and national legislation. The working conditions contravene an array of rights as established by the Convention on the Rights of the Child. the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour addresses the issue of trafficking and health hazards (Article 3). At regional level, the child labour conditions breach the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Article 15). Mozambique has ratified the ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work, which establishes that the minimum age for work should not be below the age for finishing compulsory schooling; in the case of Mozambique, the Labour Law of 2007 (Article 23) established this as 15 years of age. Children are entitled to special rights where "the normal working day of a child between the ages of 15 and 18 should not exceed seven hours per day" (Article 23). Mozambique's Children's Act (7/2008) establishes that "children should be remunerated in accordance to the work executed, and the time and effort involved, this amount should never be inferior to the remuneration of an adult worker undertaking the same activity, or inferior to the minimum salary" (Article 47.4). Where children are not being paid for their job they can no longer enjoy their right to "enjoy a full and decent life" (Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 23). Moreover, the Children's Act (2008) explicitly prohibits children from selling alcohol (Article 58).

Given the informal nature of children's work, as visible as unaccompanied migrant children are on the streets, they become invisible to the Government. Employers fall outside the legal apparatus and hence have greater leeway to exploit child labourers. Children in Ressano Garcia are part of an informal economy that prevents them from accessing their rights as children and their rights as workers.

2.5.2 Victims of trafficking for labour exploitation

Migrant children in Ressano Garcia from a very early age work extremely long hours and, in some cases, reported they had not received their salaries. Thus, children are being severely exploited. When analysing children's journeys, there were indications of some children potentially being trafficked. Of the 60 children interviewed, eight children travelled with an adult who was not their legal guardian: in two of these cases, the children reported travelling with their employer; in the remaining six cases, they were transported with an 'uncle' or 'auntie' to then be received by an employer. As such, according to the Palermo Protocol (2000), ratified in 2006 by Mozambique, and also the Trafficking Act of Mozambique (6/2008), these children are victims of trafficking since they are transported or received under pretext of work by means of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability for the purpose of exploitation.

Box 2: A day in the life of a migrant child in Ressano Garcia

Migrant children wake up before dawn to start their working day. The vast majority work as *vendedores ambulantes* (itinerant vendors), carrying in big plastic containers all kinds of goods to sell.

"I start working at 6am and will finish at dusk, at around 6pm."
– Armando, 15 years old

Unaccompanied migrant children spend the day marching up and down the main road to the border. Around noon, when the train from the capital city arrives on its way to South Africa, children make their way to the train station where there is greater demand for their goods. On Tuesdays and Fridays, they head to the main market, where the population of Ressano Garcia congregates to purchase their consumption needs. At the end of the day, children give the money they have collected to their employer. Pressured to sell all of their goods, as they reported, children expose themselves to risks:

"I was taken into jail again the other day. Me and 5 other friends, we spent 8 hours in the *quartel* doing different jobs and being insulted by the police."
– Pedro, 17 years old

2.5.3 Lack of access to educational opportunities

Intertwined with the issue of child labour and trafficking is the risk of being unable to regain access to school. Children are attracted to Ressano Garcia by the promise or belief that they will regain access to education as the town does have an educational infrastructure which, however, is absent in the rural areas of Gaza or Inhambane.⁵⁰

Fifty-five of the children interviewed reported the desire to continue their studies; of these, five are currently in school. The rest have been unable to regain access to schooling.

⁵⁰ It includes nine primary schools, and one secondary school, built in 2005 and located approximately 1 kilometre away. Prior to the construction of the secondary school, the children from Ressano Garcia migrated, mainly to Moamba or Maputo, to continue their studies at secondary level. Hence, the children of Ressano Garcia, separated from their parents, were migrant children.

“Back home the money I received was not much. When I came here, things didn’t get better, I stopped studying.”

– Francisco, 17 years old

As documented by the Save the Children mapping exercise (Save the Children, forthcoming), service providers in Ressano Garcia stated that the right to education was the right most denied to unaccompanied migrant children. Thus, the process of migration disrupts children’s education (Schapiro, 2009). A child denied education is denied a physical and psychosocial protective tool that promotes self-reliance and brings hope for the future (Dryden-Peterson, 2003). Despite having left their homes – losing several layers of protection in the process – unaccompanied migrant children are still denied the possibility of an education.

What are the main barriers to schooling?

Firstly, children are child labourers working under exploitative conditions: the children work when they should be at school. Secondly, once in Ressano Garcia and unable to secure a paid job, the children are trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and further dependency. Additionally, Mozambique’s current educational policies, which focus exclusively on primary education, act as a deterrent once children reach the stage of wanting to access secondary schooling. The direct and indirect costs of secondary education in Ressano Garcia amount to USD \$8 (250 *meticaís*): children must pay for their tuition fees, uniform, textbooks, exercise booklets, exam fees and fees to take the certificate of completion. Finally, lack of documentation, as reported by unaccompanied migrant children, is another crucial barrier. A child with no official identification papers does not have the right to take exams or to enrol in secondary education. In the mapping study (Save the Children, forthcoming), service providers and representatives of the education sector recurrently emphasized this aspect.

2.5.4 Smuggled into South Africa

Being classified as an internal migrant, with the legal and protective measures it entails, can rapidly transform into becoming classed as an irregular migrant when crossing the border. The smuggling of children into South Africa is a latent risk for children in Ressano Garcia who undertake their daily activities within metres of the border. The Ressano Garcia post covers a total of 50 kilometres: this stretch of land is under surveillance by the Border Guard Police (*Polícia Guarda Fronteira*; PGF), which has no vehicle to move along the border. It is delimited by several metal fences, at both sides of which are border guards from either country whose objective is to “control the irregular crossing of migrants”.⁵¹ During daylight and within a kilometre of the official border post, however, the irregular movement of children from Mozambique being smuggled into South Africa is commonplace.

The main question addressed during the interviews with the children was whether they wanted to cross the border and the motivations behind this. More than a third of the children (21 of the 60) admitted to wanting to cross the border. The two main reasons were: firstly, the lack of

⁵¹ Interview with PGF Officer, 20 August 2012.

opportunities in Mozambique (in the form of lack of access to paid jobs and education) and the potential for opportunities in South Africa (Palmary, 2009).

“I want to go to South Africa when I’m older to go work in the mines.”

– Simão, 15 years old

The second reason was having a strong reference in South Africa, similar to when they migrate to Ressano Garcia as their destination.

How do they cross the border?

For children to cross the border, they must comply with two requisites: they must be accompanied by one of their parents or a guardian and must be in possession of a passport. Hence, children who decide to cross the border unaccompanied do so through irregular channels via the use of smugglers.⁵² In Ressano Garcia, these smugglers are known as *mareyanes* and are part of the town’s informal economy; almost every family has a member who is a *mareyane* and he or she contributes greatly to the household income (Save the Children, 2012). The *mareyanes* have a strong network and also use the main road as their ‘workplace’. Unaccompanied migrant children are under the constant ‘threat’ of being smuggled into South Africa.

“The *mareyanes* invite me to go to South Africa. They help you cross the border without a document. They told me that Mozambican life has no possibilities to offer to a man; in South Africa you have opportunities.”

– Marcelo, 17 years old

What stops children from crossing the border? Children whose initial intention was to undertake international migration reported facing two main deterrents to crossing the border: lack of proper documentation (i.e., not having a passport) and lack of financial means to pay smugglers. Those children who never intended to cross the border were very assertive in their decision not to cross. The main reason reported was the lack of a reference, whether a relative or a friend.

2.6 Children’s assessment of migration

Despite children reporting harsh working conditions and a difficult rapport with their employers, migrant children’s assessment of migration to Ressano Garcia provided positive reactions as well as the negative ones outlined. Some of their assessments indicated positive feelings: “Life here is a bit better, I can buy clothes”; “I have good friends”; “I met good people”. Those few unaccompanied migrant children able to access education (5 out of 60) place a strong value on this:

“I am in Ressano because I can study.”

– Pedro, 17 years old

When assessing their situation, migrant children had an adult-like discourse, relating happiness to their job: “I felt good because I can work”; “I felt happy when I got a job”. It is also important to acknowledge that a few of the children, although very much the exception, reported they were

⁵² Smugglers charge approximately USD \$60 (1,500 *meticaís*) to cross the border; the cost of a passport is USD \$86 (2,500 *meticaís*).

happy living with their employers. This means that when the employers act as protective agents, the end result is a positive outcome. Also, children reported receiving three meals a day and sleeping in the employer's house. So, despite the exploitative labour conditions, children who have migrated to escape food insecurity are able to regain the right to food.⁵³

Children's adult-like behaviour is double-edged. On the one hand, it shows resilience. On the other, it is concerning that an adolescent's biggest happiness is linked to "selling all the goods". This is due to the pressure exerted by a globalized environment where children value themselves in the form of human capital.

What is your biggest dream?

The most popular response was to "to build my own house"; one child responded, "I will build a house with three rooms and two bathrooms". Children understand the value of a home and of establishing their own roots. Other children's dreams, when asked what they wanted to be were they able to go back to school, ranged from professions close to the reality of Ressano Garcia: "a transit police", "a customs officer" or "border guard", or "work in the mines"; other dreams went further, to include "a nurse", "a doctor", "TV presenter", "mechanic" and "a painter".

Unaccompanied migrant children have big dreams, want to go back to school and think big when they look to their future.

2.7 Invisibility of girls: ¿Onde estão as raparigas?

During the research, one of the recurring questions was, "Where are the migrant girls of Ressano Garcia?" According to key informants and unofficial data, there is an equal proportion of internal migration among girls. Their invisibility results in child protection mechanisms failing to reach girls.

CSO informants quoted the gendered forms of employment as the main reason for girls' invisibility. Girls undertake domestic work or engage in child prostitution or forced marriages that render them invisible (Bagnol, 1997). Girls are part of an informal sector and are hidden by their employers; identifying these unaccompanied children, who are victims of exploitation, is particularly challenging (Reale, 2008). When girls are inside homes, their vulnerability increases; they have no access to protective actors and thus may experience sexual or physical abuse (Dottridge, 2008). One of the key CSO informants explained that these girls suffer "greater exploitation and abuse when the miners arrive in the evening, then there is a large market to exploit these girls".

Rendering these girls visible is of utmost importance. The differences in the circumstances and protective needs of the invisible girls compared to those of the unaccompanied migrant children who are the focus of this study shows that protection measures need to be age- and gender-specific.

⁵³ Article 24 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

PART III: ASSESSMENT, KEY FINDINGS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This third and final section will seek to draw on research findings to address the overarching goal of the research: how to strengthen child protection systems for unaccompanied migrant children in Ressano Garcia. Firstly, this section will assess the weaknesses and strengths of the current situation. Secondly, based on this assessment and on the analysis conducted in Part II (addressing the reasons for migrating and the risks unaccompanied migrant children face), the key findings of this research will be enumerated. Thirdly, a set of policy recommendations will be given to provide guidance for all key stakeholders to accomplish the objective of strengthening child protection systems for unaccompanied migrant children.

3.1 Assessment of the current protective system

- Lack of documentation

One key protective tool that should be ‘within hand’s reach’ of unaccompanied migrant children at all stages of their journey is a means of identification. Linked to the cultural tradition, when children initiate their migratory journey, they may leave without telling their elders and travel with no form of identification unaware of its potential protective role. Thus unaccompanied migrant children migrate undocumented.⁵⁴ Documentation in the form of a birth registration certificate or cédula (identification card) the types children most often possess, are essential for them to access basic social services.,

This is ever more pressing in the case of unaccompanied migrant children, given that they (i) come from rural areas where children are more likely to be deprived of their right to birth registration⁵⁵ and (ii) as orphans, may be left without family connections due to the lack of a birth registration certificate (UNICEF, 2010). Unaccompanied migrant children are not registered and so cannot access any of the social protection services to which they are entitled. Migrant children thus become invisible to governmental protective apparatus. Children should travel with documentation in order to be protected during the journey and to access basic services upon arrival at Ressano Garcia. This should be stressed during awareness campaigns. Documentation would also further protect children from current employers/traffickers who are ‘hiding’ these children.

- The role of government officials at the border

Ressano Garcia is a swarm of potential protective actors. As a border town, it has a wide array of government officials who, alongside their mandate to “protect the border” and “manage migration”, are key actors in building a stronger safety net for unaccompanied migrant children and have a duty and a responsibility to protect children in a vulnerable situation (Plan of Action for Orphans and Vulnerable Children [PACOV], 2006). At government level, the role of Immigration, Police and Border Guard Police (PGF) is crucial to deter unsafe smuggling and trafficking.⁵⁶ As exemplified when the police placed children in detention, however, border officials have a negative

⁵⁴ Adults, however, report they understand the importance of children having a form of identification; complicated procedures and distance to registration services are the most significant barriers (UNICEF, 2010).

⁵⁵ Birth registration in urban areas reaches 39 per cent of children under five years old compared to 28 per cent of the same age group in rural areas (ibid.).

⁵⁶ The Trafficking Act (Article 9) establishes that government officials have the duty to report traffickers and to initiate investigations.

attitude towards unaccompanied migrant children, which places their best interests secondary to other considerations (Reale, 2008) and increases their vulnerability. Government officials did report having received training on children rights matters prior to arriving in Ressano Garcia. None of the interviewed officials had been involved in capacity-building during their mission in the border town, however. A negative attitude persisted throughout the interviews; one government informant referred to unaccompanied migrant children as “those children who are only creating us problems”. Government officials should not perceive children without parents as a burden but rather as their responsibility.

- The role of civil society: Creation of a safe space

In 2011, the Scalabrinian Sisters,⁵⁷ a faith-based organization (FBO), broadened its line of action to develop protective tools to address the needs of unaccompanied migrant children in recognition of the changing reality of their migratory flow, where “every day more children from other provinces are arriving to work in Ressano Garcia”.

“I observed the reality of Ressano Garcia, and realized that there was another important group of vulnerable children: ‘*os meninos vendedores ambulantes*’ who were migrants. I decided to start interviewing them to better understand their reality. For 7 months I observed, thinking what can be done to protect these children.”

–Scalabrinian Sister

Consequently, the outcome of the situation analysis undertaken by the FBO is that the *Casa de Acolhida* (reception centre), which traditionally received repatriated migrants, is today a safe space for unaccompanied migrant children run by the Scalabrinian Sisters. Providing safe spaces is a mechanism that should be available when children are in transit and also when they reach their destination. One of the children explained how, when he arrived from Maputo on a Sunday evening, after meeting with a relative to hand over part of his salary the *patroa* locked him outside. Not knowing where to go, he went to the reception centre where he spent the night. Every Saturday afternoon, the Scalabrinian Sisters host a get-together with the children to address different aspects affecting their protective environment. Issues covered include non-payment of salary, where to keep money safe, what to do when put in detention and how to reduce risk.⁵⁸ Additionally, the Scalabrinian Sisters interview children to collect and keep a record of their stories. The FBO is the key protective agent for the *meninos vendedores ambulantes*, who will reach out to the Scalabrinian Sisters upon encountering problems with the authorities or their employers.

- Awareness campaigns

There is an ongoing awareness campaign to fight trafficking in Ressano Garcia, which focuses on migrant children and is run in partnership with the community volunteers and Save the Children.⁵⁹ This campaign comprises several protective instruments that together form a web of protection. Protective tools include: plays put on in schools to sensitize students to the dangers of trafficking;

⁵⁷ In 1994, the Scalabrinian Sisters set up their first mission in Mozambique to support the large-scale repatriation of hundreds of refugees when “every day approximately 20,000 refugees arrived by bus and train, mainly women and children”. Today, the mission continues, and repatriated migrants in an irregular situation will be received at the reception centre.

⁵⁸ During the fieldwork, the meeting had the participation of 11 unaccompanied migrant children.

⁵⁹ This campaign began in 2008, under the leadership of Save the Children Mozambique.

further awareness-raising plays put on in the main places where people congregate;⁶⁰ and action-oriented research⁶¹ to identify the most vulnerable children so as to design strategies for them to access their basic rights or to be placed in alternative care or substitute families. The use of awareness-raising campaigns is one protective facility that should be employed before departure; campaigns should be used in the place of origin to explain to children the dangers of smuggling via *mareyanes*. In 2011, one such campaign took the form of 'Eu Ligo' ('I call') to raise awareness of the protective tool, *Linha Fala Criança* (Mozambican Child Helpline). During 2011, the helpline received 38,012 calls of which 43 per cent were from children suffering some form of abuse or violence.

- The role of community volunteers

Community volunteers⁶² are crucial to today's protective system in Ressano Garcia. They are the link to the FBO, which in turn links with CSOs in Maputo and with the community. During the interviews with the children, two of the community volunteers acting as translators and cultural liaison officers carried out a protective role. After an interview, the community volunteer would inform the migrant child about the safe space and the weekly meetings where they could meet other children in the same situation.

- Children's agency

Parents are often perceived as children's first layer of protection. But the first core layer of protection for unaccompanied migrant children is their own resilience. Migrant children in Ressano Garcia found means to overcome barriers. The desire to seek alternatives to formal schooling exemplifies this resilience. Exercising agency, unaccompanied migrant children have provided a response to mitigating the risk of being unable to regain access to education. Despite their long working hours, some children are strong-willed and look for alternatives to attending school. Two of the children interviewed had understood that their working days would preclude them from going to school during the day; instead, they opted for night school as an alternative.⁶³

⁶⁰ When the Scalabrinian Sisters included the peril of 'bandidos' in their theatre plays, they were threatened by the *mareyanes* to stop the play. This shows the sensitivity and dangers around addressing the issue of smuggling.

⁶¹ In 2012, Save the Children, together with the Scalabrinian Sisters, initiated this research; at the time of writing, the three researchers had spoken to a total of 278 migrant children. They are following an ethnographic approach, going house to house to talk with all of the chiefs of neighbourhoods to ascertain the whereabouts of the vulnerable children, especially girls.

⁶² There are approximately 20 community volunteers in Ressano Garcia. They are typically educated, young adults who wish to make a difference in their hometown.

⁶³ Children attending night school have to pay the same direct and indirect costs of primary and secondary education.

Box 3: Pedro's resilience

17-year-old Pedro arrived at Ressano Garcia in July 2011:

“When my mum and dad died, both of HIV, I went to live with my grandparents. At that time, my cousins were also with my grandparents because they are also orphans. My grandparents had to provide for my younger cousins so they told me I had to leave and so I migrated. I wanted to find a job to be able to go back to school. Now I attend 7th grade night school, from 6 to 10 in the evening, I will need to find the money to pay for my uniform next year.”

For child labourers, the night shift school is an alternative to accessing formal education – a protective tool to which unaccompanied migrant children can reach out.

- Missing link in Ressano Garcia: Social workers

As the Constitution of Mozambique (2004) establishes, it is the State's role to protect children (Article 121). The Ministry of Women and Social Action (*Ministério da Mulher e Acção Social*; MMAS), whose mandate it is to protect children, has a very weak presence in Ressano Garcia. In the town, there is currently no social worker to address issues of abuse and violence, and there is currently only one police officer with the mandate to support women and vulnerable children who suffer any form of abuse or exploitation.⁶⁴ As was a recurring theme throughout the interviews, lack of adequate human and financial resources places great strain on government officials, which in turn has the undesirable consequence of their failure to address children's needs to access their most basic and fundamental rights.

As argued by Save the Children (2012) “the most considerable gap found in this mapping exercise is the lack of social workers in the area.” Thus, any safety net for unaccompanied migrant children comes largely in the form of CSO protective agents. The local government and border officials' response to unaccompanied migrant children's protective needs is weak.

3.2 Key findings

Children from poor backgrounds are vulnerable to unaccompanied migration. The profiling of unaccompanied migrant children, from a child participatory perspective, showed that the most vulnerable children – those who come from poor rural backgrounds, escaping food insecurity, abuse and violence – use migration as a coping strategy. Unaccompanied migrant children migrating to Ressano Garcia are poor and, in some cases, orphaned or come from stepfamilies. This finding to an extent challenges influential scholars who argue that the poorest of the poor do not migrate and that only after a migrant has a certain income will he or she undertake movement (Bhuyan et al., 2001). This does not hold true in the case of unaccompanied migrant children undertaking rural-urban migration to Ressano Garcia.

Unaccompanied migrant children upon arrival suffer exploitative labour conditions. Children who migrate unaccompanied are particularly vulnerable to exploitative working conditions (Palmary, 2009). Children are pulled into migrating to Ressano Garcia in part by the prospect of finding a paid job. Upon arrival and starting work, however, they will suffer exploitation due to the long working hours and the low paid or unpaid nature of the job, which in turn impacts on the possibility of

⁶⁴ Due to absenteeism, it was not possible to establish an interview during the duration of the research in Ressano Garcia.

regaining access to education. The informal nature of children's work provides an opportunity for employers to exploit children and inhibits children from accessing their most basic rights, including the right to a childhood (Article 49), the right to education (Article 38) and the right to health (Article 13), as established by the Children's Act (2008).

Unaccompanied migrant children are unable to regain access to education. Unaccompanied migrant children are pulled into Ressano Garcia with the hope of regaining access to schooling. Mozambique has ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which makes primary education compulsory and free to all and stipulates that secondary and higher education are to be made "generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means" (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 13). The predominant focus of the Government of Mozambique on primary education, however, has led children to migrate to regain access to education upon completion of their primary schooling.

Unaccompanied migrant children can fall victim to trafficking. Analysis of with whom children migrate identified several cases of trafficking for economic exploitation. Children are trafficked where they have been transported or received by means of deception and while in a position of vulnerability. From a prosecution angle, which is one of the three pillars in building an effective child protection system, this finding of the research calls for a more comprehensive understanding of trafficking and a stronger implementation of the law.

Cultural norms play a key role in incentivizing children to migrate unaccompanied. In between the push-pull dichotomy lies the cultural value of migration. Beyond poverty or the desire to go back to school, the historic value of migrating to gain status towards adulthood plays a decisive role in children's migration.

Child protection mechanisms do exist in Ressano Garcia, but they require stronger government accountability. If unaccompanied migrant children are protected in Ressano Garcia it is to a large extent due to initiatives led by civil society: it is the key FBO, together with the community volunteers and supported by NGO funding, which is strengthening the children's protective environment. Local government lacks the means to act and, in some cases, shows a negative attitude towards these children, placing them at greater risk. Local government, supported by central government, needs to strengthen its protective role.

Children migrate to the destination of Ressano Garcia, attracted by the informal economy and the possibilities that the growing border town can offer. Unaccompanied migrant children do not necessarily want to cross the border. However, it is a latent risk that some children do take. If the children were provided for and protected at earlier stages of their migration, they would not expose themselves to the greater risks associated with cross-border movements (Save the Children, 2007b). By focusing efforts on safe internal migration and creating a protective environment for children in Ressano Garcia – whereby they have access to jobs that translate into access to education – children would be deterred from wanting to cross the border into South Africa.

Unaccompanied migrant children migrate to where they have a reference. This pattern was similar for the children who arrived in Ressano Garcia and already had a relative there (namely a brother,

cousin or uncle), and for the children who reported stopping first in Maputo because they had a reference to stay with. The same behaviour recurs among unaccompanied migrant children expressing the wish to cross the border in the future; this was because they have a relative who is already in South Africa.

Strict cross-border migration policies can place unaccompanied migrant children at greater risk.

Migration policies have tended to focus on deterring movement (de Haas, 2007). Strict control can sometimes have the unintended consequence of children exposing themselves to greater risks to overcome these barriers (Save the Children, 2007a). Children migrate regardless of the deterrents. Thus, child protection responses need to be in place throughout the different stages of internal migration and upon arrival at the destination, Ressano Garcia, so that children have access to their basic rights in Mozambique. This in turn would deter the cross-border movement that can expose children to further risks.

3.3 Policy recommendations

The added value and uniqueness of the following policy recommendations, which are based on the aforementioned key findings, lie in the fact that they are based on children's own views. Trying to find a balance between discouraging unsafe migration and protecting children when migrating unaccompanied, the recommendations are divided into two sections that will: (i) strengthen child protection systems at the place of origin, which also impacts on the place of destination but chiefly focuses on having the right conditions in place to prevent children being forced to migrate; and (ii) further strengthen child protection systems to develop a protective environment for children upon arrival at their destination, Ressano Garcia.

3.3.1 Policy recommendations based on the push-pull analysis

- ✓ **Increase spending on social protection for the most vulnerable children: poor children, orphan children and children in stepfamilies**

Efforts and government investment should focus on rural Mozambique, where 80 per cent of poor families and children live (PARPA II, 2006). In order to prevent children being pushed by their conditions at home to undertake unsafe migration, stronger social protection systems must be in place. Mozambique currently has five social protection programmes to target orphaned and vulnerable children (UNICEF, 2010). The finding that in all cases the children were escaping poverty raises the concern that the current system may be insufficient and may not be reaching unaccompanied migrant children. Increased social protection, including both cash transfer and in-kind programmes, in the rural southern provinces of Mozambique should also include children living with stepfamilies.

- ✓ **Focus on creating and formalizing youth employment**

By creating youth employment within the parameters of formal employment, child labourers – who are currently exploited – would be protected by a social protection system that is already in place. Firstly, creating jobs in rural areas in the agriculture sector would stop children from having to migrate to look for work. This means targeting investment towards large farms and away from subsistence agriculture (Hanlon and Smart, 2008). Secondly, children will still be attracted to larger urban settings, especially given the rapid growth of cities such as Maputo and Matola (UNHABITAT,

2007) and the emergence of booming towns along the transport corridors, namely those to Beira and Nacala (IOM, 2012). Thus, formalizing employment in urban settings should be a priority to strengthen migrant children's protective environment (ILO, 2009). According to ILO, children in the informal sector account for a large proportion of the child labour force. Informal labour should be included in the 'new' legislation (ILO, 2009) so that both the legislation and social protection apply to unaccompanied migrant children.

✓ **Improved access to secondary education**

After two decades of peace in Mozambique, the Ministry of Education should start to broaden its focus beyond primary education⁶⁵ to encompass secondary education in its social protection scheme. This holistic approach to education could have a two-pronged approach. Firstly, on the demand side, education should be made free. This should be done by abolishing the fees that currently apply to secondary education and through cash transfers for families with vulnerable children, in order that they can bear the related costs of education such as food, transport and school materials. Making secondary education available and gradually making it free should be priorities in Mozambique's educational agenda. Secondly, on the supply side, more secondary schools should be built in rural areas and a related investment should be made in teachers.⁶⁶

Moreover, given the condition of unaccompanied migrant children as working children, educational investment efforts should also encompass vocational training for children as well as other forms of non-formal education tailored to the reality of child labourers, as shown to be important by the case study of Ressano Garcia. Such a policy would mean that children would attain higher levels of education. The direct correlation between the level of education of the head of the household and the higher level of educational attainment would lead to these children being able to assess in the future the cost-benefit analysis of sending their own children to school (IFTRAB, 2010).

✓ **Stronger implementation of Trafficking Law to prosecute traffickers**

In the past, the main focus on cross-border migration was linked to the strong research and policy attention given to certain forms of exploitation, namely sexual exploitation, diverting attention away from the other forms of trafficking that affect migrant children in Mozambique. Internal migration is growing and policy and action must go hand in hand to address the increase in this phenomenon, which leads to internal trafficking. Trafficking for labour exploitation should target the employers, who are currently immune to punitive actions. Traffickers, as well as smugglers, should be punished. The year 2008 was a landmark year for the approval of legislation aimed at protecting vulnerable children. As young as these laws are, more efforts should be devoted to better monitoring their implementation. A non-punitive environment discourages protective actors and, more importantly, leaves the child undefended. The National Prosecuting Authority (*Procuradoria-Geral da República*; PGR) could lead efforts for stronger legislation implementation.

✓ **Sensitization of families and communities to the risks of migration**

⁶⁵ The Economic and Social Plan for 2013 works "to guarantee that by 2015, all girls and boys conclude the full primary education cycle".

⁶⁶ This policy could have a stepped approach, whereby initially the focus would be on investing in the first cycle of secondary education (8th to 10th Grade). In the longer-term, the goal of investing in the full secondary cycle should be envisioned.

Addressing cultural norms requires a multi-level approach from different actors including families, the community, civil society and government. In some cases, the decision to migrate does not only stem from the child but may be a decision made by the family unit. Thus, families in the place of origin should be targeted from several angles, replicating what is done in Ressano Garcia, to have i) awareness-raising campaigns to explain risks to parents/legal guardians and to develop mechanisms for children to assess risks and respond to dangerous situations, e.g., the potential of being trafficked; and ii) social workers in place who can play a strong role by visiting families to provide support and information prior to migration.

3.3.2 Policy recommendations in children's place of destination

The following policy recommendations zoom in to more specifically address the situation in Ressano Garcia.

✓ Provide access to documentation

Once a month, a brigade comes from the district services of Moamba to issue new documents at the police station in Ressano Garcia. Thus, unaccompanied migrant children do have the possibility of acquiring documentation. Children need to i) be sensitized to the importance of carrying identification prior to starting their migratory journey and this could be done at schools in the rural places of origin; ii) through the community volunteers, be made aware of when/where the Moamba district services brigade visits; and iii) be incentivized to acquire a form of documentation, perhaps by using an in-kind transfer, for instance, the provision of lunch (this is what attracts children to the weekly meetings with the Scalabrinian Sisters). The main barrier to education for migrant children – their lack of documentation – could be overcome.

✓ Issue poverty certificates

Of the sample of 60 children, 30 reported having a form of identification, the most popular being the birth registration certificate followed by the cédula (identification). In response to children's lack of documentation and thus lack of access to basic services, a first step is to render internal unaccompanied migrant children visible. The local government, under the leadership of the Chief of Ressano Garcia, has the power to issue poverty certificates to all children who are in a situation of vulnerability and do not have the necessary documentation or means to pay for schooling. The issuance of poverty certificates would allow the children to receive social protection in the form of access to free education, health and civil registration services (UNICEF, 2010).

✓ Identify unaccompanied migrant children in vulnerable situations through community leaders

The community has a decisive role to play in protecting children. The process of identifying vulnerable children and exploitative employers should stem from the community leaders. Community leaders should 'patrol' their neighbourhoods to make sure that the meninos do not suffer abuse or violence, and they should regularly inform the Chief of Ressano Garcia of the numbers of migrant children currently living under their jurisdiction and also ensure that they are each granted a poverty certificate. This bottom-up approach would ensure the identification of all children suffering any form of exploitation.

✓ **Prosecute employers**

There should be a more rigorous implementation of the law whereby employers are prosecuted for exploiting child labourers. Such employers are in violation of the Labour Law (Article 23), Trafficking Act (Article 10), Children's Act (Articles 12, 20, 23, 38, 47, 49) and the Guardianship Act. This more rigorous implementation can be achieved with an inter-ministerial approach, with efforts coming from both the district level (i) whereby MMAS, through the District Services of Women and Social Affairs (SDMAS), could make the initial contact to alert employers to the potential risk of suffering punitive consequences if they do not provide the child with the rights to which they are entitled; and (ii) through the PGR, which could monitor implementation of the law by regarding sole care of the child by an employer as unacceptable, thus helping to safeguard the welfare of the children and to clarify the legal responsibility of the employer.

✓ **Awareness-raising with a holistic understanding of trafficking and children**

Awareness-raising, an existing protective tool, should be broadened to target i) employers; ii) all children, both those in Ressano Garcia and unaccompanied migrant children, to explain that the exploitative labour conditions experienced by children should not be normalized; and iii) community members, so they understand that the current conditions of exploitation are a crime and that they should cooperate to alert the accountable local authorities of risky actions that these children undertake, thus fortifying the protection of children. Raising awareness should also reinforce the notion that all children under the age of 18 are entitled to children's rights; this is linked to the complex issue of the construction of childhood (Ensor, 2012). In Mozambique, adolescents are viewed as adults and treated as such.

✓ **Increase presence of SDMAS: Social workers**

The current response from the district and local governments is very weak and is insufficient to address the protective needs of unaccompanied migrant children. Thus, the presence of SDMAS, the District Services of Women and Social Affairs, should be strengthened through increased human resources, with several social workers present to liaise between the community leaders – who supervise employers – and civil society, which in turn interacts with CSOs in Maputo, reinforcing the continuum of protective actors. In order to strengthen the current child protection mechanism, the local government of Ressano Garcia must play a greater role.

✓ **Provide alternatives to formal schooling: Vocational training**

One of the main risks faced by migrating children is loss of access to education (Schapiro, 2009). Unaccompanied migrant children cannot access formal schooling due to their condition as child labourers; providing non-formal education through vocational training, as envisioned by the FBO, would address this gap in their needs. This response should be a joint effort between civil society and local government. In so doing, non-formal education and vocational training, currently non-existent in Ressano Garcia, should be viewed as an alternative. As established by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by Mozambique in 2003, the Government of Mozambique should “make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children” (Article 28.d). Efforts should be made so that night school is not the only option for an unaccompanied migrant child. The FBO is weighing up the possibility of introducing vocational

classes in the safe space. This would on the one hand provide migrant children with tools to be able to earn an income in a non-exploitative manner, and on the other, these skills would allow the children to further develop coping strategies and deter them from potentially trying to cross the border.

✓ **Quality training and seminars to target border civil servants**

During the research phase, a seminar took place with all of the key actors, including Immigration, Customs, Border Guard Police and Police. Only the chiefs of each section took part, however. In a more effective bottom-up approach, and to foster greater decentralization, officers who work at the border interacting with migrants should be participating in these seminars since they are closer to the migrant child. Seminars and training should focus on quality and be tailored to the specific context of the borders, explaining unaccompanied migrant children's vulnerabilities and the risks they face. These training sessions should be regular and context-specific.

✓ **Use existing protective tools: Communication for development**

Using the current systems in place to protect children would make it possible to reach out to a larger segment of migrant children in a more effective manner. Sensitization for children on the risks at all stages of the migration journey can be done in two ways. Firstly, through the existing campaign for zero tolerance to sexual abuse of children;⁶⁷ By using this protective tool, the objective would be to sensitize migrant children, not only to the potential risk from trafficking for sexual purposes but also to the issues of safe internal migration and working conditions. Based on the findings of this case study, this approach should be tailored towards 12- to 17-year-old boys, and the objective would be to discourage unsafe migration and crossing of the border. It would also provide tools for children to use when under pressure from potential traffickers and highlight the services that they can reach out to – in the case of Ressano Garcia, the Scalabrinian Sisters. Secondly, sensitization can be achieved through the use of radio to disseminate information and raise awareness. Currently, the District Attorney of Moamba goes on air every 15 days to disseminate information about the child protection legislation.⁶⁸ Radio can also be an extremely useful tool for reaching out to families, especially in more rural areas that may not have access to other means of communication or to those who may be illiterate.⁶⁹ This tool should be used in the place of origin, transit and destination.

✓ **A stronger role for central government**

“A child temporarily or permanently deprived of his or her family environment, or in whose own best interests cannot be allowed to remain in that environment, shall be entitled to special protection and assistance provided by the State.” (Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 20)

For child protection mechanisms to be effective, and in efforts to ensure a safe migration, vertical coordination is an essential condition. For children to be protected at all stages of the continuum,

⁶⁷ See Brief on Accelerating Prevention and Response to Violence Against Children in Mozambique (UNICEF, 2011).

⁶⁸ Interview with key informant at District Attorney's Office, 12 September 2012.

⁶⁹ The literacy gap between rural and urban areas is three-fold. In urban areas, 29.9 per cent of the adult population is illiterate, whereas in rural areas this figure reaches 68.7 per cent (MICS, 2008).

central, provincial and local governments must have a holistic understanding of the context and profile of internal migrant children. Given Mozambique's centralized government (Hanlon and Smart, 2008) this is all the more important. The state is the last layer that embraces all other key stakeholders and layers, and as the guarantor of the migrant child's protection, it is ultimately responsible for the child's well-being, as established by the Children's Act (Articles 60 and 61).

In 2010,⁷⁰ PGR set up a Working Group on the Fight Against Trafficking with the objective of developing policies on trafficking at PGR, provincial, and district levels, and "to also create synergies with civil society namely through religious groups". The existence of this Working Group should be more visible. Potentially, once the final draft of the National Plan to Fight Trafficking⁷¹ is approved, the Government of Mozambique will take further action and be held accountable. The National Plan is in line with the sensitization mentioned above in that it includes seminars to be delivered in schools to raise awareness of trafficking. This is in line with the continuum approach, as the children's protective layer is strengthened before departure and at the place of destination.

✓ **Further research: Mapping of internal routes**

This research project identified children's migratory routes and engaged with the complexity of their journeys. For the child to be protected at all stages, however, a similar exercise must be conducted in the rural places of origin to better assess the needs prior to migrating and better coordinate all stages of the migration journey. Additionally, emphasizing the neglected emphasis on internal migration, a national mapping of internal mapping routes should be undertaken by PGR, building on its work to identify three 'critical areas' of places of destination for trafficking: including the provinces of Nampula, Manica and Maputo. All future research should be guided by a child participatory approach, since children know better than anyone else what their real needs are. This would allow for the improvement of data and monitoring systems and the development of a more systematic and coordinated approach within and between key government stakeholders – a long-term goal of the Government of Mozambique.

✓ **Raise the profile of unaccompanied migrant children at inter-ministerial level**

At central government level, it is fundamental to increase children's visibility in policy debates. The current existence of inter-agency coordination and collaboration within and across key ministries is sine qua non to raise the profile of internal unaccompanied migrant children in policy debates on issues including education, health, trafficking or nutrition. This is especially important for invisible child migrants such as the girls working as babás (domestic workers) in Ressano Garcia. This would allow for a common and holistic child protection approach in which issues of child trafficking, child labour and exploitation exist not in isolation, but are intrinsically interrelated, and where all ministries undertake a responsibility to work jointly and focus on larger investments in human and financial resources for child protection.

⁷⁰ The issue of trafficking became a greater concern largely due to the FIFA World Cup held in South Africa in June - July 2010.

⁷¹ Informants explained that the National Plan was to be approved by the General Attorney and the Ministry of Justice before the end of 2012 (interview with PGR, 20 September 2012).

PART IV: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Child protection systems need to respond to the uniqueness of the migrant child's needs as both a migrant and a child, and must be in place at the different stages of the migratory journey. Different scholars (for example, Feneyrol, 2011; Dottridge, 2008)⁷² identify different stages based on the origin-transit-destination classification. Unaccompanied migrant children must always have a system to which they can reach out and this must be coordinated and cohesive (Reale, 2008).

This research paper set out with the ambitious goal of understanding the complexity of children's migration. Through a child participatory approach it attained its ultimate aim, to provide recommendations with policy implications for the different stages of the unaccompanied child's migratory journey to Ressano Garcia. Children use migration as a coping strategy and for many it may sometimes be the only available option. Child protection and migration policies need to strike a balance between discouraging unsafe migration that has the potential to expose children to abuse, exploitation and trafficking, and having systems in place to ensure a safe migration at all stages. Following an integrated approach requires time, but above all it requires willingness – both political and individual will.

⁷² Feneyrol (2011) identified three phases, whereas Dottridge (2008) identified eight.

Table 1. Protective mechanism system: A best practices framework applied to the reality of Ressano Garcia

Migration phase	Protective actor	Protective mechanism
Before	Child	Strengthen resilience: develop ability to assess risk
	Family/Legal guardian	Child birth registration, and child to obtain identification before leaving place of origin
	DPMAS	Develop child protection systems at community level: engage children in referral groups such as the Child Protection Community Committees.
	Civil society	Civil society organizations (CSOs), through community volunteers, to provide children with ‘life-saving skills’ on how to assess risk during migration and at place of destination Sensitize families and parents to the dangers of children migrating alone and the objective of ensuring a safe migration for the child
At destination, Ressano Garcia	Child	Documentation: always carry form of identification Learn about protective environment in Ressano Garcia in case of need Avoid risky behaviours that increase vulnerability, e.g., selling inside border, since this can lead to detention
	Employer/Guardian	Register child as living in Ressano Garcia with him/her Respect migrant child rights, with a special focus on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Right to labour working conditions: child should be paid a salary and work no more than seven hours a day • Right to education: allow child to access schooling (employer/guardian to pay for all related costs)
	Community leaders	Community leaders: strong knowledge of children’s well-being; access to basic services; access to education and food security
	Community volunteers	Undertake action-based research to identify the most vulnerable children, then inform the children of the existence of the reception centre and provide them with advice on how to stay safe
	Local authorities and civil society	Awareness campaigns against trafficking targeted at community members (especially in harder to reach areas) Radio and theatre plays are two communication tools that may be used to reach out to a wider rural population

	<p>Chief of Post</p> <p>Community members</p> <p>Border officials</p> <p>Social workers</p> <p>Civil society</p>	<p>Issue poverty certificates: priority should be given to orphan children</p> <p>Adults working with children at schools and hospitals should also sensitize children to the risks of crossing border</p> <p>Build on the existing referral group to guide the work on trafficking Stronger control of border for smuggling and trafficking Must not accept or request bribes</p> <p>Monitor children who attend school Track cases of potential abuse, violence and exploitation To work closely with families where there is known abuse and violence, and families where children are deprived of their right to education or interrelated rights</p> <p>Promote awareness campaigns such as 'Eu Ligo' and 'Stop Tráfico', both currently under way</p>
At all stages	<p>Central government</p> <p>PGR</p> <p>PGR, MINT, MMAS, MINED, MISAU</p>	<p>Stronger emphasis and resources should be focused on internal migration by mapping internal migratory routes</p> <p>Implement National Plan of Action to Fight Trafficking, especially in rural places of origin, as a move towards a safer migration</p> <p>Stronger coordination between border officials on both sides (South Africa and Mozambique) on an institution-to-institution basis (Police-Police; Immigration-Immigration; Customs-Customs)</p> <p>Inter-ministerial Working Group on Trafficking</p> <p>Further strengthen and expand the inter-ministerial Working Group using systems integrated approach</p>

APPENDIX I: GLOSSARY⁷³

Best interests of the child principle

In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration. (Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, Article 3.1)

Children on the move

Children moving for a variety of reasons, voluntarily or involuntarily, within or between countries, with or without their parents or other primary caregivers, and whose movement might place them at risk (or at an increased risk) of inadequate care, economic or sexual exploitation, abuse, neglect and other forms of violence. (Save the Children, 2007b)

Child

A child means every human being below the age of 18 years. This definition is based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989; Article 1), the Child Protection Act of Mozambique (6/2008) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Article 2).

Child labour

Child labour is labour performed by a child who is under the minimum age specified for that kind of work, as defined by the Labour Act (2007) in accordance with ILO Convention No. 138, and that is likely to impede the child's education and full development.

Work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. (International Labour Organization)

Child labourer

For the purpose of this research, child labourers are those aged 14 and younger working in any context (for pay or no pay, at home or outside), and those aged 15 to 18 working in exploitative circumstances, including hazardous occupations and for more than seven hours per day.

Child protection

Child protection refers to the prevention of and response to violence, exploitation and abuse against children, including commercial sexual exploitation, trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices such as child marriage. (UNICEF, 2006)

Exploitation

Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (Palermo Protocol, 2000; Article 3)

– Economic exploitation

Exploitation involves taking unfair advantage of someone for personal gain, often mistreating them in the process of doing so. The Convention on the Rights of the Child specifies that children must

⁷³ This glossary is in alphabetical order with the exception of all terms related to trafficking (internal, cross-border, child trafficking) and migration, which feature under the respective entries, Trafficking and Migration.

be protected “from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.” (Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, Article 32)

Migration

The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification. (International Organization for Migration, 2004).

– Forced migration

A migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects). (International Organization for Migration, 2004)

– Regular migration

Migration that occurs through recognized, legal channels. (International Organization for Migration, 2004)

– Irregular migration

Movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. There is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration. From the perspective of destination countries it is entry, stay or work in a country without the necessary authorization or documents required under immigration regulations. From the perspective of the sending country, the irregularity is for example seen in cases in which a person crosses an international boundary without a valid passport or travel document or does not fulfill the administrative requirements for leaving the country. There is, however, a tendency to restrict the use of the term “illegal migration” to cases of smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons. (International Organization for Migration, 2004)

Orphan child

The Government of Mozambique defines an orphan as any child of 18 years old or younger who has lost one or both parents (PACOV, 2006).

Place of destination

The target community at which the migrant or the facilitator (the person or group that facilitates the journey) plans to end the journey. As with Transit (see below), however, transit can turn out to be a place of destination for a number of reasons. (International Organization for Migration, 2004)

Place of origin

Location from which a person begins his/her journey and where he/she has resided either permanently or for a period of time. Place of origin and place of destination are used throughout

the paper to avoid the use of the word 'home', which has different layers of meaning depending on the culture, peoples and settings. (Hammond, 2004)

Protection system

A set of laws, policies, regulations and services that create prevention measures and responses to address all forms of violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation of children. (Reale, 2008)

Resilience

Resilience is the capacity to do well when faced with difficult circumstances; forms of resilience include both the capacities of resistance and positive construction. (Van Istendael, 1998)

Risks and vulnerability

In child protection, risks are understood as the likelihood of a negative outcome or incidence of violence, abuse or exploitation, while vulnerability is understood as openness or exposure to these risks. Risks can be identified at family, community, societal and structural levels and it is most commonly the interplay of different risk factors and vulnerabilities that lead to harm. They are distinguished from protective factors, which enhance the likelihood of positive child outcomes. In this approach, child outcomes result from the particular interaction of risk and protective factors. (Barrientos et al., 2013)

Separated children

Separated children are those separated from both parents, or from their previous legal or customary primary caregiver, but not necessarily from other relatives. Separated children may, therefore, include children accompanied by other adult family members. (Inter-Agency Guiding Principles on Unaccompanied and Separated Children, 2004)

Sexual abuse

The actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions. (United Nations, 2003)

Sexual exploitation

Any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another. The most common forms of child sexual exploitation involve a child in prostitution or in the production of pornography. (United Nations, 2003)

Smuggler

An intermediary who moves a person by agreement with that person, in order to transport him/her in an unauthorized manner across an internationally recognized state border. (International Organization for Migration, 2004)

Smuggling

The procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident. (Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land Sea and Air, 'Smuggling of migrants', 2000; Article 3 [a])

Trafficker

A person who commits any conduct that combines any listed action (recruitment, transfer, transport, harbouring or receipt) and means (threat or use of force or coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person) and is carried out for the listed purpose of exploitation. (Legislative Guide for the Implementation of the Protocol, 2003)

Trafficking

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by any means⁷⁴, including under pretext of domestic work, or work abroad, training or apprenticeships for prostitution, forced labour, slavery, indentured servitude or debt servitude, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (Trafficking Act 6/2008; Palermo Protocol, 2000).

– Trafficking: definition as per the Palermo Protocol

(a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) “Child” shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

– Trafficking in children

Trafficking in children shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include at a minimum the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime)

– Cross-border trafficking

Trafficking that takes place across an international border. This can take place between neighbouring countries or beyond neighbouring countries to other parts of the world. (International Organization for Migration, 2004)

– *Internal trafficking*

Trafficking that occurs within the national borders of a country. (International Organization for Migration, 2004)

Unaccompanied child

Unaccompanied children (also referred to as unaccompanied minors) are children who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so. (Inter-Agency Guiding Principles on Unaccompanied and Separated Children, 2004)

Violence against children

All forms of physical or mental violence, injury and abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse (Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, Article 19); and the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against a child, by an individual or group, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity. (World Report on Violence and Health, 2002)

Vulnerable child

Any child who falls under the following categories: (i) affected or infected by HIV, (ii) living in households headed by children, (iii) in households where an adult is chronically ill, (iv) and in the street, (v) live in institutions, (vi) is in conflict with law, (vii) a disability, (viii) a victim of violence, sexual abuse and sexual exploitation, trafficking, worst forms of work and (xii) refugee and displaced. (Maputo, PACOV, 2006)

APPENDIX II: FULL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Participant	Venue	Date
<i>Government</i>		
Immigration Officer of Ressano Garcia border	Ressano Garcia Immigration Office	13/08/2012
Border Guard Police (BGP) Officer (1)	Ressano Garcia BGP Office	14/08/2012
Border Guard Police (BGP) Officer (2)	Ressano Garcia BGP Office	14/08/2012
Border Guard Police (BGP) Officer (3)	Ressano Garcia BGP Office	14/08/2012
Border Guard Police (BGP) Officer (4)	Ressano Garcia BGP Office	15/08/2012
Police Officer	Ressano Garcia Police Station	16/08/2012
Administrator of Ressano Garcia	Ressano Garcia Administrator's Office	14/09/2012
District Attorney of Moamba	Attorney's Office	13/09/2012
DPMAS Technical Officer – Maputo province	DPMAS Office – Matola	
PGR Attorney (1)	PGR – Maputo	20/09/2012
PGR Attorney (2)	PGR – Maputo	20/09/2012
<i>Civil society</i>		
Ressano Garcia FBO	FBO Office	09/08/2012
Ressano Garcia FBO	FBO Office	09/08/2012
Ressano Garcia Community Volunteer	FBO Office	13/09/2012
Save the Children Mozambique	Save the Children, Maputo Office	18/09/2012
Rede Came	Rede Came, Maputo Office	25/09/2012

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