

**THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF YOUNG MALIANS:
TRADITION, NECESSITY OR RITE OF PASSAGE ?**

Sarah Castle,
London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
Sarah.castle@lshtm.ac.uk

Aisse Diarra,
Independent Consultant
Cadp@datatech.toolnet.org

October 2003



“Ni tara toungala, ni ma fen soro, i be fen ye, i be fen don”

If you go on labour migration, even if you don't get rich, you will see something, you will learn something (Bambara proverb)

Acknowledgements: The study was funded by USAID grant number No. 624-A-00-97-00067-00, Save the Children UK and UNICEF. The authors acknowledge the contribution of Cheick Oumar Diarra, UNICEF to the study design and execution and are grateful to Save the Children US for facilitating the research. The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of stakeholders or funders.

NB: £1=CFA916 and 1\$=CFA560 at the time of writing

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Qualitative research was carried out on the causes, context and consequences of youth migration in four communities in the ‘cercle’ of Bankass in central Mali and in four communities in Kolondièba in the south-east of the country. Most young men from Bankass went to Abidjan where they worked in the transport industry, in the docks or as market porters. Their counterparts from Kolondièba went to the rural areas of Côte d’Ivoire where they worked on cocoa, coffee, cotton, yam or cashew plantations or in the charcoal manufacturing sector. The majority of girls from all villages worked as domestic servants although some were also employed in restaurants or did market trading. Dogon girls from Bankass went to Abidjan whilst those from Kolondièba went to smaller towns in northern and central Côte d’Ivoire. In addition, there appeared to be long-term and significant migration by very young Dafing girls from Bankass to Mecca in Saudi Arabia where they worked as maids. The findings revealed that migration by young people is much more than an economic phenomenon. It comprises social and psychological dimensions pertaining to the need to explore new places, experience new settings and accumulate material possessions in order to conform to peer group aspirations. It is as much a rite of passage as a financial necessity. The main motivation among girls was to accumulate items for their wedding trousseaux whilst boys wanted to gain bicycles, radios and other material objects to enable them to accrue status.

The study indicated that the types of hardship experienced by young migrants were similar both within and outside Mali and even sometimes between those who had apparently been trafficked and those who had not. A significant proportion of young people working in both domestic and foreign settings were often exploited, poorly paid or not paid at all, accused of lying or theft, and lived in poor conditions with insufficient food or medical care. The findings thus underscore the need to examine fundamental attitudes to child labour and to build systems of support and recourse for *all* working children in hardship, not simply those who have experienced trafficking and not simply those working abroad.

However, many young people also revealed that they had had positive migration experiences, were well treated by their employers, were able to achieve their economic goals, improve their linguistic skills and ability to negotiate the modern world. Successful migration was more likely to occur if a migrant has contact with ‘resortissants’ (people from migrants’ native villages) in their destination areas. Such compatriots often constitute an important protective network that can facilitate migrants’ passage, stay and search for work. Migration itself appeared to be a very important development tool and one which can bring significant advantages both to individual migrants and to their home communities, particularly in the absence of schooling. Migrants described how, through their migration experience, they had become more aware of health and hygiene practices, gained new entrepreneurial skills which they then applied in their village settings and were more able to problem-solve and to effectively manage their time and resources. With regard to schooling, the research also found that education played an important role in slowing rates of migration and probably delayed age at first departure for those who eventually did migrate. It was very clear from the testimonies of pupils that they had different aspirations and felt less peer pressure compared with their non-

schooled counterparts. In addition, they were prepared to postpone their chance of material gain until the long-term.

Migrants recounted how police and gendarmes relieved them of very significant sums of money in exchange for letting them go over international borders. Even those who had the correct documentation appear to be victims of such ‘fines’ which thus increased migrants’ need to cross frontiers in a clandestine manner, usually with the help of intermediaries. Most were able, or indeed obliged, to obtain false papers (identity cards, birth certificates, vaccination cards) and did so relatively easily but required a third party to enable them to negotiate with the law enforcement officers. Alternatively, young people gave additional money to drivers so that they would take back routes to avoid the police, or used motorbikes to cross over the international border by a less visible track. Others hid inside lorries to avoid being asked for papers. In fact, whether migrants did or did not have the right documents bore little relationship to their susceptibility to ‘fines’. Many who came into contact with policemen on their return from Côte d’Ivoire were often obliged to give them more than half their earnings. The ‘*titre de voyage*’ (“child’s passport”) was not available in any of the villages visited despite it being obligatory for children under age 18 who wish to travel. However, the introduction of this additional document, rather than making migration safer, is more than likely to increase children’s need for intermediaries to negotiate with police and gendarmes at borders and paradoxically, make their journey more likely to be clandestine increasing their vulnerability and risk.

On a policy level, the study highlights many weaknesses in the conceptualisation of international definitions of trafficking and the extreme difficulty of applying them operationally in the field. The study used as its basis the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, also known as ‘*the Palermo Protocol*’. The definition considers that, an intermediary who gives or receives payments (or expects to give or receive payments) can be considered a child trafficker if there is intent on the part of the intermediary to exploit the child. The main problem with this and similar definitions, and national legislation that stems from them, is that operationally the focus tends to be put on intermediaries generally without consideration of the complex issue of intent to exploit, perhaps for the simple reason that determining such intent is obviously very difficult. This is particularly problematic in many West African settings where the use of an intermediary is almost obligatory for most social and economic activities or needs. In many cases, such an intermediary is compensated with something to ‘encourage’ him, whether this is to negotiate the price and transport of any commodity or to guarantee a desired social outcome such as securing a spouse or resolving a dispute. Thus, simply attributing a “trafficking” label to anyone involved in taking money to facilitate a child’s journey or obtaining of employment simplifies a much more complex cultural reality. International agencies associate the presence of intermediaries with negative experiences whereas, analyses presented here conclude that those children who travelled without an intermediary were much more likely to be seriously exploited and harmed. Legal experts and jurists reiterated that current definitions and legislative measures did not enable them to distinguish between a trafficker and simple intermediary. Therefore, it must be recognised that culturally,

virtually no social or economic transaction takes place without the presence of a third party and it is very difficult to determine who does and does not have the best interests of the migrant at heart.

Although the study was primarily qualitative, a quantitative screening procedure was used to identify candidates for interview and enabled the systematic classification of 950 children by migration category, of which 108 were interviewed. Although almost all the children interviewed told of experiences involving various intermediaries, and many of these told of difficult experiences whilst on migration, only four children can be said to have been handled by an intermediary who had the intent to exploit them. A fundamental problem that emerged during the research was that some interviewees were identified through lists provided by NGOs and government agencies, lists entitled “trafficked and repatriated children”. However the children’s testimonies highlighted that rather than having been trafficked these individuals were returned for having incorrect paperwork or no paperwork, being under 18, travelling without parental consent or being in the company of an intermediary (who in many cases was benevolent). Nevertheless, all these children are considered to have been trafficked, and various interventions have been developed with this in mind, in particular repatriation and reinsertion activities. While not denying the relevance of such activities for children truly trafficked, the study points at least to the fact that these programs are not reaching the intended beneficiaries and seem to be of dubious value to the greater number of child migrants who are not trafficked. It also indicates that that a set of different or at least additional activities would be needed to address the real and legitimate issues of child migrants who aren’t trafficked. Children’s testimonies indicated that many were unhappy about being brought back to their villages, their parents were unclear as to why they had been returned, and that they were teased and humiliated by their peer group for coming back empty handed. Despite the considerable expenditure incurred by NGOs and government authorities in order to finance their return, such children often left their villages just several days later to try once again to seek their fortunes in Côte d’Ivoire.

Equally worrying is the fact that the ‘*Comités de Surveillance*’ (anti-trafficking surveillance committees) appear to have been established with little foresight as to the way that members perceive the notion of ‘trafficking’ (which is not easily translated in the Bambara language). The result is that ad hoc committees, which seem to have been set up somewhat rapidly by NGOs and by local government agencies seem to have engendered a mentality where all migration is seen as negative. Children appeared to be almost hunted down and ‘arrested’ by local leaders if they attempt to leave. This again is only likely to increase young people’s need to migrate clandestinely and to deny them the family support that seems so crucial to protect them en route. Due to having a very unclear understanding of trafficking, the ‘Comités’ thus seem to target any potential migrants as opposed to those genuinely at risk.

Definitional issues may appear to be mere semantics, but they have a very important impact in the real world: communities hunt for kids causing them to move further underground, people have been wrongly incarcerated, parents have had their motives questioned leading to profound bewilderment, children have had their wishes ignored.

Donors who insist that funds be spent strictly on trafficking put a straight jacket on organizations who would perhaps prefer to address the issue of child labour migration more holistically. Without wanting to minimize the issue of trafficking, the study clearly demonstrates that a more realistic approach to child labour and child labour migration (both internal and cross-border) is needed, as well as more donor flexibility regarding the issue.

In conclusion, the debate around trafficking fails to take into account the economic necessity of migration, the often protective effect of intermediaries in a system where children need to negotiate or avoid payments to law enforcement officers en route, and ignores the social and psychological aspects of the practice. Rather than simply focussing narrowly on the notion of trafficking, the whole issue of children's work requires reconsideration. Considerable reflection is required as to what degree exploitation, non-payment and maltreatment often associated in the media and development circles with international 'trafficking', may also apply to the very many 'regular' workers in households, markets and fields *within* Mali. Thus, the whole issue of child migration, whether it be trafficking or not, poses some of the most basic moral questions to Malian society which need to be answered by introspection as well as by responses from the international community.

Table of Contents

		Page
1.0	BACKGROUND	1
2.0	DECLARATIONS AND LEGISLATION RELATING TO CHILD TRAFFICKING AND CHILD LABOUR IN MALI	3
3.0	AIMS OF THE RESEARCH	7
4.0	METHODOLOGY	8
4.1	Sampling procedures	12
5.0	YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK IN THEIR HOME VILLAGES	17
5.1	Young people's unpaid work	17
5.2	Young people's paid work	19
6.0	YOUNG PEOPLE'S MATERIAL ASPIRATIONS	22
7.0	PUPILS' VIEWS ON THE IMPACT OF SCHOOLING ON MIGRATION	27
8.0	PERCEPTIONS OF THE RELATIVE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION	30
8.1	Experience of labour migration within Mali	30
8.2	Knowledge of problems encountered by young people going on labour migration within Mali	33
8.3	Knowledge of problems encountered by young people going on labour migration outside of Mali	36
8.4	Young people's comparison of working inside versus outside of Mali	41
9.0	STORIES OF TRAFFICKED CHILDREN	45
10.0	DESTINATIONS AND OCCUPATIONS OF MIGRANTS	48
10.1	Destinations of future migrants	54
11.0	ROUTES TAKEN BY MIGRANTS	59
12.0	THE FAMILY CONTEXT OF MIGRATION	61
12.1	Involvement of the family in the decision to migrate	63
13.0	MIGRANTS' JOURNEYS ABROAD	67
13.1	Payment of migrants' transportation	67
13.2	Guidance for migrants en route	70
13.3	The <i>arriver-payer</i> (pay on arrival) system	72
13.4	Migrants' knowledge of identity papers needed	74
13.4.1	Future migrants' knowledge of identity papers needed	77
14.0	MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCE OF BORDER CROSSINGS	80
15.0	MIGRANTS' ARRIVAL AT THEIR DESTINATIONS	85
16.0	SALARY NEGOTIATIONS	89
17.0	PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED DURING STAY IN DESTINATION	94
17.1	Economic and social problems experienced by migrants	94
17.2	Health problems experienced by migrants	99
18.0	HOUSING CONDITIONS WHILST ON LABOUR MIGRATION	103

19.0	MIGRANTS' PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING DURING THEIR STAY ABROAD	109
20.0	REASONS FOR MIGRANTS' RETURN	112
20.1	Cases of migrants being repatriated	116
21.0	EMPLOYERS' REACTIONS TO MIGRANTS' DEPARTURES	120
22.0	THE JOURNEY HOME	124
22.1	Penalties imposed by law enforcement authorities and migrants' strategies to avoid them	125
23.0	THE PROCESS OF REINTEGRATION	128
23.1	Attitudes of migrants' friends and families to their return	128
23.2	The impact of migration on young people's status and on their potential for innovation and development	131
23.3	Migrants' problems with reintegration	135
24.0	RETURNED MIGRANTS' INTENTIONS	137
25.0	MIGRATION FROM BANKASS TO SAUDI ARABIA	139
26.0	YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS IN ORDER TO LIMIT MIGRATION	149
27.0	PARENTS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS' OPINIONS ABOUT MIGRATION	154
27.1	Migration as a tradition	154
27.2	Changes in the economic reasons for migration	155
27.3	Changes in the social and cultural reasons for migration	156
27.4	Positive consequences of migration for the household and community	158
27.5	Negative consequences of migration for the household and community	161
27.6	Parents' and leaders' knowledge of intermediaries	164
27.7	Parents' and leaders' knowledge of surveillance committees	167
27.8	Parents' and leaders' knowledge of travel documents	170
27.9	Parents' and leaders' suggestions for reducing migration or for making it safer	172
28.0	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION INITIATIVES FOR COUNTERING TRAFFICKING	175
28.1	Save the Children Canada	175
28.2	Mali Enjeu	177
28.3	Save the Children USA	179
29.0	PERCEPTIONS OF SURVEILLANCE COMMITTEE MEMBERS	180
29.1	Objectives of the surveillance committees	181
29.2	Surveillance committees' activities	182
29.3	Interceptions of children	183
29.4	Operational suggestions made by the surveillance committees	185
30.0	THE PERSPECTIVES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES	186
30.1	Definition of trafficking	186
30.2	Action against trafficking taken by local government officials	188
30.3	Officials' suggestions to combat trafficking	190

31.0	OPINIONS OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES	190
31.1	Definitions and perceptions of trafficking	190
31.2	Apparent victims of trafficking who were handed over to law enforcement agents	193
31.3	Measures taken against child trafficking	194
31.4	Law enforcement agents' perceptions of the difficulties in applying the measures adopted	194
32.0	OPINIONS OF LEGAL SERVICES	195
32.1	Jurists' definitions and perceptions of child trafficking	195
32.2	Selected cases of suspected child trafficking presented to Kolondièba court	196
32.3	Jurists' suggestions to improve the legal aspects of trafficking	197
33.0	TRANSPORTERS' OPINIONS	198
33.1	Perceptions of trafficking	198
33.2	Measures take by transporters to combat child trafficking	201
33.3	Difficulties encountered in trying to reduce migration	202
33.4	Collaboration with administrative services and with NGOs	205
34.0	OBSERVATIONS IN SAN	206
35.0	CONCLUSION	206
36.0	RECOMMENDATIONS	211
36.1	General	211
36.2	Governmental and legislative	211
36.3	NGOs	212
36.4	Communities	213

References

Annex – Migrants' Interview Guide

Tables and Figures

		Page
Tables		
Table 1	Characteristics of Bankass and Kolondièba	9
Table 2a	Socio-economic and environmental profile of study villages in Bankass	10
Table 2b	Socio-economic and environmental profile of study villages in Kolondèba	11
Table 3	Sampling techniques used to access potential interviewees aged between 10 and 18 years old	12
Table 4	Categories of children interviewed during screening procedure	13
Table 5	Number of children interviewed in each migration category	15
Table 6	Type of work gained by female migrants by village of origin during last migration	49
Table 7	Type of work gained by male migrants by village of origin during last migration	51
Table 8	Destinations and type of work hoped for by future female migrants by village of origin	55
Table 9	Destinations and type of work hoped for by future male migrants by village of origin	56
Table 10	Payment of transport for last labour migration	68
Table 11	Numbers of intercepted and repatriated children cared for by AEC, Sikasso	176
Table 12	Numbers of intercepted and repatriated children cared for by Mali Enjeu, Sikasso	178
Figures		
Figure 1	Migrants' origins and destinations	50
Figure 2	Routes taken by migrants	60

1.0 BACKGROUND

Like many of their counterparts in other developing countries, a substantial proportion of young Malians are experiencing a period of rapid change and modernisation. Migration can be both a cause and effect of such change which can have a profound economic and psychosocial impact, not just on the migrants themselves, but also on their sending and receiving communities. Traditional structures which controlled adolescents' relationships within their families and communities including their gender roles, aspirations and expectations are being eroded. Concurrently, in many areas, an increase in schooling is changing young people's 'world views' and the way they interact both within and outside their households. Similarly, exposure to TV and radio broadcasts shows young people opportunities and lifestyles often unfamiliar to their parents and grandparents. In this context, young people, and young migrants in particular, are having to deal with many shifting paradigms in their lives.

This report discusses some of the causes and consequences of the international migration by young Malians, and, in particular, examines the nature of movements between Mali and Côte d'Ivoire. Using testimonies from young people, their parents and community leaders, it seeks to understand migration as an individual, family and village response to food insecurity and hardship as well as a social expectation and rite of passage. The study explores the positive and negative experiences of young migrants and attempts to situate them in an understanding of the broader processes of decision-making and perceptions of risk. The findings are for use by programmes and policy makers to better inform interventions aimed at young people and at young migrants in particular. It is hoped that the testimonies presented below will serve to generate an informed debate on the most appropriate way to target services and on approaches that can be adopted to make the migration process safer for all.

Out-migration from many of the communities described here is not a new phenomenon, although its prevalence has probably increased in recent years due to an improvement in roads and transport services that have made urban areas both within and outside Mali more accessible to those in rural villages. Previous research has indicated that migration has also probably become increasingly necessary because young people's economic demands and aspirations have become greater and their sources of income generation in rural settings are extremely limited (Castle 2002, Castle, Traore and Cisse 2002). This new-found materialism is accompanied, in many cases, by a more marked individualism whereby young migrants are solely responsible for earning the cash to pay for the items they desire. In the past, families tended to club together to help individual members or manage common funds that could, for example, fund girls' wedding trousseaux. Now, however, young people are having to cope with their increasing economic obligations on their own and use migration as a way to gain the necessary cash.

However, despite these changes in the motivations for or context of migration, the practice has existed in both central and southern Mali for many generations. In a presentation at a workshop in Bankass in March 2002, the Mayor of the commune of Dimbal Haabe noted that in 1913 a widespread famine forced people to migrate as far as Ghana (Sodio 2002). In the 1930s and 40s systematic migration was undertaken from Bankass to Koumassi in Ghana where Dogon migrants purchased cotton cloth called '*massara*'. In the 1960s migrants went

to Bobo Dioulasso in Bukina Faso. Their movements and purchases were reflected in the popular songs whereby young girls were encouraged to 'pick the fruit of the shoe tree of Bobo'. Later movement in the 1970s and 80s extended as far as Bouake in Côte d'Ivoire which migrants reached by rail from Bobo. Similarly, in Kolondièba, historically, migration to Côte d'Ivoire has taken place with many families having relatives either side of the border. In the past, Malian labourers were given a small parcel of land on the Ivorian cocoa or cotton plantations which they were left to cultivate in exchange for a small cash payment to the land owner. Later, this changed in that migrants were obliged under share-cropping schemes (*métayage* in French) to give a proportion of the harvest to the land owner. However, with the spread of mechanisation which facilitated land management and the wider development of a monetary economy, Ivorian farmers (including those of Malian origin) prefer to farm the land themselves to satisfy international markets and require manual labour only for land clearance and harvesting (Noumouri Traore, Save the Children USA, personal communication September 2002). These and other historical aspects of migration are discussed in the parallel literature review accompanying this study (Diallo 2003).

It should be recognised that short-term or long-term migration may not always be the result of rational economic decision-making but rather motivated by social or cultural factors which spawn the desire to acquire 'modern' behaviours and view the wider world (Daugherty and Kammeyer 1995, Zlotnik 1998). Migration can have both positive and negative effects on migrants and their families. The migration of young men, in particular, may increase the feminisation of poverty but also empower women as they gain control over decision-making (Gulati 1993). It may result in the loss of community networks and social support among those left behind, but, on the other hand, migrant remittances can improve services and infrastructures in the villages of origin (Russell 1992). Children may be socialised into a culture of migration which may not be compatible with schooling. However, migrants' experiences in urban areas may equip them with some of the management and predictive skills and independent thinking that their non-migrant counterparts may gain through education (albeit to a greater extent). Migration may lead to the adoption of healthier and more hygienic lifestyles as young migrant seek to emulate urban ways (such as initiating hand washing or using immunisation services) when they return home. It may serve to diffuse innovative ideas about family planning, and preventive and curative health care to remote rural corners of the country who would not normally be in contact with such messages or in a position to see their impact (Brockerhoff 1995). However, it can also be associated with an increase in risk-taking and, for example, has been shown to be a major contributing factor to the spread of HIV (Boerma et al 2002, Sauve et al 2002). Lastly, migration may serve to limit population growth in areas that are already food insecure and relieve families of extra mouths to feed (McDowell and de Haan 1997). On the other hand, it can deprive families of vital sources of labour as many of their most productive members move away to seek a better life elsewhere. Thus, migration must be viewed as having both positive and negative consequences. The testimonies below describe in detail how these are perceived by local populations.

2.0 DECLARATIONS AND LEGISLATION RELATING TO CHILD TRAFFICKING AND CHILD LABOUR IN MALI

The evolution of laws and policies governing child trafficking and child labour are detailed in the literature review which accompanies this study (Diallo 2003). Many definitions and interpretations of trafficking exist but here we briefly present a limited number that directly relate to Malian and Ivorian legislation about trafficking and to issues associated more generally with children's work.

In 1989, the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child stated in Article 32 that:

1. States Parties recognise the right of the child to 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 be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

2. States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article.

To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular

a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;

b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;

c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

It continues in Article 35 that:

States Parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic of children for any purpose or any form.

In Article 12, the Convention states that:

States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

Mali and Côte d'Ivoire were signatories to the Convention and are thus bound in principle to adhere to the articles concerning children's work and rights. However, it will be shown below that, in reality, there appears to be a tension between reconciling the right of the child to be listened to and the need to uphold acceptable standards of employment. Many children working in what, by international standards are deemed inappropriate settings, expressed the

wish to continue doing so. Others who were removed from such environments sought to go back to them.

On the 14th July 2000, Mali ratified ILO convention 182 against the worst forms of child labour. Côte d'Ivoire ratified the convention in country on 1st March 2002, but has yet to do so formally and thus is not yet technically an adherent. The convention asks that members who have ratified 'take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency'. Article 3 defines the worst forms of child labour as:

- a) *All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict.*
- b) *The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances.*
- c) *The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties.*
- d) *Work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.*

Turning to national legislation, the Malian government in addition condemns trafficking in Article 63 of its Code Pénal and defines it as follows:

Trafficking is defined as the process by which a child is moved inside or outside the country in conditions which attribute to it a market value for one or several people whatever is the outcome of the move. Every act comprising the recruitment, transport, harbouring and sale of children are considered as elements of trafficking.

In addition, the Codes du Travail of both Mali and Côte d'Ivoire state that:

A woman or a child should not be obliged to do work that is above their (physical) strength and should be given an appropriate job. If that is not possible the contract should be cancelled by the employer.

Code du Travail de la Côte d'Ivoire: Article 23.9, Code du Travail du Mali:
Article 188

With specific regard to anti-trafficking measures, a co-operative agreement was signed by Mali and Côte d'Ivoire on September 1st 2000 by the two Ministers for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family from each country. Using a definition of trafficking virtually identical to that found in the Code Pénal, the co-operative agreement said in Article 6 that the 'Provider Country' will:

- *Identify the areas of origin of networks and individuals practicing child trafficking on a professional or occasional basis.*
- *Set up a management mechanism for the repatriation and insertion of children who are victims of trafficking.*

Article 7 declares that the ‘Receiving Country’ will:

Organise and facilitate repatriation to source or starting country of children who are victims of trafficking on their territory to partners involved in the fight against trafficking and to contribute to the operation.

At the same time, an addition, in the form of Article 244 was made to the Mali’s Penal Code to give judges, public prosecutors and attorneys the grounds to prosecute and imprison those found guilty of trafficking.

Child trafficking is the whole process by which a child is displaced, within or outside a country in conditions which transform him or her into a market value for at least one of the persons present, and whatever the aim of the child's displacement.

It also refers to:

- *Any act involving the recruitment, transportation, receiving or sale of the child;*
- *Any act that results in the displacement of the child in the interior or outside a country.*
- *Any person convicted of child trafficking shall be punished by from five to twenty years imprisonment.*

Article 244, Code Pénal du Mali

Furthermore, on 5 June 2002, special legislation was enacted encompassing all measures for Child Protection in Mali. Article 63 of the Child Protection Code 17 defines child trafficking in identical terms to Article 244 of the Penal Code of August 2001. However, it is described below (Section 32) by a number of legal experts how Article 244 is very difficult to apply in practice.

In addition, numerous changes in Ministers in both countries subsequently meant that implementation of the convention was rendered extremely complex. Nevertheless, some of the interception and repatriation strategies described below are attributable to this agreement although their function and efficacy appeared to be somewhat problematic.

The commonly cited ‘Palermo Protocol’ was derived from the International Convention against Transnational Organised Crime coordinated by the UN Office on Drugs and Crime in 2002 and was signed by both Mali and Côte d’Ivoire. Article 3 comprises the following definition of ‘trafficking in persons’:

- a) *Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of the threat of 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, as a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others and other forms of sexual exploitation forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery.*
- 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 when any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) has 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 Paragraph (a) of this article.*

Although not legally binding the Protocol is an instrument which will serve as a model for national legislation, detailing provisions on conduct which should be sanctioned, the severity of punishment and effective measures to combat as well as prevent trafficking’ (<http://www.undcp.org/adhoc/palermo/traff.htm>, March 2003).

International and local NGO programmes as well as Ministerial initiatives and national legislation are thus orientated within the frameworks of these definitions and statutes. The *Direction pour la Protection de l’Enfant* in the *Ministère pour la Promotion de la Femme, l’Enfant et la Famille* (referred to here as the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family) is bound by the Code Pénal and Code du Travail to protect children from danger and abuse associated with their working conditions. Similarly, Côte d’Ivoire is bound by many of the same protocols formulated using the same vocabulary and definitions. However, in reality, there appear to be major difficulties in the interpretation and application of these decrees and statutes for two main reasons.

Firstly, we discuss below how it is very difficult to operationalise these definitions of trafficking in the field. Various actors who may be considered as facilitating a child’s migration such as parents, drivers, fellow passengers and intermediaries could easily (according to the above definitions) be accused of trafficking if they are aware of the child’s destination or motives. However, in reality, they may consider it perfectly normal and acceptable for a young person to seek work outside their village given the problems of poverty, food insecurity, lack of opportunity etc at home. Thus, ‘exploitation’ is difficult to define in such settings as, as will be shown below, many children (and their parents before them) engaged in manual labour at an early age for very poor remuneration. Parents, intermediaries and employers may be unaware that others consider that a child is being exploited and take great umbrage if it is suggested that they are guilty of abetting what has

come, in many cases, to be perceived as a criminal act. This is not to say that there are no clear-cut cases of abuse which, without question, can be considered as trafficking. However, 'normal' migration (as perceived by villagers) comprises hardship and suffering but is often thought to be acceptable if, at the end, the migrant earns enough to satisfy their material needs. It is difficult to consider as trafficked even those who do not experience financial gain (for reasons detailed below), if (as many were) they were freely employed, were free to leave when they wanted and would willingly repeat the experience and indeed seek to do so. In addition, the notion of written contracts for such forms of labour (such as mentioned in Article 188 of the Code Pénal of Mali) is an anathema to such village migrants, the vast majority of whom are uneducated, cannot read and write and use systems of patronage and social networks to secure job opportunities rather than being formally taken on by companies and employers with fixed contracts.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the definitions take no account of the cultural dimension to gaining and seeking work in Mali and elsewhere in West Africa. In virtually every aspect of Malian life (whether this be when looking for employment, soliciting social favours or introductions, negotiating the buying and seeking of merchandise, handling disputes, or even seeking a spouse), an intermediary is engaged to facilitate the process. The intermediary does more than transmit the required message but rather becomes an interlocutor and advocate for the person seeking the favour and at the same time seeks to maximise benefits for the other party. In many cases, whatever his/her domain of intervention, the intermediary may reap a financial reward for the services rendered to both parties. Thus, definitions where a third party recruits or transports a child and receives financial compensation for this, may label him/her as a trafficker according to the above definitions, but, in fact, often simply reflect cultural norms and expectations in this setting.

3.0 AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

On November 6th 2001, a workshop was held in Bamako with the *Direction de la Protection de l'Enfant* (MPFEF) and a number of organisations¹ who intervene with communities who have histories of sending children and young people on labour migration to Côte d'Ivoire and to other neighbouring countries. A representative from the government's Child Protection Agency (*Direction pour la Protection de l'Enfant*) was also present. All participants were asked to give their priorities in terms of research needs to facilitate programmes aimed at young migrants and at those of risk of being trafficked. The research protocol was drawn up on the basis of these comments.

The main themes of the research included the following:

- The perception and definition of the phenomenon of trafficking by communities and parents and an assessment of the factors that motivate young people to leave their home villages.

¹ The participating organisations were Save the Children US, Save the Children UK, SOS Sahel. UNICEF also participated at this meeting.

- The processes and decision-making which influence young people’s movements and identification of the routes that both trafficked and non-trafficked migrants take.
- The experiences of the reintegration of trafficked and intercepted children into their home communities and that of those migrants who return safely.

An over-riding principle guiding the study was that:

“As the research focuses on local perceptions and definitions of trafficking and other forms of migration, there may be a difference in the interpretation of young people’s own account of their movements and the way in which the situation is viewed by outsiders. It is feasible that a migratory experience viewed as exploitative by NGOs and other actors intervening in this domain may be seen entirely differently by the young people and their families (or vice versa). This underlines the importance of gaining local definitions and perceptions to better inform programme design” (Castle, Diarra and Diarra 2001).

As will be shown below, young people with a range of migratory experiences were interviewed and in many cases distinct differences emerged between local and outsider definitions of success, and indeed exploitation, related to the migration process.

4.0 METHODOLOGY

The research took place between August and October 2002 in 4 villages of the ‘cercle’ of Bankass and 4 villages of the ‘cercle’ of Kolondièba². The two areas differ in terms of their environmental and ecological characteristics and production systems. Table 1 summarises the general characteristics of each setting.

The villages were chosen purposively, using information gained from the local authorities (such as the mayors of local communes and the ‘cercle’ administrators), to comprise those reflecting high rates of migration and especially those where trafficking had been reported. In addition, in Bankass, villages featuring in the list of repatriated children (often labelled as trafficked children) furnished by Mali Enjeu via the local office of Social Development (Social Services) were also selected. Furthermore, other NGOs (including Save the Children UK and US and SOS Sahel) working in the two areas were contacted and asked to suggest villages that they knew to have experienced problems with unsafe or large-scale international migration. Lastly, a report from a workshop in February 2002 organised by the elected representatives for Bankass in the national assembly on the subject of trafficking also

² In Bankass, 3 repatriated children were found and interviewed in the villages of Sondio and Diarrassagou. However, checklists were not completed for these villages (see Table 2a below), because these localities were not suggested by authorities for inclusion. However, the results of these interviews are included in the present analysis.

provided names of villages where trafficking/problematic migration had occurred (Diallo 2002).

Table 1 : Characteristics of Bankass and Kolondièba

	Bankass	Kolondièba
Dominant ethnic group	Dogon/Dafing	Bambara/Senufo
Dominant religion	Islam/animist	Islam/animist
Agricultural production	Millet cultivation, onion production	Millet, maize cultivation, market gardening, cotton production
Annual rainfall	c.400 mm	c. 1500mm
International migration		
Male	Côte d’Ivoire	Côte d’Ivoire
Female	Bamako/Côte d’Ivoire/Saudi Arabia	Limited amount to Côte d’Ivoire
Approx. distance of ‘cercle’ town from regional capital	75km	100km
Approx. distance of ‘cercle’ town from Bamako	70km	400km
Approx. distance of ‘cercle’ town international border	50km	40km

In Kolondièba, frontier towns and villages with a high rate of cross-border movements were also selected for inclusion in the study. Save the Children USA’s agent in charge of trafficking issues accompanied the team throughout the study and, in collaboration with village structures, including the “*Comités de surveillance*” (anti-trafficking surveillance committees), suggested the names of villages with high rates of problematic international migration for inclusion in the sample. Thus, the sample does not reflect a random selection of study sites. It rather targetted communities who, according to the above-mentioned sources, have supposedly experienced heavy out-migration, received large numbers of repatriated children and where the maltreatment of international migrants whilst aboard had been reported.

A checklist was completed for each community. This pertained to facilities and resources for young people in the village as well as noting the overall production systems and economic opportunities available for men and women. A summary of the checklists is presented in Tables 2 (a) and 2 (b) below and indicates that, in Bankass, in particular, severe problems existed with regard to the village infrastructures with many lacking even the most basic services. In the majority of the villages, deforestation and a lack of water were major problems indicating that the development of activities to retain migrants would be a major challenge. Thus, in most cases, young people have no choice but to leave and seek economic opportunities elsewhere. In their home communities there are simply not the resources to absorb their labour and to enable them to earn profitable incomes.

Table 2(a): Socio-economic and environmental profile of study villages in Bankass

	No of inhabitants	Environmental problems	School	Health centre	Other infrastructure	International Destinations of emigrants
Bankass						
Nene	2250	Cooking wood very far away Insufficient drinking water Severe deforestation	1 class in community school (2001)	Nurse (1994)	Literacy training (1994)	Côte d'Ivoire Gabon Libya Spain Saudi Arabia
Diallaye	760	Poor soil quality due to erosion. Insufficient drinking water. Insufficient wood for coking and construction.	None	None	None	Côte d'Ivoire
Sokoura	1575	Insufficient water, Deforestation	1e cycle 2e cycle since 1990	Centre de santé (1961) Maternité CSCOM (1997)	10 private grinding mills 1 village pharmacy	Côte d'Ivoire Saudi Arabia Gabon
Dimbal Habe	1520	Lack of wood/deforestation Poor soil quality	1e cycle (3 classes)	CSCOM – not yet functioning (Swiss funded)	Literacy centre 2 private grinding mills	Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire) Korgho (Côte d'Ivoire) Libreville (Gabon) N'Djamena (Chad)

Table 2(b): Socio-economic and environmental profile of study villages in Kolondièba

	No of inhabitants	Environmental problems	School	Health centre	Other infrastructure	International Destinations of emigrants
Kolondièba						
Kadiana	3441	Insufficient water (for drinking and gardening) Deforestation by people from Bamako	1e cycle (1963) Seconde cycle (1974)	CSCOM	Veterinary surgery Youth centre Custom office CMDT (cotton company) warehouse	Côte d'Ivoire
Fakola	2500	Insufficient water. Pump broken for last 10 years Deforestation	1e cycle since 1961 Seconde cycle since 1972 1e cycle since 1971	Health centre Maternity unit	Literacy centre	Abidjan and Divo in Côte d'Ivoire where they have associations for Fakola emigrants Côte d'Ivoire
Zeguere	1000	Deforestation		CSCOM, maternity unit, pharmacy Health centre since 1987	6 pumps, 3 grinding mills	Côte d'Ivoire
Tongui	1200	Insufficient water for gardening	6 classes since 1962 Seconde cycle under construction	CSCOM just established	Savings clubs, 4 pumps, grinding mill	

4.1 Sampling procedures

The group of interest were aged between 10 and 18. It was thought that children below age 10 were unlikely to migrate and those above 18 were probably more autonomous and independent and less likely to experience problems. In addition, the latter group were not required to have the ‘*titre de voyage*’³ giving them permission to travel (see Section 15.4). Once the communities had been selected, a number of different procedures were used to identify households in the villages where migrants, non-migrants and future migrants aged between 10 and 18 may have been located. The mix of sampling methods ensured the maximum chance of identifying and validating the realities of migration experienced in these communities. The sampling procedures are outlined in Table 3.

Table 3: Sampling techniques used to access potential interviewees aged between 10 and 18 years old

I	A random sample of approximately every 4 th – 6 th household in the village (depending on size). Screening administered to all those between 10 and 18 years old
II	A purposive sample of households furnished by village chiefs and elders where migrants who had experienced problems, hardship or supposed trafficking. Screening administered to all those between 10 and 18 years old
III	A purposive sample of households drawn from lists of names of individual migrant children (often called ‘trafficked children’) aged between 10 and 18 years old furnished by NGOs working with the authorities who had repatriated them. These lists comprised the child’s name, parents’ names and village of origin.
IV	A snowball sample of names of migrants aged between 10 and 18 and their households furnished by interviewees who were able to recount hardship stories of their friends and peers in the village

As the study was interested in identifying those who had suffered some form of hardship associated with their labour migration, a special effort was made to find such children. Given that the villages had been pre-selected on the basis that they had suffered high rates of reportedly problematic international migration or trafficking a random sample of households containing 10-18 year olds comprised the first stage of the sampling. Subsequently, Table 3 shows that an additional purposive sample was identified of households who were known, according to village chiefs, elders (and sometimes to surveillance committee members), to contain young people who had experienced

³ The ‘*titre de voyage*’ was introduced in August 2001 as a measure to prevent trafficking. It is supposedly available from the commune and requires the signed permission of parents of children under 18 years old together with the specified destination of the child. However, we found that in September 2002 the forms were not available in any of the communes nor were migrant, their parents or community leaders aware they needed them. In fact, it is discussed below how the document would probably serve to increase the danger and clandestine nature of children’s travels as it was one more element that police officers could use to bribe children at border crossings.

exploitative or problematic migration. Thirdly, a purposive list of households potentially containing individuals for interview was drawn up from the lists furnished by local NGOs or by the local office of Social Development. These lists comprised the names of children who had been repatriated. It was assumed that their repatriation was related to having been trafficked as the titles of the lists were ‘Enfants trafiqués et rapatriés’ (‘trafficked and repatriated children’). A small number of these children (around 5) were as, according to NGO workers who had tried to systematically follow them up, most others had left on migration again. Finally, a fourth sample was drawn from the names and contacts of children who were interviewed. They were asked if they had heard of anyone in their village who had undergone a negative migration experience, had been trafficked or been exploited or harmed in anyway whilst working abroad. These children were then contacted and interviewed if their case was deemed pertinent or of particular interest.

Table 4: Categories of children interviewed during screening procedure

Category	
A	Child aged 10-13 who has been trafficked outside Mali
B	Child aged 10-13 who has emigrated outside of Mali without being trafficked
C	Child aged 10-13 who intends to emigrate outside of Mali for the first time this year
D	Child aged 10-13 who has never emigrated either inside our outside of Mali and who does not intend to do so this year
E	Child aged 14-18 who has been trafficked outside Mali
F	Child aged 14-18 who has emigrated outside of Mali without being trafficked
G	Child aged 14-18 who intends to emigrate outside of Mali for the first time this year
H	Child aged 14-18 who has never emigrated either inside our outside of Mali and who does not intend to do so this year
O	Child who has emigrated within but not outside of Mali (not group of interest for this study)

Once the household had been identified, a census was administered to the household head or to someone designated to respond. The census listed all members (including those present, absent or visiting) and collected additional information from the head for those aged 10-18. This pertained to their migration status and to other characteristics such as their educational and marital status. Subsequently, all those present aged 10-18 were screened separately by the interviewer in a private area and asked if they had ever migrated and what they intended to do after the coming harvest. According to their responses to the questions posed, Table 4 shows that children were divided into one of 8 categories (A-H) pertaining to their international migration status. An additional category of ‘O’ was adopted for those who had emigrated within Mali only. Each child’s category was written on the household form and a sub-sample was selected for interview

Crucially, the definition of trafficked children (categories A and E) was constructed according to criteria reflected in four questions asked during the screening of those who said they had already migrated abroad. These questions were based on the international

definitions of trafficking comprised in the Palermo protocol presented in Section 2.0 (the interview guide is included in the Annex).

Each migrant was asked:

- a) Did a third party receive money to facilitate your journey (in addition to the expenses incurred en route)
- b) Did a third party act as an intermediary between you and your employer?
- c) Did a third party receive money in exchange for your work or in exchange for rendering you to your employer?
- d) Were you ever deprived of freedom regularly by your employer or by those associated with him/her?

However, soon after the beginning of the study, it became clear that, as described above, in West Africa, intermediaries play an important role in the vast majority of social and economic negotiations. Thus, the simple presence or intervention of an intermediary is not an indication of trafficking - see questions a) b) and c). Trafficking is rather contingent on whether the intermediary intended to exploit the child which is extremely difficult to elicit. The overwhelming majority of children had been introduced to their employer by an intermediary and the latter may or may not have been compensated for this. Such introductions, with or without remuneration, are a normal part of economic and labour transactions and cannot be considered trafficking per se or even exploitation in this setting. Despite the fact that the Palermo protocol says that even an unpaid intermediary can be a trafficker, we found that, because a third party is nearly always involved in a migrant's journey or search for work, that this component of the definition was unworkable in the field.

We therefore considered that the role of the intermediary was significant if s/he had done more than simply introduce the person to their employer or initiate the salary discussions. Intermediaries who exhibited an obvious intent to exploit by, for example, taking salary from the child over and above that owed through the *arriver-payer* (pay on arrival) system, were considered as being potential traffickers. Similarly, employers who simply did not pay the child or remunerated him/her way below the market rate were also considered to be exploiting the migrant.

Thus, our operational definition in the field evolved to consider trafficking as a situation whereby the intermediary had taken more than his fair share⁴ for transporting or placing the child, where the child had been deprived of freedom, had not been paid at all or seriously underpaid. Interviewers probed children for descriptions of the exact role of and relationship with their intermediaries, the financial benefits the latter gained and the level of remuneration they received for their work. Knowing the local context and the usual rates of pay for the jobs migrants' undertook and the benefits the intermediaries could

⁴ An intermediary's 'fair share' is difficult to gauge in this setting but could range from 10,000-25,000 CFA for transporting and placing a child.

expect, the interviewers objectively decided upon the category into which the child fell. The following criteria were applied:

- Any child who was not paid at all for his work was considered trafficked.
- Any child who was deprived of freedom was considered trafficked.
- Any child whose intermediary took an excessive fee and rendered a child into a situation where he was paid irregularly was considered trafficked.
- Any child whose intermediary took the ‘normal’ fee or no fee and rendered a child into a situation where he was paid irregularly was not considered trafficked.

Whether the child went with or without parental consent or with or without the right documents had no bearing on the migration category into which s/he was placed. As well, it should be noted that all cases of migrant children were discussed with the study supervisors before gaining a final consensus on how to categorise the child.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is extremely difficult to elicit notions of intermediaries’ and employers’ motivations and intents from testimonies of such children who may not be aware that they were being exploited or who may not have been involved in discussions about their working conditions.

In all, 431 children aged 10-13 and 519 children aged 14-18 were screened making a total of 950. The number of children fulfilling the criteria as having been trafficked (categories A and E) was just four. All these individuals were interviewed. Among the others who were screened, a selection of interviewees were chosen purposively depending on their availability, on whether their story appeared typical or atypical (a selection of both were included). The final number interviewed (108), whose transcriptions form the basis of this report, is broken down in Table 5.

Table 5: Number of children interviewed in each migration category

	A		B		C		D		E		F		G		H	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Bankass	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	1	11	12	5	2	4	1
Kolondièba	0	0	0	1	3	3	1	3	2	0	20	4	9	10	6	4
Total	0		1		8		7		4		47		26		15	

The vast majority of migrants and future migrants identified by the screening were interviewed whilst among those in category D and H (into which most educated young people fell) a smaller proportion was selected. Again they were not selected randomly but rather purposively according to their apparent willingness to participate, or according to the originality, typicality or interest of their story.

Of the 47 older migrants interviewed, five had been repatriated by the authorities before they had made it over the Côte d'Ivoire border. Of those who had actually been on migration most had stayed for one or several years with the exception of one girl in Kolondièba who, like many of her peers, worked in commercial rice processing in Côte d'Ivoire during the school holidays. Only one child below aged 13 was found to have gone to Côte d'Ivoire and returned although eight children under age 13 intended to migrate there that year. It is probable that others of her age are away on labour migration but have not yet returned. Among the migrants who had worked abroad, the vast majority had worked in Côte d'Ivoire. However, one returned migrant from Bankass who was interviewed (and many of her peers who were not) had worked in Mecca, Saudi Arabia as a domestic servant. Two very young future migrants interviewed intended to go to the same destination. As their situation is somewhat specialised and substantially different from that of the other past and future migrants, their cases are dealt with separately in Section 25.0. Thus, all the migrants' testimonies presented elsewhere in the report pertain to movements between Mali and Côte d'Ivoire. It is emphasised that the study took place at the very beginning of the political tensions in Côte d'Ivoire and that this destination is probably currently less attractive to migrants during the current unrest.

In addition, a series of four focus groups were carried out in each region. These involved young men and women aged 10-13 and 14-18 and asked about their perceptions of migration, views about schooling and their material and professional aspirations. Focus groups tend to elicit normative views about issues in question and responses can be compared with those gained from individual in-depth interviews which tend provide more realistic accounts of young people's experiences. The focus groups are not analysed here but will rather form part of a training exercise with partner NGOs and institutions to enable them to learn about qualitative data analysis and to pursue themes of specific interest to them that emerge from the study.

A number of parents or guardians were interviewed individually. These comprised 12 mothers from Bankass, and 7 from Kolondièba and 5 fathers from Bankass together with 13 from Kolondièba. Again, the parents were chosen purposively to ensure a mix from each migration category. Seven community leaders in Kolondièba and 7 in Bankass were interviewed. These comprised individuals who had a strong social, religious or political role within their villages such as village chiefs and counsellors, imams, leaders of women's groups and teachers. Lastly, focus groups or interviews were held with transporters, law enforcement officers, local government and NGO representatives, and jurists.

All interviews and focus group discussions were tape recorded in Bamanan and transcribed in French. Analysis was done with the Ethnograph software using grounded theory approaches (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

It is worth noting that there are several potential biases related to the characteristics of the young people identified and those selected for interview. In general, young people who migrate during their adolescent years tend to spend many years at their destination, if it is

outside Mali, and do not return until their early 20s. It is thus possible that those we interviewed below aged 18 comprise a group that over-represent those who have experienced difficulties when abroad thus forcing them to return early. Thus, the accounts of hardship and exploitation often cited below may not be typical of more successful migrants who are able to spend a longer time in their destination. Alternatively, those who return apparently without having experienced much difficulty may also be atypical because young people who have endured exploitation or maltreatment may not have the resources to return home before the end of their teens. However, it is impossible to verify either of these hypotheses without further longitudinal research.

5.0 YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK IN THEIR HOME VILLAGES

5.1 Young people's unpaid work

As in most African settings, young children begin carrying out household and field labour at an early age. This enables them to become productive members of their household and also socialises them into an ideology of contributing to the common household good. All young people were asked about what unpaid work they carried out at home and what benefits they felt they obtained from this. Not surprisingly, girls' and boys' work was very different although there was little within-gender variation between Kolondièba and Bankass. Girls were occupied with household chores including cooking, cleaning and fetching water. In exchange, they received praise and Islamic blessings from their families and spoke of the satisfaction they felt having contributed to the well-being of their households.

I do my housework and I go and look for firewood. If I prepare food to eat, people won't be hungry. My family are overjoyed with my work.

FFILBAN7: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

I do household work like sweeping, washing pots and fetching water. Because of this work my parents are happy with me. I am aware of that from the praise that they give me. I know I have done a good job.

BFILKOL1: Female migrant, 10 years old, primary schooling, Kadiana
(Kolondièba)

In addition to agricultural work, boys (including those at school) carried out heavy manual labour and tended animals. Again, they apparently received great satisfaction from contributing to their households' economies.

The unpaid work that I do involves looking after the sheep, taking them to pasture with the cows, and doing agricultural work. This work can help to support the family and increase its well-being. My parents are happy if I carry out these tasks.

FGARKO19: Male migrant, 14 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I participate in the agricultural work by holding the bulls (that pull the ploughs) and by getting in the harvest of peanuts and cotton. Also I herd the bulls... I clean the park where the donkeys live. I do small errands for the household. I study as well.

Interviewer: What do your parents think of your work?

My parents are satisfied with my work and say that I work well.

DGARKOL1: Male non-migrant, 13 years old, primary schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Although they were not paid directly in exchange for their work, many received some financial recompense from their parents after the harvest or, in Kolondièba, after the sale of cotton.

I help in the fields, I do the cooking and the washing. My family appreciates my work. They give me blessings. After the sale of the agricultural produce, they give me money to buy clothes and for my other needs.

FFILBAN3: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

I card cotton for my mother, I do housework and fieldwork. My parents appreciate my work. They buy me clothes when there are festivals and after the harvest.

DFILBAN1: Female non-migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

I reapply mud to the (exterior of the) houses and I cultivate as well. My parents appreciate me a lot because if the houses are not redone during the dry season, rain comes in and it prevents everyone from sleeping.

The cultivation is for the family food. They give me presents, clothes for festivals and blessings.

HGARBAN3: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

Overall, it appeared that work was one of the principal ways in which children were valued and recognised by their families. Completion of household and agricultural tasks gave them a sense of pride, enhanced their self-esteem and was a major factor in forming their sense of self. Recognition of their economic role by their parents contributed to their perceptions that they were crucial to ensuring the financial and food security of their households. By natural extension then, it is likely that work outside the country is also closely related to young people's sense of identity and enables them to affirm themselves as productive individuals.

5.2 Young people's paid work

Most out-of-school children had a variety of economic activities that resulted in the majority having a degree of financial independence. The majority of commercial enterprise took place in the dry season (November to May), as young people were otherwise too busy during the cultivation period. Some were explicitly given money to start up commercial activities by their parents and others were able to save up small financial gifts or rewards to enable them to start trading. It was noticeable that many of the very young children who said they wanted to migrate in the future already undertook some remunerative activity.

I sell water on market days.

Interviewer: And what else?

Often I pound millet for people who give me money.

Interviewer: What do you do with this money?

I keep the money in a box and when I see that there is quite a bit I buy clothes and shoes with it.

CFILBAN2: Female future migrant, 11 years old, primary schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

Nevertheless, a small minority turned over all their takings to their parents. Girls (mainly those out-of-school) tended to sell food or juices or pound millet for other women but give the cash earned to their mothers. It is thus possible that the idea of working for little or no wages may be a concept to which some young people are socialised at an early age.

I sell flour made from beans that I fry into little balls. My mother takes all the money I earn from me.

CFILKOL3: Female future migrant, 12 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I sell cooked macaroni, gruel and chips made from corn flour. When I am really overworked I don't have time to make the gruel.

Interviewer: And what do you do with the money?

I give it all to my mother who then gives me some back.

Interviewer: And what do you do with the bit of money she gives you?

I buy items for my wedding trousseau. I am married but I have not got my trousseau together.

GFILKOL7: Female future migrant, 17 years old, married, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

In addition to enabling them to purchase items for their dowries, girls' takings were used to buy clothes or shoes or other items that may, in their view, serve to make them attractive to potential suitors or boyfriends who could, in turn, be a source of cash for further needs.

On market days I sell water. It is those with donkey carts who buy it for their traction animals.

Interviewer: What do you do with your money?

I buy clothes, shoes, moisturiser, lipstick, eyebrow pencils, henna and little things to eat.

Interviewer: When do you earn most money?

In the dry season I have better takings.

GFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

Others used their earnings to feed younger siblings so relieving their parents of this task.

I sell flour on market days. I saved up all the money that my parents gave me. By saving I was able to start selling flour. Everyday I sell 3kg of flour. I make a bit of money, CFA 500F per market day. With this money I buy clothes and snacks for my brothers and sisters.

GFILKOL2: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

Out-of-school boys who worked were engaged in petty commerce or in carrying out manual labour for remuneration.

Often I bring in wood from the bush that I sell.

Interviewer: What do you do with this money gained from selling wood?

I save some to buy clothes for myself and I give some to my father.

Interviewer: During what period do you earn most money with the wood?

During the rainy season the animals graze on the grass. In the dry season we cut the branches that I gather together to sell. So it is in the dry season that I earn most.

CGARKOL1: Male future migrant, 12 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

At the moment I am herding. I milk the animals and sell the milk. I sell it at CFA100 for one litre.

Interviewer: What do you do with the money?

I sort out all my small needs – (I buy) tea, things to eat when I go into the bush.

Interviewer: You don't give anything to your family?

No, I give them some milk.

GGARKOL2: Male future migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

I work as a porter, I transport people's luggage to Tengrela and elsewhere.

Interviewer: Who does the bike belong to?

It's mine.

Interviewer: How did you get it?

It was a present from my father.

Interviewer: When do you do this work as a porter?

I do it everyday but during the rainy season I just do it on Monday and Friday.

Interviewer: What do you do with the money earned?

I use it for all my little needs.

GGARKOL4: Male future migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Those who were studying were much less likely to have an economic activity because of time constraints. However, they also did not seem to have the same commercial skills as those who were not in school nor did they articulate the desire to acquire them. Greater awareness at an early age of the social and economic benefits of paid labour may explain why out-of-school youth are more ready and motivated to migrate.

People give me money – otherwise I don't do anything to earn money. I am a pupil.

DGARKOL1: Male non-migrant, 13 years old, primary schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Nevertheless, even those who were not in school and who did work were unable to earn enough for their upkeep in their village environments. The lack of opportunities and poor remittances meant that labour migration was often the only option for them to acquire the material possessions they aspired to.

I transport stones and sand (for construction) to earn money. With what I earn I can just about manage to buy clothes. But this work doesn't satisfy all my financial needs and that is why I want to go on labour migration.

CGARKOL7: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

6.0 YOUNG PEOPLE'S MATERIAL ASPIRATIONS

Each interviewee was asked what they wished for in terms of material possessions and how they intended to obtain them. Almost without exception, the female respondents said that they wished to assemble their dowries to enable them to get married. The peer pressure surrounding the composition of girls' wedding trousseaux and competition concerning the quality of items comprising it was immense, particularly amongst those who had not been to school. Girls appeared to be constantly trying to outdo each other in terms of amount and type of jewellery, clothes and, most importantly, kitchen utensils that they sought to accumulate. In most cases, a marriage is not celebrated unless the trousseau items are deemed sufficient. However, in some cases, a girl can be married but will feel very insecure in her marital household if she does not have the expected possessions. As will be shown below, one of the principal ways of accumulating the necessary items (both before and after marriage) is via labour migration. In turn, paradoxically, labour migration serves to dramatically increase peer pressure to acquire more and more sophisticated items originating abroad. A vicious cycle is set up in that migration effectively increases the exposure of young women to a variety of new objects which, in turn, become pre-requisites for an acceptable trousseau.

I want to have clothes and really nice bowls – things for my marriage. That would give me great pleasure. When my friends come to my house, they will see that I have an expensive trousseau and that I don't have to go and borrow things from other people.

FFILBAN3: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I want a marriage trousseau – that's what I want most. My marriage hasn't been celebrated yet. I have come here to help my parents-in-law who asked my parents to send me to them as a 'sikan' (a system by where an engaged woman is loaned to her future in-laws for labour purposes). My parents aren't ready to marry me off yet because I don't have a trousseau. A woman without a trousseau is humiliated – it is shameful! That's why I will go to Côte d'Ivoire after the harvest to get my trousseau.

GFILKOL5: Female future migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling Fakola, (Kolondièba)

Discussions with parents (see Section 27.0 below) reiterated that the cost and quality of trousseau items has increased markedly. As described, modernisation (including the advent of television) together with labour migration endow young people with aspirations to acquire more sophisticated and expensive products. In addition, the onus appears to fall increasingly on the individual girl to provide the items for her wedding rather than her receiving financial help from her family. A girl who did not marry with the required quality of trousseau items risked being shamed and her parents would be publicly exposed as being too poor to equip her properly.

I want to possess kitchen utensils and clothes.

Interviewer: Why do you want to possess these things given that you are married?

It is a really serious problem to get married without a trousseau because when you work you use other people's utensils and the day you damage them the other person will not be happy and they will complain. In addition, the people in the village will say that your mother was incapable of getting your trousseau together as were you. It shows up a family as being poor.

GFILKOL8: Female future migrant, 17 years old, married, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

If you don't have a trousseau, you are humiliated by your peers. Conceited people will tease you. They will say that your mother and father are poor.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Furthermore, in settings where many young women are going into polygamous marriages, the need to have one's own good quality kitchen utensils was paramount so as to not be humiliated by having to borrow from a co-wife or sister-in-law and increase the potential for family conflict.

I want to have money and women's things; bowls, calabashes, wax material, damask...I want to possess these things to be well dressed and so as I don't go to my husband's household without a trousseau. She who goes to her husband without a trousseau will be obliged to borrow kitchen utensils from other women. It's humiliating!

GFILKOL2: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

Young men, particularly those out of school, were also subjected to intense peer pressure to obtain material possessions such as motorbikes, pushbikes and radios. Such items represented success and gave a young man high status vis-à-vis his peers (both male and female). As was found for the girls, possessing these desired material items increased boys' marriage chances. In addition, they indicated that the young man in question was worldly and experienced and denoted that he had more than likely been on labour migration to Côte d'Ivoire - again, a huge status symbol.

I want to have a motorbike.

Interviewer: Why?

Because here you go and get the newly wedded girl on a motorbike. Someone who does not have a motorbike goes on foot. Also you take your girlfriend round on your motorbike. If you do not have a motorbike your girlfriend will become irritated.

FGARBA10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I want to have a radio as my friends who have been on labour migration all have radios. I want to go on labour migration and earn enough money to buy a radio-cassette player and then come back.

GGARKOL3: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

I want a bike because when you are going to the field you pass people on foot and people with donkey carts. You can travel with a bike as well. When you want to travel and you don't have a bike, you go and ask someone and usually he refuses (to give you it).

FGARKO17: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

In contrast to the girls, whose aspirations focussed on the accumulation of their dowries, and on what their parents could contribute, boys aspirations often related to what they could do for their parents. A considerable number said they wanted to set up specific businesses or agricultural enterprises to help contribute financially to their families' economies.

I want to get merchandise to be able to do business. I haven't got the kind of merchandise I would like to sell, because there are a lot of different types, such as sugar, tea, cigarettes, medicines. I want these things more than anything else because they are lucrative. If I do well, my whole family will benefit and this will give me pleasure.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

At the moment, I want to possess a plough and bulls to pull it. Seeing as my parents are poor, I want them to belong to the whole family. I want to do commercial activity for someone.... when I go on labour migration I will think seriously about work.

CGARKOL3: Male future migrant, 13 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

I want to have bulls (to pull ploughs). At the moment we only have one bull. If we could manage to have four that would help us work with a

cart and we could use it to transport wood. The bulls would let us stop cultivating with hoes and we could have a large field.

GGARBAN2: Male future migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

Others, particularly in Kolondièba, spoke of constructing houses for their parents to enhance their economic wellbeing. The felt need to construct concrete homes is probably an aspiration linked to migration to Côte d'Ivoire. Returned migrants recount what they have seen and create the desire to emulate it among their peers.

I want to get money to do commerce and to construct a beautiful house for my parents. If you see that we leave here to go and work elsewhere it is to get money to enable us to do this.

FGARKOL1: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

I want to construct a house in cement and to get a motorbike and a radio.

Interviewer: Why do you want to build a house?

I want to house my parents well- at the moment they are in a mud house.

Interviewer: How do you think you will get these things?

I want to learn to drive. That's how I got the idea to go to Côte d'Ivoire to get trained to do that.

FGARKO23: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

A small minority of non-schooled children, particularly girls, said that they would rely on their own commercial activity in the village to obtain what they wanted or use financial gifts from their parents.

After the sale of cotton, my parents will give me some money which I can use to buy the things I want.

DFILKOL3: Female non-migrant, 13 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

With my small business activities I am counting on getting my trousseau together. It will be completed by my mother who is the village midwife. She also sells peanuts.

HFILKOL3: Female non-migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

With the peanuts I get from my individual field I am counting on buying the motorbike. If the money from this year does not suffice, I will save it and redo my field next year. If the money from the two peanut harvests is not sufficient to cover the price of the motorbike, my father will contribute.

HGARKOL2: Male non-migrant, 14 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

7.0 PUPILS' VIEWS ON THE IMPACT OF SCHOOLING ON MIGRATION.

As articulated in the above testimonies, a major way of getting the desired material possessions or engaging in business opportunities was by going on labour migration to gain the necessary cash. Among those who had said in the screening that they did not intend to go on labour migration, nor had they ever done so, the majority were school pupils. This group said that their education would later endow them with a greater earning potential to enable them to get what they wanted. Their statements contrasted with those of past and future migrants (who had generally not been to school) who desired instant rather than long-term financial gain.

To obtain what I want I am going to study well in school, and go far in my studies to get a really well paid job,. Then I can buy my bike.

HGARKOL4: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

I want to study in school and get a good well-paid job to pay for whatever I want. I have no intention of going to work abroad. My parents are here.

DFILKOL4: Female non-migrant, 12 years old, primary schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

Interestingly, the majority of pupils said that they had not been approached by their uneducated peers with suggestions of going away on labour migration. This suggests that schooled and unschooled children move in quite different social circles and that future migrants would not generally consider asking school pupils to accompany them. However, in case they were asked to go many pupils had a number of arguments they put forward to justify their wanting to stay in the village. Most of these related to their perception of the importance of education and their wish to continue their schooling.

I would say to them that they have never been to school or they have abandoned school whereas I like school and I want to study as long as possible because that way my future will be promising.

HGARBAN3: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

To resist this pressure I would tell them that when I become an intellectual I won't be a "gawa" (idiot) like them.

Female non-migrant, 13 years old, primary schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

Educated non-migrants had a pride in their country and a vision that they could actively contribute to its development.

You have to stay close to your elderly parents to help them, you must continue your studies. If we study well we will become influential in our country. We will do things so that our brothers don't leave on labour migration. It is up to us to develop our village, but if we leave on labour migration the village will never develop. Our little brothers will then leave because there will be nothing to keep them here.

HGARKOL4: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Many pupils noted that schooling served to actively reduce the desire to go on labour migration. As described above, education created long-term ideals, an increased sense of influence and importance in the community and a perceived ability to increase future earning potential.

School decreases the level of migration by young people because we know that if we continue with our studies one day we will be very rich and if we have a good job we can employ those who don't go to school. We could earn a lot of money.

DFILKOL4: Female non-migrant, 12 years old, primary schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

For me going to school is better than going on labour migration because if you succeed in your studies you will earn more money than you could do by going on labour migration.

Interviewer: Do you discuss labour migration with the other pupils?

No we don't because it doesn't interest us because there are many difficulties (associated with it).

Interviewer: What sort of difficulties?

Bad treatment, non-payment of salary.

HGARKOL1: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

We say that if we end up studying in Bamako certain people can get jobs and even become bosses, others will become teachers, doctors, civil servants, project workers.

Interviewer: According to you, which is the most beneficial school or labour migration?

For me it is school that is beneficial.

HGARKOL3: Male non-migrant, 15 years old, secondary schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

One pupil indicated that schoolteachers had discussed the benefits of education over labour migration in the classroom.

For those who go to school there is no question of going on labour migration. The pupils know the importance of school. It allows a young person to have a good job later, to be educated and to be able to make his way in life. The teachers are always telling us this and we see those who have succeeded at school going by in their fancy cars – whereas we have never seen anyone who went on labour migration with such nice things. With our teachers we discuss the advantages of school.

HGARBAN5: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Thus, although schooling and labour migration appear not to be completely mutually exclusive, there is some qualitative evidence that being in school lowers the immediate material aspirations of young people, enables them to plan for the long term instead of seeking immediate gratification and lessens peer pressure to some degree. However, these apparent trends would have to be confirmed with longitudinal survey data.

8.0 PERCEPTIONS OF THE RELATIVE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION

8.1 Experience of labour migration within Mali.

The vast majority of international migrants interviewed had not been on labour migration within Mali⁵. For those in the Sikasso region, logistically it was easier to move abroad rather than to work domestically. Given the proximity of Kolondièba to Côte d'Ivoire, and the difficulty with transport routes to Bamako, most young people headed directly over the border rather than going into the interior of the country.

I have never been to work in the interior of the country because here, everyone goes towards Côte d'Ivoire.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

I have never been to work within Mali. I have never even been to Kolondièba town.

FGARKOL2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

In Bankass, it appeared that the culture of migration was such that most migrants wanted to go directly abroad as wages were thought to be higher compared with those gained in the regional or national capitals.

I have been outside of Mali but not to the interior – I have never been there to work. When you go abroad, sure, it is hard, you are tired but the work we do there could not be done here. When you go abroad you can stay from January to May and return in June to cultivate whereas in Mali you must do two years (to have the same amount of money). That's why we don't like it.

FGARBAN5: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

⁵ This indicates that another potential bias of the study is that international migrants are greater risk-takers than those who prefer to stay in the country. Thus, it is likely that the majority of the migrant interviewees may have a different profile in terms of exposure to economic and sexual health risks than those who work solely in Mali (who were not interviewed for the purposes of this research). The fact that they prefer to start their migration experience abroad may reflect greater entrepreneurial or risk-taking characteristics which may differentiate them from migrants who either never migrate internationally or who choose to evolve stepwise from domestic to international destinations.

Of those few young women who had worked within Mali before seeking to go abroad, the majority had been domestic servants. This type of work is commonly arranged by an intermediary who may or may not be a relative and who is not necessarily exploitative. In fact, as described above and reiterated by testimonies presented below, nearly all work is arranged by someone who may or may not take a financial reward. This points to the fact that simply identifying the presence of an intermediary is not an appropriate indicator of trafficking in this context, as the majority of migrants may, at some point, have facilitated their search for work by remunerating a third party.

When I was in Bamako, I worked as a servant – I cooked, fetched water, did the washing up and other tasks around the house.

Interviewer: How did you find this work?

It was my cousin who found me the job.

FFILBAN6: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

The last time I worked within Mali, it was in Segou, I worked as a domestic servant. It was my older brother who found me the job.

FFILBAN7: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

I worked as a domestic servant. Before I arrived in Sikasso, someone told my grandmother that they needed a domestic servant. So as soon as I arrived, my grandmother called the woman who needed the maid and that is how I got the job.

FFILBAN8: Female migrant, 16 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

I did trading and cooking for my boss.

Interviewer: How did you get this work?

My boss had a sister in Kadiana and it was she who told me to go and work for her sister in Bougouni. When I said this to my parents they were in agreement and so I went.

GFILKO10: Female future migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

The small number of young men who had first gone to Bamako or elsewhere in Mali usually found work as manual labourers. Again, the role of intermediaries in helping the young men to find work within Mali was strongly emphasised.

I have worked only once in the interior of Mali – it was in Bamako. We have someone from our village in Bamako and we went to stay with him. We did manual labour for a mason who paid us CFA 2,000 per day. It was our host who found us the work. I continued to do this until I met someone from our village who was the same age as me. He is in Bamako with his whole family. He walks around selling plastic objects. He told me to start doing this. So I stopped doing the manual labour and started to sell plastic things.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou, (Bankass)

I worked in Bamako when I was about 15. I went to earn money to buy clothes. My arrival coincided with that of someone from my village. In Bamako I worked in Djicorini Para. I chopped wood for women. In the mornings I walked around with my axe and I chopped up wood for women for use in their households. I fixed the price that they paid me. (When I arrived) in Bamako, I found that my friends had really big axes and that they chopped wood. I said, “isn’t there any other work we can do?” and they replied that there were lots of different jobs, making bricks, extracting sand from the river (for construction) chopping wood and that you do whatever you want. So I bought an axe and I started chopping wood.

FGARBAN4: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I worked in Kolondièba as a labourer for a mason. It was my boss here that found me the work. A house was supposed to be constructed by a mason friend of my boss. I asked my boss to ask his friend to take me on as a labourer. He accepted and that is how I started to work. My boss didn’t gain any money from having helped me get this work.

FGARKO11: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

There was evidence of the movement of young people from both Bankass and Kolondièba to the rice fields of Niono and the active recruitment by intermediaries in their villages of workers for this sector.

I was in Niono. I went to stay with a relative. In the morning I went to the place where those who need people to work in the rice fields come and hire workers. That's how I got the job.

FGARKO10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kadiana)

There are people who come and seek workers from among us. Above all they come from Mopti. It is to go and harvest the rice in the region of Mopti like Diafarabe.

FGARBAN9: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

Last year, I did the rice and millet harvest in San.

Interviewer: How did you get the work at San?

In the morning, those who are seeking work stop at the roundabout in San and the employers come and get us there.

GGARBAN5: Male future migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

This larger scale recruitment by people unknown to the migrant may be more likely to result in exploitation (see below). However, it must still be recognised that culturally, virtually no social or economic transaction takes place without the presence of a third party and it is very difficult to determine who does and does not have the best interests of the migrant at heart.

8.2 Knowledge of problems encountered by young people going on labour migration within Mali.

At the time of the research, a story had appeared in one of the national papers about hundreds of young workers being harshly exploited in the rice fields of Niono (Dicko 2002 cited in Diallo 2003). Many appeared to have been given in good faith to a marabout (Islamic cleric) who had in turn used them to cultivate rice without paying them anything. We were interested to see if any of the children we interviewed had heard this story (which was picked up by national and international radio stations – see Diallo 2003) or had had similar experiences. None had (even those who had worked in the rice fields of Niono), but many gave their own examples of the maltreatment of child workers within other sectors in Mali.

Many of the girls recounted cases of beatings or non-payment of salaries experienced by those who had gone into towns to work as domestic servants. However, there was a sense that this suffering was an integral part of labour migration and simply had to be accepted as the financial benefits outweighed the potential problems.

I had a friend who went to Bamako and I asked her if she had suffered. She said yes because you don't get anything without difficulty.

Interviewer: What age was she?

Well I am older than she – she is around 11 or 12.

Interviewer: What was the problem?

She said that her boss accused her of prostituting herself – she accepted everything (the boss said) because she needed the money.

Interviewer: Doesn't this discourage you from going on labour migration?

Never! But I will go with that in mind.

Interviewer: Why?

Because I am set on getting my wedding trousseau.

CFILKOL3: Female future migrant, 12 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

When I was working (as a maid) in Sikasso one day a friend of mine came to see me. We were in the process of chatting and my employer said that we were talking about her. I said, "No, we're just talking". Another time, a different friend came, we chatted and the employer said "That's the same girl that came before isn't it?" I said "No" – but she beat me as she thought I had lied.

GFILBAN3: Female future migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

When I was in Bougouni, there was a girl from our village who was working there. It was she who told me that she was not free to go out, that her boss didn't buy clothes for her, that she was never full when she had finished eating and that she was accused of being a thief even though it was not true.

GFILKO10: Female future migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Likewise, many of the boys had stories of physical distress or non-payment of salaries.

One boy of my age group was a houseboy in Bamako. He was in charge of sweeping the compound and wiping down the tiles in the different

rooms. After that he collected the husks from the millet and took them to the animal park. He was paid CFA5000 per month. After two months he decided to leave because he had found a better job elsewhere. The (female) boss refused to pay his remaining two months' salary and even though we accompanied him, the boss refused to pay the second month (so he left still being owed one month's pay).

GGARBAN2: Male future migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

There was a young man from here who went to work in Kolondièba and the boss put iron chains on his legs as if he was crazy. His parents went to get him there. There was nothing wrong with him

Interviewer: How did you hear of this?

It was his mother who told me this story.

DFILBAN1: Female non-migrant, 13 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

Many of the respondents claimed that those who ran into difficulties did so because they had not had a relative around to advocate for them. The consensus was that if you had a relative to hand or another intermediary you could rely on, you were less likely to experience hardship. Thus, in many instances intermediaries may play a protective role for the young migrants.

I heard that there was a young man from Massakana who went to work within Mali and who suffered a lot and didn't bring back anything. He worked one year without being paid. Finally, it was his uncle who paid his transport costs to bring him home.

Interviewer: Has hearing this experience influenced your perception of labour migration?

This experience has not influenced my perception because when I go I will go to Côte d'Ivoire to my father who will find me work. If it doesn't work out, I will stay with him.

GFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

A girl from my age group went to work in Bamako. Her boss was really hard. If the girl was slow with her work the boss hit her. When the father of the girl went to get her, she said that the girl had to do two more months otherwise she would not pay her. The father took the girl

back to the village where she did nothing but cry. Afterwards, he went to get her salary.

Interviewer: Did this influence your perception of labour migration?
In spite of this, I would like to go on labour migration because this girl (had problems because she) was not staying with a relative. She was staying with someone she didn't know. I will go and stay with my maternal aunt.

GFILKOL9: Female future migrant, 18 years old, engaged, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

8.3 Knowledge of problems encountered by young people going on labour migration outside of Mali.

All those who intended to go on migration and those who had no intention of going were asked if they had heard of problems of young people being exploited or maltreated abroad. Many said they had heard or seen such stories on the radio or TV of such incidents in Côte d'Ivoire (see Diallo 2003 for a discussion of Malian media coverage of trafficking). However, most migrants appeared to interpret evidence in the media in an abstract way saying that these misfortunes occurred to the specific migrants in question and would not necessarily befall them. Images and stories of exploitation, as used by many NGOs, thus do not seem to be an effective means of discouraging migration per se as young people adopt a rather fatalistic approach regarding what might happen to them, regard such testimonies with detachment or, as described, see suffering as an unavoidable part of the migration experience. In addition, as will be shown below, the peer pressure to achieve their material aspirations is immense and provides enormous motivation which counters any feelings they may have about the potential dangers.

I saw on the TV that there were children aged between 8 and 15 who were sold to people in Côte d'Ivoire. They were maltreated, beaten and even killed if they tried to escape. They were not paid and they ate poorly. These children were used in the cocoa and coffee plantations. This experience has not affected my view of labour migration outside of Mali as I only heard it on the TV and none of my friends have been victims of this. I am not saying that it isn't true, but noone can escape what destiny has in store for them.

HGARBAN4: Male non-migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

I heard on the radio that children aged between 10 and 16 were being held as slaves on the plantations in Côte d'Ivoire. They are malnourished, maltreated and not paid.

Interviewer: Does this affect your perception of labour migration?

My perception has not changed - I will go there and put myself in God's hands.

GGARKOL3: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

I have heard that there are Ivorians that make children work as slaves and refuse to pay them.

Interviewer: Has this coloured your view about labour migration?

I don't take these experiences into account because I have never been there myself.

GGARKOL4: Male future migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

In general, the problems experienced by girls in urban Côte d'Ivoire appeared to be the same as those experienced by those in urban Mali. Sources of information were returned migrants who told of maltreatment and non-payment when they had worked as domestic servants in Abidjan. However, this did not appear to lessen the desire of future migrants to undertake the same work.

We had a female relative who went to work in Côte d'Ivoire. Her boss refused to pay her during nine months by pretending that she had stolen things. She was 15. She wrote to tell us this. She is still in Côte d'Ivoire but working for someone else – she's a maid and this is what she was doing when the boss refused to pay her.

HFILBAN1: Female non-migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

I have heard that in Côte d'Ivoire that certain bosses refuse to pay the salaries of young people and seek to create problems for them so that they leave.

Interviewer: Do you know of a concrete example?

When I was chatting to my Ivorian cousin, she told me that a girl aged between 12 and 14 had worked for many months for a woman. One fine day they created problems for her and chased her away without paying her. The girl was a domestic servant.

Interviewer: Where did this happen?

In Abidjan.

Interviewer: Has this changed your view of labour migration?

I tell myself that I could have a few problems there but nevertheless I am sticking to the idea of going to my aunt's.

GFILKOL8: Female future migrant, 17 years old, married, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

Male interviewees spoke of the potential difficulties male migrants may experience whilst carrying out labour on the cotton and cocoa plantations in Côte d'Ivoire and gave some examples that had occurred to people known to them.

I had a brother at Daloa who worked for 3 years with someone who was not paid his money. He was owed CFA 600,000. In addition, the guy counted on using this money to go to Italy. It was my own brother who told me this story. The person in question was 22 years old and worked in the cocoa plantations.

Interviewer: Do you know anyone else between 10 and 18 years old who has a similar story?

Someone who works for us told me that he worked for a Senufo man in Korhogo where he stayed for 3 years and the boss didn't pay him anything. He cultivated cotton for him.

Interviewer: How old was he?

He was 16.

FGARKO11: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

Some people who explained what had happened to them told me that the work was too hard for them but they were brave enough to be able to do it.

Interviewer: How old were they?

The oldest was 18 years.

Interviewer: Did this affect the way you look at labour migration?

I tell myself that the boss should pity the workers. You shouldn't make someone do a job that they are physically unsuited for.

GGARKOL8: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

I have learnt that the clearing of land really tires out young people.

Interviewer: Have you every heard that people are not paid for their work?

I have heard that people aren't paid but I could not give you a concrete example of this.

Interviewer: Has knowing this changed the way you look at labour migration?

No, it has not changed my wish to go on labour migration.

CGARKOL1: Male future migrant, 12 years old, no schooling,
Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

However, as demonstrated in the last quotation, the over-riding theme was that none of these apparent dangers, which they had heard about first hand or through the media, deterred many out-of-school youth from wanting to migrate themselves as the peer pressure to obtain material possessions was so great.

Interviewer: Have you heard of young people being exploited?

Yes, my brother knew of a case like that in Abidjan. He worked, he didn't eat until he was full and he didn't get enough to drink. And the boss refused to give him his money.

Interviewer: Did this bad experience negatively influence the way you view labour migration?

No, I am still set on going.

Interviewer: Why are you so set on going?

Because I need to get clothes and shoes and my wedding trousseau by whatever means.

CFILKOL3: Female future migrant, 12 years old, no schooling,
Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I have heard that certain young people become victims of theft and that the policemen hit others.

Interviewer: Do you know of a concrete example among your neighbours?

No I don't know of one.

Interviewer: In spite of all this, why do you still want to go to Abidjan?

All my friends have been to Abidjan and they are really well dressed on their return. Often I can't go out with them in public (here) because I don't have nice enough clothes.

GGARBAN5: Male future migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sondio,
(Bankass)

Yes, I saw a case where a young man came back here without salary because his boss did not want to pay him.

Interviewer: Has this changed your view of labour migration?

No, because next to these unhappy people are those who have bicycles, who listen to the radio and who are well dressed. So I am still going to go – it hasn't changed my point of view at all.

GGARKOL5: Male future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Again, the notion was expressed that one needed a relative or advocate around in Côte d'Ivoire to ensure that the working conditions and salary were acceptable. The presence of a friend or family members who could negotiate on behalf of the migrant was seen as crucial in terms of avoiding non-payment or exploitation.

I had a friend who worked in Abidjan. When it was time for her to leave, her boss refused to pay her. The neighbours, who were sorry for the girl, did everything and gave her transport money – otherwise the girl would have had nothing.

Interviewer: Has this influenced your view of labour migration?

Yes, it has made me realise that you must never go into a place where you don't know anyone. You must always go and find someone you know and get them to find you employment because you know that there will be someone supporting you and that the person (employer) won't do anything stupid.

GFILKO10: Female future migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

I heard of a case of a young person from Soroma who was exploited for three years at Tara. His employers made him work in their field and they didn't pay him. He did other work on the side that he sought out himself. People took him for someone weak (from work and hunger). This was told to me by someone from Tara. His story made me afraid because he didn't know enough people in Tara. Otherwise if you know a lot of people there, even if your employer refuses to pay you, your hosts will go and plead for you so that he pays up.

GGARKO11: Male future migrant, 12 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

After hearing about this (bad) experience, my perception is that you must not go on labour migration without the authorisation of your parents. You must be accompanied to a specific destination where there is a relative whom you can count on.

GFILKOL5: Female future migrant, 16 years old, engaged, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

8.4 Young people's comparison of working inside versus outside of Mali

Young people were asked to compare migration within and outside of Mali in terms of working condition and financial benefits. Those who had not been on migration were thus probably putting forward their perceptions based on their conversations with returned migrants. By contrast, those who had been on labour migration within the country or elsewhere were presumably drawing on their own experience. In general, there was an overwhelming feeling that wages were far higher in Côte d'Ivoire, and the choices as to what to buy with the cash earned so much greater that these opportunities over-rode any potential dangers or problems.

Apparently wages are better in Abidjan in comparison with Bamako.

Interviewer: What are the bad things associated with migration within Mali in comparison with migration to Côte d'Ivoire?

Here with business you can never have all that you want whereas in Côte d'Ivoire if your business works, you can buy everything you want.

GFILKOL7: Female future migrant, 17 years old, married, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

There is a lot of money in Abidjan. In one day you could earn CFA 4,000 or CFA 5,000. If you are a caretaker you can earn CFA 10,000 to CFA 15,000 per day.

GGARBAN5: Male future migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

For us here, you earn more money outside of Mali. The salaries are higher - I know because my peers have come back with things and then gone back again.

GGARKOL3: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

However, in addition to the non-payment and beatings in both Mali and Côte d'Ivoire described above, a commonly articulated complaint (that appears to be somewhat justified – see Section 21.1 below) was that the law enforcement authorities, particularly in Côte d'Ivoire (including gendarmes, policemen and customs officers) often took a lot of money from young Malian migrants because they did not have the correct identification papers – namely a 'carte d'identité' (identity card) or 'carte de séjour' (card giving right to stay in the country). Migrants, future migrants and non-migrants all appeared to be aware of this and gave consistent testimonies. For some, even if wages in

Côte d'Ivoire were higher, the fact that much of a migrant's money would be spent paying off the police and other authorities on the return journey because they did not have the necessary papers (or even in some cases if they did), meant that actually it was better to stay in Mali and earn less, but be able keep a higher proportion of it.

You can earn a lot in Côte d'Ivoire, but before arriving back in Mali it will all be lost.

Interviewer: Lost? How?

The authorities will take it all from you little by little. They will make you pay money at each checkpoint even if they find that you have the correct documents. You just have to be a foreigner in order to be held to ransom by the authorities.

FGARKOL7: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

It is better to work in Mali because the work is less tiring and you return with all your money. In Côte d'Ivoire there are more disadvantages because you are exposed to all kinds of risks. You are not in your home country and the police will take more than half your money from you.

DFILBAN1: Female non-migrant, 13 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

Outside of Mali it is more advantageous because the salaries are higher. In Côte d'Ivoire, you are always being harassed by the police and even if you have the documents you have to pay them money. In Mali, there are no such problems. Outside Mali you earn more money but there are more problems.

HGARBAN4: Male non-migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

The other main reason given that it was better to stay in Mali related to the fact that there was greater social support available. A number of interviewees reiterated that migrants abroad were often isolated and lacked friends and family members on whom they could rely if they got into trouble or if they were sick.

Those who go on labour migration abroad come back with nice things (their wedding trousseaux, money) but if they get into difficulties they have no one to help them because they are not in their home country.

HFILBAN1: Female non-migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

It is better to go on labour migration within Mali rather than outside it, because, in the first case, you are always feel at home, but you are always a stranger when you are abroad. The difficulties you could experience abroad are, amongst others, falling ill and you can't go and see your parents straight away to get them to look after you. Also, you spend ages without news of your parents, whereas if you are in Mali it is easy because you know more people.

CGARKOL2: Male future migrant, 13 years old, primary schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

Others noted that there was more violence in Côte d'Ivoire either related to the civil unrest that was beginning at the time of the study, or perpetrated by a criminal element. A frequently heard rumour is that those looking for gold and diamonds require the heads of young Malians to bury in the ground. This is said to somehow attract the precious metal or stones to them.

It is better to go on migration within Mali as there is no risk from the police if you don't have your documents, (there is no risk) of people robbing you en route or even from murderers.

HGARBAN3: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

There are disadvantages for those going to Côte d'Ivoire because of the war whereas where Mali is concerned, there is no war.

CFOLKOL2: Female future migrant, 12 years old, primary schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

The Bete ethnic group can even kill you for your money.

CGARKOL3: Male future migrant, 13 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

Apparently in Abidjan there are people who will cut your head off – whereas that doesn't happen in Mali. In Abidjan there are thieves.

GFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

As described above, one idea expressed consistently by many educated respondents was that they felt they had a duty to remain in Mali and to contribute to the development of their country. There was a strong feeling of pride in their national heritage which motivated them to stay.

It is school that has made us understand that we have an interest in staying and in building our country. Most pupils don't go on labour migration.

HGARBAN1: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

Working in Mali has more advantage – there is peace in Mali and if you work here, it is as if you are working for your village because your village is an element of Mali.

HGARBAN5: Male non-migrant, 17 years old, secondary schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

It is more advantageous to work in Mali as it is always better to build one's own country.

CGARKO13: Male future migrant, 13 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

Thus, it can be concluded that most international migrants in the study communities went directly from their villages to working in Côte d'Ivoire without experiencing labour migration within Mali first. They were drawn by the perceptions of better wages abroad and by the greater purchasing power that that brought. Many of the problems they experienced, particularly amongst girls, were common to both countries. These included beatings, accusations of prostitution and lying and, most frequently, non-payment of salaries. Physical problems associated with hard labour were most commonly experienced by boys in the plantations of Côte d'Ivoire rather than within Mali where such work was not generally available. However, despite these physical and economic difficulties associated with wage earning, compounded by the activities of the Ivorian police who would claim a significant proportion of the migrants' salaries in bribes, many

young people were still determined to work in Côte d'Ivoire because of the immense pressure to purchase material goods to give them status among their peers. Knowledge of severe difficulties often comprising exploitation or abuse did little to detract them from their goal as they decontextualised this information or regarded their situation fatalistically. Indeed, some felt that the whole migration experience necessarily invoked suffering. However, a message that was strongly articulated was that a migrant needed an advocate (preferably a relative) to bargain for them and to place them into a work setting where they would be paid regularly, and not be physically or psychologically exploited.

9.0 STORIES OF TRAFFICKED CHILDREN

The four children that could be considered as having been trafficked (see Table 5 above) recounted the following stories. Parts of their testimonies are given here in detail and verbatim so as to build an accurate picture of what happened to them. Further descriptions of their experiences appear in additional sections of the report below. However, it will also be shown that even those children who are not considered here as having been trafficked have often undergone extreme hardship and experienced similar problems to the four young migrants. This raises the need to look more globally at issues of child labour and exploitation rather than simply concentrating on notions of trafficking, which, if technical definitions are followed and operationalised, actually seems, in this setting, to apply to a very small number of children. By contrast, it will be shown below how measures taken to counter it seem to hamper the potentially lucrative migration of young people in well-developed networks who would be likely to be able to access important financial resources abroad.

Case 1: Trafficked girl, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (EFILBAN1)

A woman from Côte d'Ivoire came here and arranged with my aunt to take us to Côte d'Ivoire with the aim of finding us work. When we arrived in Bouake we learnt that the woman wanted to cut our heads off (to give to diamond/gold prospectors). We went to see the community of people from Diallassagou (who lived in Bouake). They got us together and repatriated us having made a judgement about the woman in question.

Interviewer: Tell me how they made this judgement.

Our community simply repatriated us saying that we didn't have any papers. Even when you travel with a chicken you have to have papers let alone when you travel with a human being!

Interviewer: Which town were you repatriated from?

From Bouake.

Interviewer: Did you know the woman who took you?

She was an Ivorian woman who told my maternal aunt that she needed a girl to sell iced water for her. My aunt picked me out for this job.

Interviewer: On leaving, you were how many girls?

We were three girls.

Interviewer: Who told you she would cut your heads off?

When we left here, we went to Bobo Dioulasso to continue on to Bouake and it was there that a man told us she would cut our heads off.

Interviewer: Did you know the man who gave you this information?

No, I didn't know him.

Interviewer: Were you free to move around?

We arrived at night and we slept at the woman's house. It was the next day when the woman went out that a man gave us this information. We went and found other Dogons who lived there.

Interviewer: Were you going to work for yourself or for the woman?

We were supposed to work for her.

Case 2 : Trafficked boy, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene. (EGARBAN1)

The last time I worked (in Côte d'Ivoire) I carried out the cotton harvest. I gained this work through an intermediary who came to see our marabout (Koranic teacher) who gave me to an employer so I could work for him. It was this marabout who sent me to work there and my salary was paid directly to him – I don't now how much it was. I spent 11 months with the same boss.

Interviewer: When you left the village, was this your destination? If yes why and if no, how come you ended up there?

When I left the village it was not my destination as I wanted to go and pursue my Koranic studies. I ended up there because of the intermediary who had approached our marabout and who then accompanied us to Kassere.

Interviewer: How did you pay your transport?

We didn't – it was the person who employed us who paid our transport once we arrived.

Interviewer: What did you do there (in Côte d'Ivoire)?

We did the cotton and maize harvest. The salary was CFA 60,000 but it was given to our marabout. That was the salary for 12 months' work...In the morning we went to the field to harvest the cotton and in the evening we drove home the herd of cows – during the day they were herded by someone younger than us. At night we did our Koranic studies and then we went to bed. I did the harvesting of the cotton because people told me to do it- I didn't have the choice....

To what degree was your family involved in your departure?

Malick our Koranic teacher, who lives in Sevare, told my father about our departure for Côte d'Ivoire. My father didn't know what we were going to do there but he accepted. We went using the 'arriver-payer' (pay on arrival) system. The man who we worked for later paid our fare but I don't know how much it was. We left our Koranic studies to go and make money in Côte d'Ivoire although it is true that the money never went into our pockets, but rather to our Koranic teacher in Sevare. However, it seemed to everyone else that we were receiving the money. The only benefit was that we received Islamic blessings from our Koranic teacher.

Case 3 : Trafficked boy, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (EGARKOL1)

We contacted a driver that we knew at Tengrela. We told him to take us to Sobre using the arriver-payer system and that we would pay him after having worked. He said that if he had to take us on credit, he would give us to an employer that he knew to be sure of getting his money. We accepted. He took us to Sobre and found us work. I don't know if the employer paid him this money that day, but we worked one month for him without a salary. We worked in a rice field from morning till noon and then from 14h to 16.30h.

Interviewer: Who negotiated your salary? Did you take part in the discussions?

It was the driver who negotiated our salary. We didn't participate in the discussions. It was after the conversation that the driver spoke to Broulaye, my friend who then told me (the outcome). We weren't paid each month. The driver and the employer decided that they would pay us at the time when we left.. We didn't even know how much we were supposed to be paid each month.

Interviewer: What were the difficulties that you encountered there?

We didn't receive all our salary. We were badly paid in relation to others who carried out the same work

Case 4 : Trafficked boy, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (EGARKOL2)

When I arrived I worked in the fields of one employer for three months but he did not pay me. Then I changed and went to a second employer. When I arrived at the bus station in Tengrela, I met a man and I told him of my intention to do 'arriver payer'. This man took me to a transporter who said he could take me. In addition, he said he was going to give me to an employer and the latter would reimburse him the transport fare straight away. Then I had to work to reimburse the employer his money. I didn't know him (the transporter). ... I stayed with the employer for three months and each time he said he was going to pay me but he never did.

Interviewer: Were you involved in the discussion about your salary?

I don't know how much the employer reimbursed the transporter for the salary. At no moment was I involved in the discussions. They simply said to me that I had to work 3 months to pay for the transport. At the end of the three months the employer sent me to another employer for whom I worked for 9 months. We agreed on a salary of CFA55000 for 9 months work (which I was paid).

The testimonies indicate that children in danger of being trafficked appear to often be very naive and sometimes rely on strangers to find them work. In Case 1, the child was able to be helped by compatriots from her village living in Bouake but the other three young migrants had little recourse to anyone who could negotiate in their favour or advocate for them. It is noticeable that parents and relatives in the village seem to do little to find out the exact nature of their children's work or destination or to advise them on how to avoid exploitation. Furthermore, clearly, some employers may use the *arriver-payer* system (see Section 13.3 below) through which a child ostensibly accepts to work for several months for free. Unscrupulous hirers may actually systematically only use

such children to fulfil their labour requirements and get rid of them before they have to pay them a ‘real’ salary. In Case 4, the employer probably had no intention of paying the child and transferred him to another plantation owner after three months, probably to replace him with another child engaged under the same circumstances who would also be subsequently cast out after a similar length of time. Importantly, it is noteworthy that, in some cases, such exploitation may not be apparent as Case 3 remarks that “it seemed to everyone else that we were receiving the money”. Thus, other migrant labourers and people they come into contact with may not be aware of the problem of non-payment of salaries. This raises the need for children to talk to each other about their hiring circumstances and for employers to be made to enforce the same terms and conditions for everyone they hire. However, it will be shown below that non-trafficked children often went through equally hard experiences calling into question the whole way in which child labour is viewed and used, both within and outside Mali.

10.0 DESTINATIONS AND OCCUPATIONS OF MIGRANTS

Tables 6 and 7 and Figure 1 show the reported last destination and occupation of all migrants interviewed.

Figure 1 shows the groups of villages in Kolondièba and Bankass and the variety of their destinations in Côte d’Ivoire. It shows very clearly how the majority of Kolondièba residents work in a number of dispersed locations in central Côte d’Ivoire whilst the majority of Bankass migrants head for Abidjan.

Table 6 indicates that most female migrants from both Bankass and Kolondieba were engaged in domestic service in Abidjan whilst a small minority were selling street snacks or working in restaurants (usually for other woman who were sometimes relatives). Some carried out both domestic service and their own commercial activity either concurrently or subsequently.

I was selling macaroni and meat to make some money for myself.

Interviewer: Why did you prefer to do business?

My older sister didn’t have anyone to help her and she asked me to come and help her with the housework and told me I could also go into business for myself. To help her I did the washing up and all the little errands for the household.

EFILBAN1: Female trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling,
Diallassagou (Bankass)

There (in Abidjan) I was a domestic servant. I did the washing and the cleaning and ironing...I prepared food for the children such as

vegetables - potatoes, carrots and such like. There, there is no work (available) other than domestic service.

FFILBAN1: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Table 6: Type of work gained by female migrants by village of origin during last migration

	No migrants	Location	Type of work
FEMALES			
Bankass			
Diallassagou	1	Abidjan	Selling street snacks
Sokoura	1	Mecca	Domestic service
	1	Abidjan	Domestic service
Nene	2	Abidjan	Domestic service
	2	Abidjan	Selling street snacks
Diallaye	1	Abidjan	Domestic service
Dimbal Haabe	2	Abidjan	Food preparation in restaurant
	1	Abidjan	Domestic service
TOTAL	11		
Kolondièba			
Fakola	1	Daloa	Domestic service
	1	Daukoro	Rice harvesting/processing
Zeguere	0	-	-
Kadiana	1	Bouake	Selling bowls
	1	Tengrela	Domestic service
Tiongui	1	Abidjan	Restaurant work
TOTAL	5		

Female migrants from Kolondièba were more likely to go to other towns in Côte d'Ivoire rather than Abidjan probably because they had family members for whom they could work or who could place them with employers. Girls from Kolondièba were less likely to go into domestic service. One explanation may be that the average income in the others towns was lower than that in Abidjan meaning that there were less households who could afford servants.

I sold bowls in Bouake. I did this because my aunt came to the village to get me.

BFILKOL1: Female migrant, 10 years old, primary schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Table 7: Type of work gained by male migrants by village of origin during last migration

	No migrants	Location	Type of work
MALES			
Bankass			
Diallassagou	1	Abidjan	Factory work
	2	Abidjan	Market porter
Sokoura	1	Abidjan	Cocoa processing
	1	Abidjan	Repairing fishing nets
Nene	1	Kassere	Cotton plantations
	1	Abidjan	Market porter
	1	Abidjan	Market porter
Diallaye	0	-	-
Dimbal Haabe	2	Abidjan	Market porter
	1	Abidjan	Houseboy
TOTAL	11		
Kolondièba			
Fakola	1	Bouafle	Cotton plantations
	1	Doubasso	Guiding animals for ploughing
	3	Abidjan	Charcoal manufacture
	1	Kouto	Agricultural work
	1	Debete	Shepherding
	1	Daloa	Cocoa plantations (harvest)
	1	Divo	Apprenticeship as a mechanic
Zeguere	1	Doubasso	Agricultural work
	1	Diamakane	Cutting of cotton stalks ('seko')
	1	Tania	Cotton plantations
Kadiana	1	Daloa	Cocoa plantations (harvest)
	2	Soubre	Cocoa plantations (land clearance)
	1	Yabouebo	Cocoa plantations (land clearance)
	1	Divo	Charcoal manufacture
	1	Dianra	Cashew plantations (land clearance)
	1	Daloa	Market gardening
	1	Soubre (Kaimou)	Pousse-pousse
	1	Daloa	Negotiating cocoa and coffee prices
	1	Dianra	Cocoa plantations (land clearance)
Tiongui	0	-	-
TOTAL	22		

Girls may have preferred to stay closer to the Malian border so they could return more quickly. A number of educated girls in Kolondièba had been on labour migration during the summer holidays and returned to school at the start of the autumn term. They went to Tengrela to process rice and appeared to successfully combine labour migration and schooling.

I worked in the rice field, and then gathered together the rice, threshed it and put it in a vehicle to transport it to the house. Then you spread it out on the ground so it dries and then you pound it...it was in September that I decided to come back.

Interviewer: Why?

Because that was when it was time to go back to school.

FFILKOL1: Female migrant, 18 years old, secondary schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I worked for a woman who sold rice. Sometimes she gave me my meals, other times I had to pay for them out of my salary.

Interviewer: How long did you spend with her?

One month

Interviewer: Why just one month?

Because it was too hard. I went to see my older sister who gave me to another woman as a babysitter. There I didn't do anything else except look after the baby. I stayed there until I came back. When I left she bought me clothes and bowls.

FFILKOL5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Tongui (Kolondièba)

Table 7 shows importantly, that although a lot of the attention to date has focussed upon the role of the cocoa plantations as being the main employers of exploited children, in fact, the testimonies indicated that considerable numbers worked outside the plantations (for example, in the docks, factories, or in urban markets). Secondly, those who did work on the plantations worked in variety of sectors such as cocoa, coffee and cashew and cotton.

Young male migrants from Kolondièba were engaged in a greater variety of activities than their counterparts from Bankass and seem more likely to work in rural areas. This did often involve labouring on plantations (of a variety of types), manufacturing charcoal or carrying out other forms of agricultural work or animal husbandry.

I worked in the coffee and cocoa plantations doing the maintenance and the harvest. It was an annual contract that was worth CFA 120,000. I spent one year doing maintenance (on the plantation) and three months doing the harvest.

FGARKOL3: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

As I did when I was in Bamako I made charcoal for my boss... I left (my village) with the intention of making charcoal. After chatting with people who had already gone there, I had names of some employers and knew how to contact them. My friends told me that making charcoal was lucrative. They knew I had done that in Bamako.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

By contrast, in Bankass, a greater proportion of the male migrants interviewed had been working in Abidjan where they had been market porters, involved in factory work or in the fishing industry.

At first I carried the bags for women who bought things in the market. Then I worked for a man who employed me to walk around selling stoves. As these were really heavy it made me ill and I told my boss I wanted to quit. He paid me CFA 700 a day. I saved CFA500 per day and used CFA200. Then I became a porter again. I earned more this way. If you transport bags with a cart you can earn CFA1000, or CFA1250. Then I got another job through a lady I encountered. She said, "Can you work?" and I said, "Yes – I am a Dogon from Mali". She employed me in a factory. It was shift work from 7-14h, 14-22h and 22-07 h.

FGARBAN1: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

I was unpicking the fishing nets that were in need of repair

Interviewer: Why did you prefer this kind of work?

I did it even though I didn't want to, as my preference was to work in the port with cement or working in the cocoa production factory. In the port, they put the cement into bags and in the factory they process the cocoa.

Interviewer: Why did you prefer this kind of work?

Because each week you earn CFA 12,000 or CFA 15,000.

Interviewer: And how much do you earn repairing fishing nets?

Four people can unpick a fishing net and earn CFA 10,000 or CFA 12,500 over 2 or 3 days. It is work that is done in groups.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

One noted importantly that the temporary and irregular duration of migrants' stays in the urban areas meant that jobs whereby they were paid weekly or daily were more suitable compared with jobs which paid them each month.

I carried people's bags in carts or carried people's merchandise on my head and followed them in order to sell it. I preferred to push a cart because I found that a lot of my compatriots were doing that and I followed in their footsteps. If you take work that is paid monthly and your parents sent a note saying you have to return immediately, if it is not the end of the month, it will be difficult to extricate yourself. But in this case, you are free and you can go back when you want.

MGARBAN5: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

However, as described above, Tables 6 and 7 may not represent real differences in destinations and occupations but rather a bias in the sample, in that only those who had been able to successfully return were available for interview. It is possible, for example, that greater numbers of young men aged 15-19 from Bankass head for the plantations but have not yet been able to make it back home before they reach age 20. If, however, the differences are real, they point to some fundamental variation in the migratory experience of young men from Bankass and Kolondièba in the sense that the former seem more likely to gain exposure to urban life in Abidjan. By contrast, those from Kolondièba appear to end up in the rural areas of Côte d'Ivoire which are probably fairly similar to the rural areas of Mali. These different experiences may have a differential impact on male migrants' behaviour and lifestyle upon their return to their villages.

10.1 Destinations of future migrants

Tables 8 and 9 show the reported destination for those who intended to go on labour migration for the first time.

Table 8 shows that some of those young women who had decided to migrate for the first time did not necessarily have a clear idea of their destination although they seemed to know the overall area to which they were headed. As found amongst actual migrants, the males from Bankass appeared to want to go to Abidjan whilst their counterparts from

Kolondièba intended to head for the plantations of the northern part of Côte d'Ivoire. Most had relatives or contacts in their given destinations.

My father told me to go to see my older brother in Côte d'Ivoire but he didn't give me the precise name of the town.

CGARKOL1: Male future migrant, 12 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

I want to go to Goita.

Interviewer: How did you hear of this place?

I have two brothers there, that's why I want to go there.

GARKOL2: Male future migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

Table 8: Destinations and type of work hoped for by future female migrants by village of origin

	No migrants	Location	Type of work
FEMALES			
Bankass			
Sokoura	2	Mecca	Domestic service
	1	Abidjan	Domestic service
Nene	1	Abidjan	Commerce (unspecified)
Diallaye	0	-	-
Dimbal Haabe	0	-	-
TOTAL	4		
Kolondièba			
Fakola	1	Abidjan	Domestic service
	1	Sangaly	Unspecified
	1	Sobret	Commerce (unspecified)
	1	Boundiali	Commerce (unspecified)
Zeguere	1	Côte d'Ivoire (unspecified)	Domestic service
	1	San Pedro	Unspecified
Kadiana	1	Dalena	Domestic service
	1	Djedjebou	Restaurant work
	1	Bouake	Unspecified
Tiongui	1	Robine	Domestic service
	1	Divo	Domestic service
	1	Côte d'Ivoire (unspecified)	Unspecified
	1	Daloa	Cultivate hot pepper
TOTAL	13		

After the war, I want to go to Abidjan.

Interviewer: Why do you want to go there?

Lots of boys and girls from our village have already been to Abidjan, I want to go and earn money in Abidjan.

GGARBAN5: Male future migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

Table 9: Destinations and type of work hoped for by future male migrants by village of origin

	No migrants	Location	Type of work
MALES			
<u>Bankass</u>			
Sokoura	1	Abidjan	Unspecified
	1	Côte d'Ivoire (unspecified)	Leatherwork
Nene	1	Biramakote	Commerce (unspecified)
Diallaye			
Dimbal Haabe	1	Abidjan	Pousse pousse
TOTAL	5		
<u>Kolondièba</u>			
Fakola	1	Ganhiwa	Cocoa plantations
	1	Tara	Peanut cultivation
	1	Kona	Commerce (unspecified)
Zeguere	0	-	-
	1	Tondjan (nr. Bouake)	Cashew plantations
	1	Bougnaly	Cocoa plantations (land clearance)
	1	Abidjan	Plantations (unspecified type) (land clearance)
	1	Saint Franc	Manufacture of bricks
	1	Sinfra	Plantations (unspecified type) (land clearance)
	1	Sombre	Plantations (unspecified type)
	1	Tengrela (then unspecified)	Cocoa plantations
Tiongui	1	Tengrela (then unspecified)	Agricultural work
	1	Goita	Plantations (unspecified type)
TOTAL	12		

Among girls, two very young interviewees were going to be taken to Mecca in Saudi Arabia where they would work in domestic service. This well-established migration network is discussed in detail below in Section 25.0. The two others interviewed from

Bankass intended to go to Abidjan also to be domestic servants. Interestingly, first time female migrants from Kolondièba were intending to go into domestic service outside of Abidjan in small towns dotted around the country. Many of them had relatives in these areas. Returning to Table 6, their desired destinations follow the pattern of the actual places of work of returned migrants – that is to say, in small towns outside of Abidjan although the actual migrants tended to have engaged in commerce rather than domestic service.

After the harvest I want to go to Boundiali. I want to go to my aunt's so that she can help me get work. That will enable me to get my wedding trousseau together. Also when I return my aunt will give me presents.

GFILKOL8: Female future migrant, 17 years old, married, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

I want to go to Robinet which is in Côte d'Ivoire but I am not in the habit of going there. I have relatives in a village round there.

CFILKOL2: Female future migrant, 12 years old, primary schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

Others had no clear idea of where they were heading.

After the harvest I want to go to Côte d'Ivoire but I don't know where exactly as I don't know anything about the country as I have not chatted to anyone. I am going without a precise goal.

GFILKOL6: Female future migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

After the harvest I want to go on labour migration to Sangaly. I don't know which country this village belongs to. I know it is north of here. I have never been there and I don't know if it is a Malian village, Ivorian, Ghanaian or what. I have a relative there and after the harvest I am going to see them.

GFILKOL5: Female future migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

First-time migrants were asked about what work they intended to carry out abroad. In general, most of them did not have a clear idea about the exact nature of their work although most said they would rely on the advice and contracts of friends and relatives in their destinations. Most girls said that they would carry out some kind of domestic

service because they knew how to do it and, for some, it was perceived as being safer than work in restaurants or markets.

I would prefer to work as a housemaid in Abidjan.

Interviewer: Why do you prefer this work?

Because I prefer to work in someone's home to escape the policemen and the people who will cut your head off.

GFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

There I will get whatever work I can, but I would like to be a maid because it is women's work and because I already know how to do it because I do it every day for my parents.

GFILKOL2: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

I would like to do little jobs like fetching water, pounding millet, sweeping the inside of the house and I would be paid monthly.

Interviewer: Why do you want to go and do domestic service there?

I would like to do that because I am already used to doing it for my family.

CFILKOL2: Female future migrant, 12 years old, primary schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

Boys were less sure of the detailed nature of their future occupations but, as with the actual migrants, most of those from Bankass wanted to engage in portering or commercial activities in Abidjan, whilst those from Kolondièba want to go to the plantations in the centre of the country. The former expected to be orientated to work opportunities by contacts they had in their destinations or had already been told of possibilities by friends and family members.

The son of my older brother is going to study in Kadiana. My father says to go and help my brother in the cocoa plantations as (if this person leaves) he won't have any labour.

CGARKOL1: Male future migrant, 12 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

I want to go to Abidjan to pull carts – that is to say work as a pousse-pousse. I would transport people's parcels in the pousse-pousse because people say that it is the kind of work with which you can earn money easily. A few of my friends went there and said this.

GGARBAN4: Male future migrant, 18 years old, secondary schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

I want to go and clear plantations there. I prefer this work as you earn money quicker than through other types of work. That is to say, it is the kind of work you get immediately whereas for other kinds you spend time looking.

GGARKOL3: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

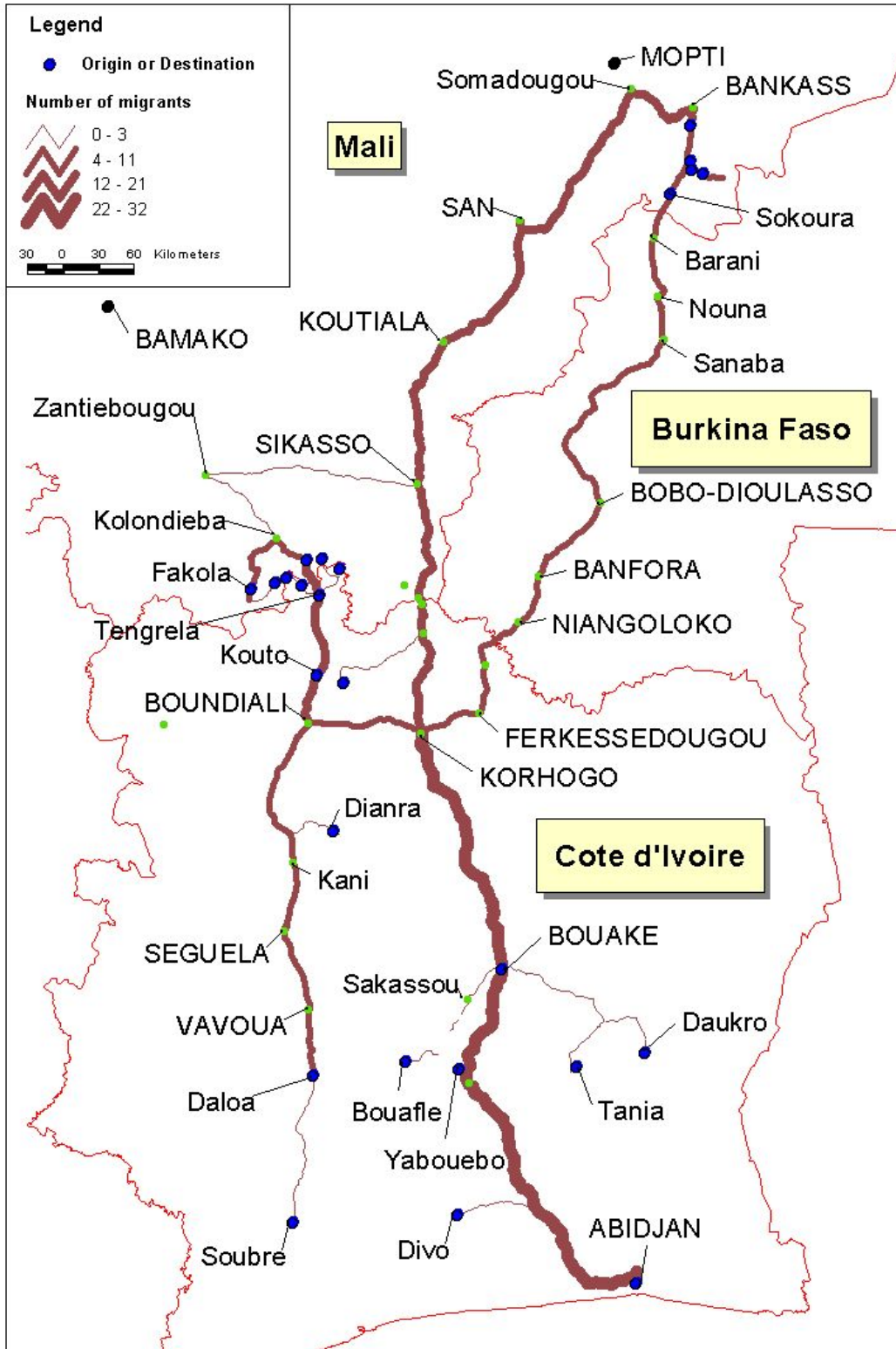
11.0 ROUTES TAKEN BY MIGRANTS

Figure 2 shows the main axes of transport use by the migrants with the thickness of the lines denoting the numbers of migrants travelling on specific routes. It indicates that those leaving Bankass took two main routes to reach Abidjan. A slightly higher number went through the following towns: Bankass, Somadougou, San, Koutiala, Sikasso, Zegoua (not marked), Korhogo, Bouake, Yamoussoukoro (not marked) Abidjan. However, a significant proportion went through Burkina Faso, crossing the border near Ouenkoro (not marked) and then continuing on via Nouna, Bobo Dioulasso, Banfora, Ferkessedougou before joining the main route at Bouake to descend to the Ivorian capital.

From Kolondièba, most migrants crossed to Tengrela and then went on to Boundiali either continuing straight down to the plantations of Daloa or heading to Korhogo and then descending to the cocoa production areas around Bouake and sometimes going on to Bouafle, Daukro, Divo, etc. As described, unlike their peers from Bankass, most did not go as far as Abidjan but preferred to stay in the rural areas where they could do agricultural work.

Thus, the main hubs or crossroads that migrants are likely to pass through are Tengrela and Boundiali (for those from Kolondièba) and San, Koutiala and Zegoua for those from Bankass. Both sets of migrants seem to pass through Korhogo and Bouake. If migration in 2003-4 picks up again (if the current difficulties in Côte d'Ivoire resolve themselves), it may be worth setting up awareness-raising or advocacy systems for migrants passing through these towns. In the mean time, it is likely that Bankass migrants may increase their use of routes to and through Burkina as they may no longer continue to go to Côte d'Ivoire. In this case, resource centres or structures, perhaps co-ordinated by 'ressortissants' (native born people) from some of the Dogon villages, could be set up in

Figure 2 : Routes taken by migrants



Nouna, Bobo Dioulasso and Banfora to make sure that migrants' journeys are as safe as possible. If the current unrest continues, migrants from Kolondièba are likely to go just over the border into Côte d'Ivoire rather than descending into the interior. In this case, structures could be established at Tengrela, as the transport station seems to be one of the main hubs through which migrants are directed to work both in the town and beyond. If Kolondièba migrants decide that going to Côte d'Ivoire is too dangerous, they may turn towards the interior of Mali and head for Bamako or Sikasso, in which case many of the 'resortissants' from their villages in both cities could possibly be mobilised to provide advocacy and protection services for them.

12.0 THE FAMILY CONTEXT OF MIGRATION

Given that many of the villages were chosen because they were known to be sources of children who had apparently been trafficked, we expected that many of the migrant children would have heard of their work opportunities through intermediaries who had come to recruit young workers. However, this appeared only to be the case for young men who went to do agricultural work on Senufo farms over the Ivorian border. Often farmers would come to the villages of Kolondièba looking for young boys to lead the oxen while they ploughed. These men usually negotiated the boys' salaries directly with their families. The rest used intermediaries they met en route or at their destination.

I have an uncle who knows the Senufo – and this person needed someone to work for him, so he came here to the village to get me. My father was in agreement and told me to go with him. I led the bulls who pull the plough.

FGARKO17: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

Most young people had heard of work possibilities through returned migrants (usually relatives) who had already been in Côte d'Ivoire, or via family members who lived there who had requested help or who knew of opportunities.

It was my aunt who came to get me – she told me it was very worthwhile to go and work in Bouake because there you can sell bowls and other beautiful things. She said that if I go and sell bowls, that I could (earn enough to have) a small bike.

BFILKOL1: Female migrant, 10 years old, primary schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

It is Tietoroba – a young man from Kadiana who is currently in Soubre who told me of this place. He said that if you want to earn a lot of money you should go and do machete work (plantation clearing) in Soubre. Other young people from here have been to do this work and they spoke to me about it. They all said they did machete work. No stranger came and talked to me about it. Therefore I decided to go to Soubre myself.

EGARKOL1: Male trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Those who have been to Abidjan tell us during our chats that in Abidjan you can earn a lot of money. They say that Abidjan is pretty, and that in Abidjan you can earn a lot of money quickly.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou, (Bankass)

Only in a small number of cases were the migrants accompanied by someone who was able to physically render them to an employer. Again, the person accompanying them was usually a family member or someone with whom they had a connection or whom they had met once they arrived in Côte d'Ivoire.

It was someone I knew from the same village who had lived in Abidjan a long time who gave me information about this work in Yopougon. He gave me this information when I was already in Abidjan. It was he who introduced me to my boss who took me on as a manual labourer. I didn't give him a penny for this.

FGARBAN4: Male migrant, 17 years old, engaged, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

I decided that after the harvest I would go to Abidjan. Before I left I didn't know anyone who had worked in the cocoa plantations. When I arrived in Macory I found the older brother of my friend who had already done this kind of work. He chatted with me and I told him that if I could earn money that way I was ready to do it. He said "No problem" and he helped me find work. I greatly benefited from the work.

FGARBA12: Male migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Soukoura (Bankass)

Occasionally, relatives residing in Côte d'Ivoire would send letters informing potential migrants of job opportunities or migrants would have relatives in positions where they could employ them. Sometimes migrants already employed in one sector would find work in another via a relative or contact who was able to hire them in another.

When my brother came back to the village he said I should join him there. When he went back again he sent a letter telling me to join him. But before I went I didn't know what I was going to work as. When I arrived he found me a job.

FGARBAN7: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

The people in our village who went to Divo came and told me that my older brother is one of the bosses in the charcoal making sector and that he employs labourers to chop the wood When the time came when I needed clothes and a radio, I decided to go there.

Interviewer: Who else told you about opportunities in Divo?

A man from Kadiana who is in the same age group as my older brother in Divo (mentioned it) - everyone who has been to Divo has told me about it. When I went to work in the rice field in Tengrela, people spoke of my older brother and his work in the charcoal sector. People from Tengrela also went to Divo to make charcoal.

FGARKO14: Male migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

12.1 Involvement of family in decision to migrate

In Bankass the majority of girls left secretly on migration fleeing, often at night, without informing their parents. Similarly, in Kolondièba the majority of boys fled without parental consent as they thought they would be refused permission by their parents if they asked them.

When I left I did not inform my parents because if I had told them they would not have accepted. I left at the beginning of the rainy season at around 10am when everyone was occupied with their business.

EGARKO12: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I fled. My parents were not aware (that I intended to leave).

Interviewer: How did you leave?

After she had sold her peanuts, my mother had given me some money to start trading, because she did not want me to go on labour migration. She gave me CFA 12,000 so that I could buy some clothes. It was with this money that I left.

FFILBA12: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Diallaye (Bankass)

I did not inform my parents of my trip because they wouldn't have accepted. I have friends here who own bicycles and my parents won't give me one – so why stay? I had a bit of money on me as I sold cigarettes.

FGARKO10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

By contrast, boys in Bankass and girls in Kolondièba seemed to leave with the knowledge and consent of their parents even if this was not easy to obtain at first.

At the beginning my parents weren't happy about my leaving but I told them that I couldn't stay here like this and watch them suffer. All my peers had gone and I had to go to. Then they accepted and they gave me my transport money and blessings to make my stay (abroad) easier.

FGARBA10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I told my parents I was going to look for money in Abidjan. They gave me blessings, my father gave me my transport money and my mother gave me some dried couscous. They helped me because if I was lucky I would come back with some money to help them.

FGARBAN4: Male migrant, 17 years old, engaged, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

My parents were aware of my departure. My uncles had told them about it. They gave me blessings and gave me advice “ be careful, be polite, you are going there in order to earn money, do your work properly, respect your bosses”. My mother gave me CFA500.

FFILKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

A number of female migrants had to get the permission of their fiancés or boyfriends in order to travel. Others fled without telling their future spouses or partners as they thought they would not approve.

All my family was aware (I was leaving). However, I did hide the fact from my fiancé (that I was leaving). I did not want to be married without a wedding trousseau, because otherwise the wedding does not have any meaning.

FFILBAN8: Female migrant, 16 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

When I left I didn't tell my parents or my fiancé because they would never have accepted - given the fact I was engaged.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Some migrants got permission to go to Bamako but then subsequently continued on to Côte d'Ivoire. They knew that their parents would approve of their going to the capital but no further.

(The first time I left) it was from Bamako that I went to Abidjan. When I left here I told my parents I was going to Bamako to work. I didn't talk to them about Abidjan but I went to Bamako with the idea in mind to earn money for my ticket and continue on to Abidjan.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Kolondièba)

When I left the village I just told them I was going to Bamako and that is what they blessed me to go and do. After two months we asked our cousin in Bamako to pay for our ticket to go to Abidjan., Then we went there.

Interviewer: Why did not you want to inform your parents about your departure for Abidjan?

They would have said that Abidjan was too far and they would not have accepted. But from the moment we left the village we intended to go to Abidjan.

FFILBAN6: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

In many cases, parents gave consent because they realised that they could not afford the material items asked for by their offspring. In particular, they recognised that girls had to leave in order to be able to put together an acceptable wedding trousseau.

I didn't hide to go – my parents were aware of my departure. I asked their permission and they accepted. They gave me blessings. They let me go because they were not in a position to pay for my wedding trousseau –that is why I left.

FFILBAN7: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

My family gave me my transport money and were aware of my departure. My parents accepted that I wanted to go as all my friends had been and came back with the kind of things that I wanted. Neither my mother nor my father were in a position to give me (these things I wanted). This is why I went.

FFILBAN9: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

In some cases, mothers, in particular, paid their children's fares possibly because they hoped for financial support from their children upon their return. In other cases, children who felt that their mothers were discriminated against in their families were motivated to migrate to better secure the latter's economic position in their households.

When I went the last time I told my relatives but my father and my brother were not in agreement.

Interviewer: Why did they refuse?

They said that women are not suited for labour migration.

Interviewer: Did your mother do anything to help you leave?

It was my mother who gave me my bus fare.

EFILBAN1; Female trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagoul (Bankass)

My parents were not aware of my departure. My cousins were really against the idea. My mother and I – we are poor. My cousins lacked respect for my mother. They are the children of my father's older brother. I am the only son of my father and my mother. My father is dead. I had had enough of seeing my mother not being able to have

everything she wanted. That is why I decide to leave behind everyone's back.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Family conflict of other types also seemed to be the factor motivating some young people to leave clandestinely.

My parents weren't aware of my departure. I was really fed up in my family, not because of the work I had to do but because my father kept shouting at me and insulting me every time I had a row with my younger brother. One night he asked me to shell peanuts. My shoes were broken and I wanted to repair them first as it is easier to do this during the day rather than at night. I was in the process of repairing my shoes when my mother came and said that my father wanted me to shell the peanuts and that I had to stop doing this work to repair my shoe and it would have been better if I had never been born! That same night I fled as my family slept.

FGARKOL7: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

13.0 MIGRANTS' JOURNEYS ABROAD

13.1 Payment of migrants' transportation

Approximately one quarter of migrants, mostly from Bankass, were able to pay for their transportation themselves. Many did this by saving up cash from their commercial activities in their villages of origin.

I put aside millet that I had been given for helping other people in their fields. I therefore sold this millet and gave the money to my brothers (who took me) for my transportation. They too are young people from this village – we are all relatives.

FFILBAN 3: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I paid for my own transport as I worked for a blacksmith and I was able to save as I knew I wanted to travel.

Fgarko11: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Table 10: Payment of transport for last labour migration

	Girls		Boys		Total
	Bankass	Kolondièba	Bankass	Kolondièba	
Self paid	4	0	8	3	15
Relative paid					
Mother	2	0	1	1	4
Father	2	2	1	3	8
Uncle	0	1	0	1	2
Aunt	0	1	0	0	1
Brother	1	1	0	0	1
Sister	0	0	1	0	1
Intermediary	1	0	0	1	2
Arriver-payer					
Employer pays	1	0	2	7	10
Other pays	2	0	0	0	2
On foot	0	1	0	3	4
Free	0	0	0	2	2
TOTAL	12	6	13	21	52

Notably, a greater proportion of boys rather than girls were able to pay their own way. It seems from the evidence presented in Section 5.2 above that a higher percentage of boys were able to save the cash that they earned whilst girls were often obliged to give their profits to their mothers or to invest them directly in items for their wedding trousseau. In addition, many boys had often already undertaken labour migration within Mali and had been able to save a little money this way.

I had money with me and I paid my ticket Bamako-Abidjan. I had earned money in Bamako by doing labouring and by selling plastic items.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Kolondièba)

I had money. I had come from Niono where I earned a bit of money. I also sold cigarettes in my village. I had thus economised a bit of money that I could use.

FGARKO10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Certain migrants even helped each other out with transport costs and reimbursed each other once they started working in Côte d'Ivoire.

I left here with CFA 3,500 in my pocket that I gained by cultivating for others. When I had finished working in my parents' fields I worked for those who needed agricultural labour. That's how I got my transport costs. I even paid for my friend's transport. He reimbursed me several months after he had started working in Abidjan.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

However Table 10 also shows that around one quarter of migrants had their transport costs paid for them by their parents. In many cases, sending a child on labour migration was considered an integral part of a family's livelihood strategy and parents were prepared to offset the initial costs themselves.

My father gave me CFA 8,000 as my transport costs – I gave this money to the driver.

FGARKO22: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

My father gave me my transport costs – I didn't steal the money! (laughs)

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

It is noticeable that, in several cases, migrants' transport costs were paid for by their mothers. This is likely to be strongly related to family structure, and in particular, to the dynamics of polygamous households where certain women may lack financial or social resources. They may seek to counter this perceived discrimination within their marital families by sending their children on labour migration in order to maximise their economic opportunities and networks. As shown in Section 12.1 above, migrants' mothers' supported their children leaving to work abroad in the hope that they can access resources via their offspring that are denied them by their husbands and other family members.

It was my mother who gave me CFA 27,500 as my transport costs. When I got to Abidjan, there was just CFA 3,250 left.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

A significant proportion of migrants from Kolondièba did not have to pay transport costs as they went either by foot or by bicycle to Tengrela just across the border in Côte d'Ivoire. Others were taken by those who eventually employed them.

I didn't have any transport costs. I made the whole trip on foot.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

We didn't have any transport costs as we went from Zeguere to Tengrela on foot and then from Tamia our boss came to get us on a motorbike.

FGARKOL7: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

13.2 Guidance for migrants en route

Contrary to expectations, in many cases, the young migrants were able to make their own way to their destinations often in the company of other young migrants from their villages some of whom had been before and were able to guide them.

We were three people from the same village. Among us there was someone who already knew the route because it was not the first time he had been.

Interviewer: Did you give him something for showing you the route and taking you to your landlord?

No, we didn't give him anything. He is our older brother.

FGARBAN8: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diarrassagou (Bankass)

Others were accompanied by older migrants from their villages who apparently looked after them for no recompense.

We went with an old woman from our village. She knows my relatives in Abidjan and she looked after us on the way. She supervised us and led me to my host family.

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

My uncle looked after us until we got to our destination. He bought me things to eat and drink. Certain other people who were sitting next to us in the bus were nice enough to offer us snacks along the way.

FFIKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

A small minority relied on the kindness of strangers for help with paying their bus fares and food along the way. Luckily, they were assisted in a positive manner, but the fact that many young migrants find themselves in this position in the first place highlights their vulnerability.

On the way someone I didn't know really helped us out. He topped up the amount of money we needed for our transport because at Yamoussoukoro we didn't have any money left after the police officers went through our papers (and bribed us). They made us get out of the car and we hadn't got any money to pay for the rest of the journey. At the checkpoint we were noticed by someone we didn't know. He asked us what had happened and we explained. He gave us CFA 2,500 as an act of charity.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diarrassagou (Bankass)

At Tengrela, a woman called Minata paid my transport (CFA 5,500) because she heard that I was travelling by ‘arriver-payer’ (pay on arrival).

Interviewer: Why did she pay your transport costs?

She said she was a mother and a mother cannot be indifferent when a child does not have any money. When they made me get off (to repatriate me⁶) at Kouto, she gave me another CFA 1,000 and some advice.

Interviewer: Did the driver give you back your bus fare?

No, I was not reimbursed. Minata, who helped me, was going to buy materials in Abidjan.

Interviewer: Did you know her?

No, I didn’t know her.

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

13.3 The ‘arriver-payer’ (pay on arrival) system

Table 10 shows that 12 migrants travelled using the ‘arriver-payer’ (pay on arrival) system whereby they paid no travel costs up-front. However, under such a system, the driver often places them with an employer who reimburses him their transport costs. This migrant’s first earnings are subsequently retained by the employer as payment for their ticket. Migrants who travelled using ‘arriver-payer’ were often charged substantially more for the journey than those who could pay before they left. In addition, they could be potentially exploited by both the driver and the employer, who may not involve them in any negotiations about their salary or about the type of work they have to undertake once they arrive at their destination. The three boys who are considered here as having been trafficked had used the *arriver-payer* system (See Section 9.0 above).

Others using ‘arriver-payer’ counted on relatives in their destination to pay their fare for them once they arrived and were thus able to avoid being placed in employment by the driver.

I managed to steal bit of money from my father and mother. With this money I was able to pay a bit of the transport costs. The rest of the transport was paid by my older brother when I arrived. When I started working I reimbursed my older brother.

Interviewer: How much did you pay with the money you stole and how much did your older brother contribute?

I paid CFA 5,000 and my brother paid about CFA 20,000.

FFILBAN5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

⁶ Repatriations are discussed below in section in Section 28.0.

I left using arriver-payer. Once we had arrived in Abidjan, my aunt paid my transport costs...my aunt paid CFA 16,500. When I started to work I reimbursed her.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

However, although the *arriver-payer* system is certainly potentially exploitative, it should also be recognised that many migrants used it without any apparent difficulty. As described, of the 12 migrants who used it, three could be considered to have been trafficked as a result of travelling in this manner and two had the fare paid by relatives. The remaining 7 did not appear to have any problem and accepted, and indeed negotiated directly with their employer that the first month or months of salary would serve to pay off their bus fare.

Arriver-payer was particularly useful for clandestine migrants whose parents were unaware of their impending trip and could not therefore contribute transport costs. Although they had to reimburse the price of their ticket costs, they were able to negotiate their salary and were apparently free to leave when they wanted. Again, a degree of protection was probably afforded by the fact that, in such situations, the employer was often a relative.

My parents did not give me the cost of my transport as they were not even aware that I was leaving. I went using the 'arriver-payer' system. When I arrived the person who was going to employ us paid the driver our transport costs. The employer is originally from Kadiana. He settled in Sobre and my travelling companion was his nephew. We worked for one month to reimburse him. Because the driver knew my host family, he took me to him for free. I negotiated the level of my salary ... no one else got involved in it.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

I went using 'arriver-payer'. The driver helped us a lot because when you don't have an identity card you have to pay CFA 1,000 to the police. So the driver paid for us and we had to reimburse him when we started work...Somebody I knew came and found me (in Daloa). He found us an employer and we had to reimburse the transport which had gone up to CFA 20,000, so I worked for him...Apparently when you just arrive to work on a (cocoa) plantation you get CFA 100,000 per year, but if you have done it before (as I had) you get CFA 125,000.

Interviewer: Were you happy about that?

I was happy about that.

FGARKO12: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola,
(Kolondièba)

13.4 Migrants' knowledge of identity papers needed

When migrants cross the border between Mali and Côte d'Ivoire, they are usually required to show their '*carte d'identité*' (identity card), their vaccination card (to show they had been immunised against yellow fever), and once on Ivorian territory, a '*carte de séjour*' (residence permit). In some cases, if they have not got an identity card, they may be asked for their birth certificate. In addition, as described above, since August 2001, young migrants aged below 18 years are required to carry the '*titre de voyage*' (commonly known as the '*passport d'enfant*') issued by the mayor of their commune. This is signed by their parents and gives them authorisation to travel and confirms their age and destination. As will be shown below, the '*titres de voyage*' were not available in the study villages or surrounding communes at the time of the survey (over one year after they had been brought in) and most migrants and parents were unaware of their existence. Nevertheless, if a migrant was stopped by a gendarme (border police officer) and asked for any of these documents but failed to produce them, s/he could be asked to get off the vehicle and be repatriated (as was the government policy). However, in reality, s/he was more likely 'fined' and would be required to give what is essentially a bribe to the officer in question. The authorities in Côte d'Ivoire seemed more likely to ask for such money than their counterparts in Mali because newly arrived migrants did not have the required *carte de séjour*.

When I was travelling because I did not have the right papers they (the gendarmes) took money from me. I paid CFA 100 at Pogo, at Wangolo I paid CFA 1,000, at Yamousoukoro it was CFA 500 and at the entrance to Abidjan it was CFA 3,000 that we paid.

FFILBAN7: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

They asked me for my carte de séjour and I told them that I didn't have one so they made us pay CFA 3,000 and so we continued to Abidjan.

FFILBAN8: Female migrant, 16 years old, married, no schooling,
Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

When we arrived in Pogo, the authorities asked us for our documents. I paid CFA 2,500 here and CFA 5,000 there to the police officers. They asked for the identity card and the carte de séjour. I didn't have them. At Yamoussoukoro I had no more money to pay for the rest of the trip and the police officer made us get off the bus and held us because we did not have the right documents. When the bus left, they let us go.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou, (Bankass)

It appeared that most migrants did not have all, if any of the required papers either because they did not know how to get them or because they could not afford to have them issued. Thus, they set off knowing that they were likely to incur fines if stopped.

I didn't have any of the required papers.

Interviewer: Why didn't you try and get the papers?

Because I didn't have any money to get them.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

To travel you need to have your identity card and vaccination card. I didn't have them and I don't know how to get them. I travelled with my uncle and he kept giving money to police officers whilst pointing at me.

FFILKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Once the 'titre de voyage' was brought in during late 2001, some young children procured or were given false identity cards to give the impression that they were over 18 years old and were thus not required to produce it. In some cases, if they were discovered to be less than 18 years old, they were made to get off the busses and repatriated.

From Bankass to Sikasso noone asked us for our papers and no police officer came on board the vehicle. The same thing happened between Sikasso and Zegoua- we were never asked for our papers. It was at Zegoua that they made me get off the bus as according to them I was a minor. My identity card said I was 19 years old which was too old for me.

FGARBAN9: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

We were repatriated from Gnele –(after Pogo). They repatriated us as we were a group of four girls with no man and with no papers. The police officers said that if they didn't repatriate us from here we would go to Abidjan where there would be intermediaries who would sell us. These people would then take our salaries when we worked. In addition they kill certain people. It is the police officers who repatriated us.

FFILBAN6: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

However, in reality, those who looked underage, rather than being questioned and repatriated seemed to be left alone by the authorities, probably because the latter considered them unlikely to have sufficient money to pay any bribe or fine they might impose on them.

It was at Tengrela between Mali and Côte d'Ivoire- at the exit of this village, the authorities ask for your papers. But as I was little they didn't ask me for anything. They take account of your height and physical stature. I crossed the border without being interrogated. I was 15 years old.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Bankass)

When I was en route the authorities asked me my age. I lowered my age and when I told them they let me go. I didn't have any papers on me.

EGARKOL2: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

When I left I was not old enough to go and get any of the papers – so they didn't ask me for them.

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

On the whole, those who did have the correct identity cards (which here may include those with forged identity cards saying that they were above age 18) were able to stay in the bus or minivan and cross the border without any problem.

When we arrived at the border, they asked me for my identity card and my vaccination card (against yellow fever). I showed them and they let me cross with the bus.

FGARBAN7: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

At the border, they asked me for my identity card and for my vaccination card – I showed it to them and they let me go on. I stayed in the bus to go across the frontier.

FGARBA12: Male migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Soukoura (Bankass)

Others, once they arrived on Ivorian territory were able to claim they had Ivorian nationality but had lost their papers. They thus gained a piece of paper officially (but falsely) confirming their Ivorian status and thus no longer needed the *carte de séjour*. In this way, they were able to continue their journey and find work successfully.

To have an easier time in Abidjan I made a declaration of loss of papers ('perte de pieces'). With the help of a Malian driver that I didn't know I was able to get a certificate saying that I had lost my documents. I told them that I was Ivorian and that my mother and father were both Ivorian. I told them that my papers must have fallen between Gueya and Divo. But I was up-front with the Malian driver telling him that I was Malian but had not got the papers and I asked him to help me get this declaration of lost documents. The driver helped me get this piece of paper which cost CFA 20,000. In addition, I myself gave the driver CFA 1,000 as a present. This paper really helped me in Bouake and Tengrela.

FGARKO14: Male migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba).

13.4.1 Future migrants' knowledge of identity papers needed

The lack of knowledge and availability of the '*titre de voyage*' at the time of the study was confirmed by future migrants who were asked what papers they would need to get before they travelled. Only one of them knew about the '*titre de voyage*' despite it having been introduced one year previously. Most knew that they had to have their identity card, birth certificate and vaccination card and that they would be required to gain a '*carte de séjour*' in Côte d'Ivoire.

You need a carte de séjour, birth certificate and identity card.

Interviewer: How will you obtain them?

It is my grandmother who will go and get the papers at the town hall for me.

GFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

To travel you need your identity card and your vaccination card. You can get them from the mayor if you bring your family register (carnet de famille) or if he knows you.

CFILKOL1: Female future migrant, 11 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Interviewer: Have you ever heard of the 'passeport d'enfant' (titre de voyage)?

No I have never heard of it.

GGARKOL8: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Interviewer: Do you know that a child can't travel without a paper we call the 'passeport d'enfant'?

I am not aware of that.

CGARKOL2: Male future migrant, 13 years old, primary schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

However, most future migrants, instead of seeking to get these papers, preferred to rely on drivers to help them avoid the police checks, or to give money to the police who would ask them for these documents.

To travel you need your birth certificate and your identity card. My father has my birth certificate and I don't know where I can get the identity card. Even if a child's passport (titre de voyage) exists I have never heard of it. I have never seen it. To travel without papers you just need to avoid the control points. Before you arrive at the checkpoint, the driver stops the vehicle. Those who don't have papers get off and wait for the vehicle on the other side of the post.

GFILKOL2: Female future migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Zegueré, (Kolondièba)

To travel you need an identity card. But because we are children we would say to the law enforcement agents that we have come to Côte d'Ivoire to work. They will let us go and on our return they will take money from us. The policemen in Mali don't have money. I haven't heard of the passeport d'enfant (titre de voyage) and I don't know where to get it.

GGARKOL3: Male future migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Many future migrants would probably be stopped from getting the 'titre de voyage' as it required their parents' permission or their birth certificates which were often held by their fathers. For young migrants who wanted to flee without parental consent, this obviously meant that they could not obtain such a document. However, instead of deterring them from travelling, they still affirmed that they intended to travel and had other strategies to avoid detection.

I don't know what papers you need to be able to travel.

Interviewer: How would you manage to travel without papers?

If I need certain papers I will go and get them.

Interviewer: And if I told you that you need your father's permission to obtain the necessary documents (what would you say)?

I would ask them to help me, because if my father knew the reason why I needed to get the documents he would be against it. If the authorities refuse to give me the documents, I will go anyway and in the vehicle I will pretend to be deeply asleep and refuse to respond to their questions.

CFILKOL1: Female future migrant, 11 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

You need your birth certificate and identity card to travel. If I can't get these in Tiongui I will go to Kadiana but in both places I don't know who to ask. If my departure day arrives and I still haven't got them, I will borrow my friend's and give it back to her afterwards.

GFILKOL3: Female future migrant, 14 years old, primary schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

Others said they would use the services of counterfeiters to obtain the necessary (false) papers.

You need an identity card and a carte de séjour in order to be able to travel. You can get these papers in a shop or through a trader. But if I can't get them I will pay money and if that doesn't work I won't travel.

GFILKOL1: Female future migrant, 14 years old, primary schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

To be honest I haven't got any papers but usually you would need your identity card, your birth certificate and the carte de séjour. Once I arrive at Tengrela I will go and get them from a young Malian who can make them up for you if you give him something. He is neither a policeman, nor an agent from the town hall – he is a business man – it seems he is an intermediary.

GGARKOL2: Male future migrant, 13 years old, primary schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

14.0 MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCE OF BORDER CROSSINGS

In addition to those doing 'arriver-payer', a considerable proportion of young migrants put themselves in the hands of paid drivers and apprentices and gave them a supplement (often comprising quite large sums) to render them to their destination without being hassled by the police because they did not have the correct documentation. In most cases, the supplement was paid to the driver by the migrant to motivate the former to deal with checks by the police and authorities. In exchange for receiving money, the driver would either hide the child, disguise him as an apprentice, take a route that avoided check points, or negotiate with the police or gendarmes on the migrant's behalf or bribe them in order that the vehicle (and young migrants) could continue. The extra sum needed for bribes (in addition to the basic transport costs) was given to the driver by the migrants at the start of their journey.

En route it was the driver who took everyone's papers and negotiated with those on the borders. He alone got down and presented the documents to the gendarmes. We had given him money for these negotiations.

EFILBAN1: Female trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

I gave money to the apprentice so that he would look after me en route - sort out arrangements at the checkpoints etc. It was my older brother who gave me to this first apprentice who took me to Sikasso and who then gave me to his friend who took me to Côte d'Ivoire.

FFILBAN7: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

At the checkpoints I made out that I was an apprentice driver. I gave CFA 5,000 to the real apprentice so he would let me do that.

FGARKOL6: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

In some cases, the driver would stop the vehicle before the border, have the young migrants walk across it or go on a motorbike via a back route. The bus driver would then pick them up on the other side to avoid their being spotted by the police.

We left in a Malian bus. When we got to the border I took a motorbike to get across the border. I paid CFA 1,000. I took the motorbike because I didn't have any papers and it seems you can be hassled. There were a lot of people who did the same.

FFILBAN9: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

Before the border, the driver stopped and lots of passengers got out and made their way through the woods. They got on again after the checkpoint.

FFILKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

To cross the border between Mali and Côte d'Ivoire you have to give (the police) money. That's why we crossed with a motorbike because if not, even if you have the right identity cards, you have to give money.

FGARBAN9: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

When we arrived at Zegoua, we took a motorbike to Pogo (in Côte d'Ivoire) which cost CFA 1,000. We left the main route to use a rural track went with the motorbike because if I had stayed in the car, I would have had to pay CFA 2,000 which is a lot of money.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Alternatively, some drivers appeared to leave the main route and travel across the bush in their vehicles to avoid the authorities spotting passengers who were underage migrants attempting to across the border.

We used the route used by traffickers (of contraband goods). The vehicle itself used the traffickers' route. This road is a little before the town of Zegoua. It's on the right hand side. At first it is like a pedestrian track but then it widens out later. The driver took this route to avoid the authorities – that's what I think.

FGARKO11: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

On the whole, those who did have the correct identity cards (which may include those with forged identity cards saying that they were above age 18) were able to stay in the bus or minivan and cross the border without any problem.

When we arrived at the border, they asked me for my identity card and my vaccination card (against yellow fever). I showed them and they let me cross with the bus.

FGARBAN7: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

At the border, they asked me for my identity card and for my vaccination card – I showed it to them and they let me go on. I stayed in the bus to go across the frontier.

FGARBA12: Male migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Soukoura (Bankass)

Even those who were not crossing the border in vehicles sought to avoid checkpoints. Among those who crossed using their own bicycles, many were afraid that they would have the bicycles taken from them and those preferred to cross discretely at an isolated point.

Interviewer: Which Malian town did you cross at?

At Takoli which is a frontier town.

Interviewer: Are there policemen there?

Yes.

Interviewer: So how did you cross?

We went round the town of Tengrela by another track.

Interviewer: Why did you use this route?

Because the policemen would take our bicycles of us if they ever saw them.

FGARKO20: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

One young migrant was physically injured by a gendarme at Tengrela.

At Tengrela, a gendarme stopped me under the pretext that I looked like a thief. He took me to his place and told me to admit I was a thief.

Because I insisted that I wasn't he got a knife out of his pocket and cut off the end of my finger. Even though it hurt I managed to get away and flee. I found refuge in an old lady's house – she dressed my wound.

Shortly afterwards I thanked her and went on my way.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

In addition, those who accompanied under-age migrants (whom they intended to place in employment in Côte d'Ivoire) also avoid the authorities who may consider them traffickers. In particular, migrants who had left without the consent of their parents and who accompany potential employers or by intermediaries were keen to avoid being asked for documentation.

Interviewer: So you travelled by motorbike using a track (to cross the border)? Why did you prefer to do this?

At the border they could have interrogated my employer as he had a child accompanying him. If he had said that he came to get me without the consent of my parents, do you think that the authorities would let him continue? If it was you Madame, you wouldn't have let me go on would you? (laughs)

FGARKO22: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

When we arrived at the border, we avoided the police officers by crossing over on a motorbike. We did that because the man accompanying me (and my future employer) did not have the right papers for himself let alone me.

FGARKOL5: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

These testimonies indicate that there is a very fine line between the culturally and economically defined migration process in this context and what is perceived by international agencies as trafficking. Under normal circumstances, migration involves a certain amount of risk, relying on drivers and other intermediaries for security, safety and often for food and shelter. It may also involve a proportion of the transport costs being paid at a later date or by a third party. What is clear is that measures such as the checking of identity cards and other documents insisted upon by the authorities, particularly in Côte d'Ivoire, ostensibly for security reasons, are being grossly exploited and used as a basis for bribery by the police and gendarmes. Calculations pertaining to these fines and bribes have become an integral part of the migration process determining both the costs of migration, method of transport and route taken. Children are thus forced into the hands of potentially unscrupulous drivers or intermediaries who may exploit them financially in order to take them via back routes to avoid interception.

As will be shown below in Section 25.0 discussing migration to Saudi Arabia, the deception and fraud apparent at the institutional level is what appears to drive the need for a third party (whether this be an intermediary, transporter or relative) to accompany young migrants and to enable them to negotiate their passage. In such a climate, no amount of interventions targeting migration and trafficking will succeed if intermediaries are able to gain business from helping children to avoid such fines. In the same vein, children have to rely on such individuals to facilitate the acquisition of their papers which are easily able to be bought or falsified. Thus, an element of anti-trafficking interventions could seek to address corruption among the institutions which perpetuate the need for intermediaries to facilitate children's migration, rather than simply targeting the intermediaries themselves and identifying them as the root of the problem. Although, from an international perspective, an individual who takes money from a child to facilitate their journey may be viewed as a trafficker, given the realities at international borders, such a person is rather a facilitator in an environment where systems designed to protect children have been warped or ignored.

The evidence presented here, which will be corroborated by testimonies about migrants return journeys presented below (Section 21.0), indicates that measures such as the '*titre de voyage*' would actually probably increase the dangerous and clandestine nature of children's journeys. Children who are unable to procure the card (because it is not available in their villages) or who do not know of its existence will be forced into even greater danger and hardship by the need to avoid authorities who may ask them to produce it. They are thus further dependent on intermediaries or drivers in order to be

able to complete their journeys successfully. In addition, the apparently widespread availability of fraudulent documents makes the lack of availability of true papers no deterrent to leaving.

Furthermore, measures that are considered by many agencies as being at the root of trafficking, such as the *'arriver-payer'* system, do not appear to be always associated with danger or exploitation. Many children, given the endemic poverty of their home areas have no other choice but to travel using *arriver-payer* when the price of transport can be (a minimum of) CFA 25,000 (at least from Bankass) which is way above their means. The evidence collected suggests that a substantial proportion of migrants using *arriver-payer* appear not to have been exploited, but rather to have subsequently participated in the decision about their salaries and about the exact amount of transport they had to repay. A clear pattern emerges in that, again, knowing either the driver, intermediary or employer and working through village networks of migrants already settled in or familiar with Côte d'Ivoire seemed to lessen children's chances of exploitation and increase the sources of support if they got into difficulty.

15.0 MIGRANTS' ARRIVAL AT THEIR DESTINATIONS

The overwhelming majority of female migrants going into domestic service in Abidjan or other towns in Côte d'Ivoire were met by relatives. The latter were able to provide them with food and lodging and put them in touch with future employers quickly or were able to offer them business opportunities.

My mother met me (at the bus station). She has asked someone from our village (living in Abidjan) to find me work. This person found me work with some Hausa people.

Interviewer: Did your mother give money to this person (for this service)?

No it is a mutual assistance offered by the people originating from our village who live there.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

My aunt welcomed me. I stayed with her one day. At the end of the day a woman came who was looking for a domestic servant. The aunt arranged the work for me because she knew the woman in question.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

When we arrived at the bus station in Abidjan we took another vehicle to go to my elder sister's house.

Interviewer: Did you know where her house was?

No, the young man with whom I arrived in Abidjan took me to her house.

Interviewer: And it was your elder sister who introduced you to your first employer?

Yes.

FFILKOL5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

Other male migrants, particularly from Bankass, managed to meet up with people from their home villages. In many cases, the latter had taken the same route as them and found work in the transport industry around the bus station where their newly arrived counterparts disembarked.

Nobody came to me us when we arrived but, at the bus station, I asked people to show us where our relatives were. I knew the name of the 'quartier' and of a Lebanese shop where they worked. These people showed us the place and we met up with them there.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Kolondièba)

When we arrived in Abidjan we didn't have a host family. Nobody came to meet us. But God's will was such that we remembered the name of the place where our predecessors (former migrants from the same village) were living. We needed someone to take us to the quartier of Bouracote in Abidjan. Then we saw one of our predecessors who was working as a porter at the bus station. We called him and he showed us to where we ended up staying for two days.

FGARBAN4: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I have a lot of brothers there. I knew the bus station and where they would be found. So I took a bus that would drop me at this bus station. Upon my arrival I found everyone there and it was as if I was amongst family.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

More problematic seemed to be the arrival of many male migrants particularly from Kolondièba in the areas around the cocoa and other plantations of Daloa. Many had only a vague idea of how to find work or contacts. The contacts who did eventually find them lodging and work tended not to be their relatives, or even from the same village, although many were Malian in origin.

I wasn't met by anyone. On the way to Soubre I was exhausted by hunger – I didn't have any money. When I got to Diana I ended up participating in the funeral service for a young man. His father took me on after having given me something to eat.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

When I arrived at the destination I asked the driver if he knew my uncle. He said 'no' and told me to ask people. At this point I thought I had better go home, but anyway I asked people on the side of the road but noone knew my uncle. Then I asked an old man who said I could stay the night with him because it was getting late. The next day he started to look for my uncle.

Interviewer: Did you know the old man?

No.

Interviewer: Weren't you afraid to spend the night with him?

No, because I left the village knowing in my heart that I would succeed. He gave me my meals for free. He then suggested we went to the Mosque for the Friday prayer and it was there I found my uncle who lived in Daliwa.

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

No one came to meet me at the bus station. I got to know someone in the vehicle who asked where I was from and where I was going. I told him I had left Kadiana and I was going to work in the plantations. Because we both knew a certain Bakary Seny and we went to his house together. He lives in a village not far from Daloa. When we explained my situation to him he took me on and I went into the bush (to clear land).

FGARKOL3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

The young men who were considered trafficked were to some extent in a similar situation as those above in that they had travelled *arriver-payer* and did not have the social support of compatriots in their destination. One was met by the brother of his Koranic teacher who then proceeded to give him to an employer who subsequently paid the teacher rather than the migrant for the latter's work.

When we arrived it was the younger brother of our Koranic teacher who came to meet us at the bus station. He took us to his house and fed us. The next day our employer came to get us, but we didn't know him.

EGARBAN1: Male trafficked migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Upon their arrival, the two other trafficked boys were led to employers by the driver who had taken them and were then told to pay off their transport costs but were then subsequently exploited in that they were ultimately never paid properly and, in one case deprived of freedom.

Nobody met us upon our arrival. The driver brought us to an employer who took us on. We didn't pay anything to the driver to help us find work. We didn't get paid for a month in order to pay off our transport.

EGARKOL1: Male trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

When we got to Diaara the driver took us to someone he knew so that we could work because the latter had paid the transport.

EGARKOL2: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

The one young woman who had been trafficked was accompanied from her village by an Ivorian woman to Bouake and then put in a house where other Dogon from her home area came to her rescue her and warn her of the dangers ahead.

When we arrived in Bouake someone told us that she (the woman who had brought us here to sell iced water) would cut our heads off (to gain diamonds). We went to see the community of immigrants from Diallassagou and they helped to repatriate us back here.

EFILBAN1: Female trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

16.0 SALARY NEGOTIATIONS

For the most part migrants themselves negotiated their own salaries, but often with the help of the compatriot or relative who looked after them at their destination.

In particular, young women who had gone into domestic service were usually directly involved in the discussions regarding how much they would be paid, although many were assisted by an advocate, usually in the form of a relative. The vast majority gave their salary for safe keeping to the intermediary who had helped them, although sometimes this meant that they were vulnerable to theft as will be shown below in Section 17.1.

The compatriot who found me work – it was she who discussed my salary in my presence. At the end of the month the employer telephoned her to tell her to come and get the salary and give it to me. I then gave it to my mother.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

It was my maternal grandmother who helped me find work. My grandmother, my employer and me – we all discussed the salary together – I was the one who fixed the rate because I had talked to other girls in the village who had carried out the same work. My employer gave me the money and then I went and gave it to my grandmother.

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

In a small number of cases, the relative or intermediary would actually come and get the salary on behalf of the servant.

It was my aunt who negotiated my salary in her presence.

Interviewer: What was your salary?

CFA 10,000 per month.

Interviewer: Who received your salary?

At the end of each month my aunt would come and get my salary.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

It was my elder brother who negotiated my salary and it was he who went and collected it from the employer. But I knew the amount which was CFA 1,000 per month.

FFILBAN5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

My older sister negotiated the salary.

Interviewer: At how much?

CFA 400 per day.

Interviewer: And at your second employer's you said that your elder sister came and got the salary didn't you?

Yes

FFILKOL5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

In cases where someone had helped put the migrant in touch with the employer, the migrant often let this person know how much has been agreed upon, even if the former did not take part in the discussions.

When the woman (intermediary) took me to the employer, she did not get involved in the discussions about salary. The employer said she wanted to take me on at CFA 7,500 (per month) but I suggested CFA 10,000 because it is not easy to look after a baby. She accepted so we agreed on CFA 10,000.

Interviewer: Did your uncle's wife know what your salary was?

Yes, she had talked to me about my salary and told me to tell her what the employer said. When we agreed on CFA 10,000, I told her that. I didn't have any problem with the employer- she bought me moisturiser and everything and she didn't take it out of my wages.

FFILBA12: Female migrant, 19 years old, married, no schooling, Diallaye (Bankass)

As described above, the majority of young men from Bankass did manual labouring jobs where there was no fixed salary. The amount they earned depended on the individual clients for whom they worked, usually as porters, and on how much they had to give to the owners of the carts used for transportation.

I didn't do salaried work. Our work was organised in such a way that even if you did not own a cart you could negotiate taking someone's bags and you use the cart of a compatriot to transport the bags to their destination. For example, if you earn CFA 500 or CFA 1,000 doing this, on your return you give CFA 100 to the owner of the cart.

FGARBAN5: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass).

You go to the bus station and you depend on luck.

Interviewer: Who negotiated the price for you?

It is in relation to the amount of bags. You discuss with the owner and you agree on a price.

FGARBA11: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

Again, amongst the Bankass male migrants, there was a high degree of social support which enabled them to better negotiate with employers.

It was my friend who found me the work undoing nets. At the beginning I helped him undo his nets and he gave me CFA50 or CFA100 per day and he bought us lunch. When I had understood the system properly, he took me to his boss

Interviewer: Who negotiated the salary?

It was my friend and the boss who discussed how much it would be to undo a whole net. The discussion took place in my presence. We agreed that we would undo 1 metre of net for CFA500. From then on, the price for each net that needed undoing was discussed in front of me.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass).

Among the young men of Kolondièba who, as shown above, tended to leave to work in the plantations often assisted by intermediaries that they did not know, salary discussions were often initiated by the drivers of those who had used the 'arriver payer' system to get to their destination (see Section 13.3 above).

A minority were able to negotiate their salaries themselves or at least monitor the discussions with employers and intermediaries.

It was myself who negotiated the salary based on what people in the village who had returned from migration had told me. There was no intermediary.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

The person who found us work, our boss, my friend and I all discussed the amount of salary together. I took home my salary myself.

FGARKOL7: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

However, in some cases, the margins earned by the employers were indicative of exploitation as evidenced by the young migrant employed in the charcoal sector whose testimony is below.

One of our older brothers had told us of the benefits you could get from working in the charcoal sector. It was he who introduced us to the boss so that he would take us on. He did take us on because he trusted our older brother and also because he needed workers. It was myself who negotiated my salary with my employer. He paid me CFA100 per bag and he sold each bag for CFA 4,250.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Others from Kolondièba engaged in salary negotiations (both with and without intermediaries) that were less clear-cut and there seemed to be a tendency for ad hoc or irregular payments or for payment in kind.

When I arrived there, I started to carry out market gardening for my uncle. For over one month he never spoke of a salary and I never asked him. Then one day he asked me why I had come. I said because I wanted a bicycle. He said, it was not easy to give me a bike now because he had financial difficulties. I said in that case I will go to clear land (on the plantations). He said no. He asked me to work for him and that he would send me back home with a bike.

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Others never carried out any discussions about salary at all and just waited to see what they would be given.

I worked for my older brother (doing charcoal production) and there was never a salary that was fixed between us. When I returned he gave me what he could.

FGARKO14: Male migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Furthermore, a number of male migrants from Kolondièba had their salaries negotiated by their parents and intermediaries before they themselves had left the village. In particular, those who worked over the border for Senufo cultivators (who required boys to lead the cattle for ploughing) often had their salaries negotiated by their parents who did not engage them in the discussions. However, the children interviewed seemed to be content with their lot and happy at the salary outcome.

It was my father who discussed the salary (with the intermediary) back in Fakola. They agreed on CFA 5,000 per month.

FGARKO17: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

My mother and my employer discussed my salary and I wasn't involved. But after the four months of work he gave me the salary – I didn't know how much it was, but (when I saw it) I was delighted at the level of the salary.

FGARKO15: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

Thus, it can be concluded that most girls going into domestic service seemed to usually have some role in the negotiation of their salaries. Similarly, some boys from Bankass working in various industrial and semi-industrial jobs in Abidjan participated in the decisions about their salaries with the aid of compatriots from their villages who were already employed in the sector and knew the going rates. However, most Bankass male migrants were self-employed and fixed their own rates with their clients. By contrast, boys from Kolondièba, who were more likely to travel 'arriver payer' to the plantations of rural Côte d'Ivoire seemed to be less likely to participate in salary discussions which took place between the drivers and the employers. Others did not engage in any discussion at all about their salaries but were paid in kind or ad hoc. Finally, a third group from Kolondièba were taken on via negotiations in their villages between employers, who were often Senufo farmers in Côte d'Ivoire and their families in the villages of Kolondièba. Although most appeared satisfied with their lot, some lacked the assertiveness skills to seek better working conditions and salaries.

17.0 PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED DURING STAY IN DESTINATION

17.1 Economic and social problems experienced by migrants

The migrants were asked what difficulties they had experienced during their stay abroad. Many replied that they had not experienced any great difficulties, although approximately one third did affirm that they had had negative experiences.

As expected, the three boys that had been trafficked experienced serious problems to do with a lack of freedom, food and salary. Problems associated with non procurement of salary are presented in detail in Section 9.0 above but the following illustrate much more insidious difficulties associated with exploitation and racism.

The difficulties we encountered were to do with the fact that we didn't get fed every day. When this happened we came to eat with our Koranic teacher. He accepted that we eat with him. Also we didn't go out – if we tried to, there were hunters who patrolled us.

EGARBAN1: Male trafficked migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

There you are considered to be an animal. Malians are called to do all the jobs of the family. Once you have agreed on your salary, they ask you to do certain jobs that don't form part of your work agreement.

EGARKOL2: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Among the girls who had carried out domestic service in Abidjan, there was a small minority who experienced problems with food and salary payments. Luckily many had family members nearby who could support them or intervene for them. It is emphasised however, that the overwhelming majority of girls who were in domestic service reported very few negative aspects of their experience but rather saw it as a positive time in their lives.

I didn't have any difficulties except when I wanted to leave my first employer to go to another who had given me a more attractive proposition. My first boss did not want to let me go or give me my salary. It came to the point where one of my uncles and my grandmother had to intervene so she would let me go and also find her another servant.

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

When I was with my first employer I had no problems - none with the second either. But with the third, I had a problem in that the husband was a white man and the woman was black. The husband gave me CFA 25,000 as salary and CFA 500 per day for my food. But the woman refused to give me this (the CFA 500) and I had to work there and eat at my uncle's house.

Interviewer: Wasn't there anyone to help you with this difficulty?

Yes, I explained the problem to the wife of my uncle because she found me the job. I told her I wanted to stop working. But she said if it was just for the sake of food then I could come and eat with them whenever I wanted and I should just carry on working. She even sent food to me at my employer's house.

FFILBA12: Female migrant, 19 years old, married, no schooling, Diallaye (Bankass)

A small number of male migrants, particularly those working in the plantation sector, said that they were not paid in full at the end of their stay or after having accomplished specific tasks at the request of the employer.

I made a trip and the boss refused to pay me. I brought him a load of charcoal – about 100 sacks. He owed me about CFA 10,000 that he refused to give me so I went to work for another boss.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba).

They made me work saying that I would be paid at the end of the (cocoa) processing period in January. At this time, if you say you want to go back home, they say that there isn't any money. They make you wait and some people go back without being paid. That happened to me – they make you work until you are discouraged. I tried to claim my salary over three years in vain and what they owed me came to about CFA 80,000 all in all. Eventually the credit I was owed from my employer arrived.

FGARKO22: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

A more widespread problem than the non-payment of salaries was the theft of workers' earnings by those who had been asked to look after them. In many cases, as described above, young migrants give their wages to relatives or acquaintances for safe-keeping. In several instances, those with the responsibility of keeping the money safe from thieves appeared to steal it themselves.

It was my elder brother who kept my money. One day he came and told me that 4 months' salary had been taken from my money. I cried a lot. He never explained how the money had been stolen and he never reimbursed it.

FFILBAN5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

My friend who found me work stole my money saying that the boss hasn't paid the whole sum. However, I asked the boss and he confirmed that he had paid the full amount.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

I personally was victim of theft in Abidjan as I had saved up more than CFA 20,000. You can't do anything against God's will. I kept the money in a bag in our communal room. On morning I came in from work because I had worked from 20h in the evening until 7h in the morning. I had decided to give my money to my brother in Adjame for safekeeping. Where we ate was not far from our house. I opened my bag to take out what I needed to buy something to eat and then I fell asleep. When I woke up I noticed that my bag had disappeared...because of this experience I have decided not to go on labour migration again.

FGARBAN4: Male migrant, 17 years old, engaged, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Other migrants reported that their work tools and food had to be paid for out of their salary and that they were not happy about these extra expenses.

On the work front there were always problems as when we were going into the forest our boss gave us condiments, rice and machetes. However, he took the price of these out of our salaries and, as it was he who was buying them, he put the price up. We didn't have anyone around to help us resolve this problem.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Others complained that they were asked to do extra jobs by their employers' wives and other relatives that did not form part of their original tasks and for which they were not recompensed or rewarded.

The problem I had was with the wives of my employer. On holidays, the women asked me to go and repair the fence around their market garden – that was difficult for me. Also they asked me to cut the fruit of the oil palms but I told them I could not do that. If they had washed my clothes or brought me water to wash myself I would have done this for them with no problem. But you don't do anything for me and in turn you want me to do something for you? – That's a bit difficult! They wanted us to do work that was not agreed upon by me and the boss and I would not be paid for that.

FGARKOL3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Among both male and female migrants in Abidjan, another reported problem was harassment from the authorities because they did not have the correct papers (especially the *carte de séjour*). Girls seemed less vulnerable to attention from the authorities because their work was often inside homes where they were less visible. However, boys reported this problem to a significant extent.

My difficulties included being harassed by the police regarding my papers. They take your papers and they refuse to give them to you unless you give them CFA 500 or CFA 1,000.

FGARBAN1: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

*I had problems regarding the *carte de séjour* but no others. When I had this problem (being stopped by the police) my family helped me because*

each time they went to plead with the police officers but they never gave money.

FFILBAN7: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

A number of migrants reported that they were victims of the racism against foreigners which preceded the civil unrest in Côte d'Ivoire that started during the middle of the study.

The difficulty that I encountered was that I was taken on by employers who were really horrible to immigrants and they always defended their own children. Even if their grandchildren insulted you and if you tried to hit them the employer would be annoyed with you and he could even sack you and start a campaign against you among the other employers so that you would never work that town again. So I really had problems with the children of my employers.

Interviewer: What did they do these children?

Certain ones would come and wipe their noses on you and others would spit on you. But when you try and hit them their mother would react so in the end I did nothing.

FGARKO20: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Others complained of a general feeling of disrespect that they had experienced with regard to their employers and their families. In some cases, it may be that relatives of employers who were related to the migrants felt resentful at the latter descending on them expecting to be housed and found work.

I didn't get on with my uncle's wife. She lacked respect for me.

Interviewer: Why?

She said that I had left my father to come and take money from her husband. Sometimes I used to just sit down and cry.

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba).

17.2 Health problems experienced by migrants

The most common health-related problem cited was a lack of food, particularly by boys who, unlike the girls, were not working in homes or restaurants where they could access meals more easily.

My problem was hunger. After breakfast, which consisted only of gruel, I went to work in the field. I didn't have any lunch and I worked until nightfall on an empty stomach. When I remarked upon this to my boss, he gave me coffee which acted as my lunch.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba).

The field was very far away and we walked to it on foot. We didn't eat until 22h in the evening.

FGARKO23: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

At our first employer's place we did not have enough to eat. That's why we refused his suggestion to work for him for another year. We told him that we didn't eat until we are full. He said well that's how people ate at his house and so we moved on. A Yabao, before getting to know the area we got lost and if you don't have money nobody will give you anything to eat and food is very expensive there.

FGARKOL2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Others complained that they got sick or that they experienced work-related health problems which resulted in their incurring costs even when treated by family members.

I did not have many problems. There was a time when I was sick because of the water there. It was my uncle who cured me but at my own cost as he took the price of the medicines out of my salary.

FGARKO10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

There was a problem with food – we didn't eat until we were full. In addition, if you fall ill, the boss says that you are simply refusing to work. They don't treat you.

Interviewer: What did you do?

I just stayed like that until the illness cured itself and I ate whatever I was given in terms of food.

FGARKOL6: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Once boiling water was tipped over my foot and I spent 5 days without being able to work. I treated myself at my own expense.

FFILBAN9: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

All migrants were asked if they had encountered reproductive health problems whilst abroad. Without exception, they replied that they had not, claiming that whilst they work away from home they are very busy. At night they said that they simply chat, watch TV and go to bed. Many girls said that they did not wander around in the town and were thus not in a position to meet members of the opposite sex. It may be that in fact, many young people do keep themselves to themselves for fear of being stopped by the authorities and asked for papers, the absence of which would incur a fine.

No I never had any risks to my reproductive health .Our employer never accepted that we stand around chatting with boys. She was Senegalese.

FFILBAN9: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

Even if the risk (of reproductive health problems) existed I was able to escape it.

Interviewer: Why?

Because I didn't go out. I worked in the rice field and upon my return at night I got washed, I ate and went to bed although sometimes I watched TV.

FFILKOL1: Female migrant, 18 years old, secondary schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

One young woman from Bankass had started a relationship with a Malian she had met in Abidjan and had had a child with him. On her return she brought the child back with her and spoke of her intention to marry the man in question. He certainly seemed to have supported her during health problems she experienced while pregnant and apparently kept in touch with her now she was home.

I lived with a man and even had a child with him. During the first months of the pregnancy I fell ill and he paid for all my medical expenses. On night he spent CFA 57,500 on medicines (for me). He really looked after me during my stay. He talked of marriage and even today I received a letter from him. But my mother is not keen on my marrying him - she says he lives too far away.

FFILBA12: Female migrant, 19 years old, married, no schooling, Diallaye (Bankass).

Some of the boys said that they avoided having sexual relations because they were afraid of STIs and probably HIV/AIDS. Throughout the testimonies, it is clear that many migrants are so dominated by the search for money that they do not seek sexual encounters for fear of being distracted.

I never contracted a sexually transmitted infection because I never hung around girls.

Interviewer: Why did you avoid girls?

I left my village solely to work. I always had it in my head that I was here to earn money.

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I never gave in to sexual activity with girls because such activities lead to you wasting money.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

One noted that a compatriot had succumbed to drug abuse and had suffered mental health problems.

No, during all my stay there I didn't even think of women because I wanted to avoid falling sick.

Interviewer: Did you ever hear of people from your village having such problems?

No, I never heard that. There was one however who became mentally unbalanced. He was a drug abuser. He's still there.

FGARKO20: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Despite the fact that none of the migrants reported direct experience of sexual health problems, a number recounted situations that had happened to others whereby migrants had been harassed, raped or involved in sex work.

I never experienced any problems of this type but I have heard that the Ivorians trick our girls with money and, after having slept with them for a bit, they tell them to leave. Certain girls come back pregnant. I also heard that there was a girl who was raped by several boys.

FFILKO16: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I have heard that migrants experience reproductive health risks. I heard that there was an employer who wanted to sexually abuse his maid. She had to flee. It was a story someone told me.

FGARBAN4: Male migrant, 17 years old, engaged, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

It is possible that it happens but it never happened to me. I heard that there was a girl who was working in Côte d'Ivoire. She slept alone in her room. One night the son of the employer wanted to sleep with her. She tried to resist but the son said that if she refused, she had to pack her bags and leave. It was very late, nighttime, and at this hour in Abidjan you would be attacked by thieves. So the girl slept with him. The next day, when the girl told her employer what had happened the woman didn't believe her. The girl then resigned from her job but the employer refused to pay her the money she owed her. The girl was 16 years old.

FFILBAN3: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I heard that in Tengrela there is man who has girls working for him as prostitutes. I don't know the man nor the girls who work for him, but I do know that they are girls from our village.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Thus, the main problems migrants appeared to experience were not the non-payment of salaries per se but rather numerous different ways that employers, intermediaries or even family members wanted to cheat them out of the money which they had earned. In addition, migrants' work contracts (which are likely to be simply verbal) seemed to be frequently breached with extra tasks often imposed for no additional salary. In addition, migrants experienced work-related and general health problems which they had to treat with medicines paid for using money from their meagre salaries. The most common problem experienced by boys was hunger which must, in turn, impede their ability to work.

All these testimonies point to the extreme vulnerability of young migrant workers and to an ignorance of basic employee rights and employer responsibilities which are almost impossible to enforce in these informal sectors. Most pressing seems to be the need for a safe savings system to be established in destination areas to avoid the thefts and loss of earnings that seems to be the major problem for Malian emigrants.

18.0 HOUSING CONDITIONS WHILST ON LABOUR MIGRATION

Those young women who ended up in Abidjan working as domestic servants slept, in general, at their employer's house and ate with the latter's children. The majority were satisfied with the arrangements.

I slept and ate at my employer's house. I slept in the same room as her daughter on a foam mattress. We ate together. I did my job properly from dawn until dusk. It wasn't a hard job.

FFILBAN3: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

When I found work I moved into my employer's house. I slept in a room with her two girls. I slept under a shelter. I ate with the girls.

FFILKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I stayed at my employer's house in a big room with the two girls of my employer. I slept on a mattress. I ate with my (female) employer. I used to eat well.

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Soukoura, (Bankass)

However, some found the living conditions and sleeping arrangements uncomfortable.

Interviewer: Were you happy with the arrangements?

I wasn't happy because I was afraid to sleep alone.

Interviewer: What did you sleep on?

On a mat.

Interviewer: Was the mat alright?

The mat on which I slept was hard. When I work up in the morning I often ached all over. It really hurt.

Interviewer: What do you sleep on here in the village?

I sleep on a straw mattress.

Interviewer: In what conditions did you eat?

I ate alone in my employer's house.

Sometimes I ate until I was full and sometimes not.

Interviewer: Did you never tell her that you weren't full?

No I never told her and the situation never improved.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

A minority slept with their own family members and the rest rented accommodation often sharing with other girls from their area of origin. Conditions appeared to be less comfortable than those experienced by most maids who lived at their employers' homes.

There was a room in the compound where she (the employer) lived. She got that for us - me and three other domestic servants and at the end of the month we shared the rent between the four of us.

Interviewer: How was this lodging?

It was just one room for the four of us.

FFILBA12: Female migrant, 19 years old, married, no schooling, Diallaye (Bankass)

Those who worked in the restaurants or gargottes slept in rented rooms and usually relied on leftovers from the restaurant food. Their living conditions appeared to be a great deal harder than those of girls who were employed as servants and stayed in families.

My employer had rented a little room which contained three mats where we slept. Some slept in the hall and we slept in the room. We were 12 (people all together) - all girls. When we wanted to eat we helped ourselves from the cooking pot.

FFILBAN9: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

When I got my work I slept at my boss' house and I ate there too. At midday she gave me CFA 100 to buy food. At night I ate the rest of the rice that I had been trying to sell. Sometimes business was good and there was no rice left and she then gave me another CFA 100.

Interviewer: How was your lodging?

I slept in their lounge on a mat.

FFILBAN5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

For the boys of Bankass, who often found work in and around the transport stations, their place of work often became their home as they ate and slept in amongst the shops and small businesses that employed them. Many relied on the social support of those from their home villages to find food and lodging.

I used to spend the night at the bus station with a shopkeeper who is a relative of ours and other times I would go to my older brother's house – there is room there for us, the immigrants. Three of us slept there.

FGARBA11: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

We slept in the big compound of the bus station. We would close the main door and sleep. I ate with my friend. We bought our food from the wife of a friend. We bought food individually or in groups.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

I spent the night in the bus station. At night we swept the bus station and washed the vehicles. There was a room reserved for the caretaker who was someone I knew – so I spent the night in this room.

Interviewer: What did you do for food?

I paid for my food myself.

FGARBAN8: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

Social support from their compatriots was particularly forthcoming for new migrants who had not yet been able to find work. Often their rent and food was paid by their peers until they found employment.

I slept with my compatriots. When I had just arrived, during all the time when I was not working I didn't pay for the room or for the electricity. In addition, they bought me food at night. When I started to work I paid for the room and the electricity. I bought my food at the kiosk. After these expenses, the rest I invested in a tontine (traditional savings club).

Interviewer: How much did the food cost?

Each of us paid CFA 200 for the room per month and electricity cost CFA 250. Regarding food, I never spent more than CFA 250 per day.

Interviewer: How many of you shared the room?

We were 5 in the same room which was quite small. I wasn't at ease because in the village I have my own room.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

I stayed with migrants from my village in a room that cost CFA 7,500 per month together with CFA 150 for the electricity. For the food I ate in the gargottes. I bought rice from young Malian girls for CFA 100 or atieke (cassava).

FGARBAN1: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

Conditions for those working in the plantations in the bush were generally much harder. Although living quarters were provided rent-free they were extremely basic and often overcrowded. Many lived in a kind of dormitory constructed especially for plantation workers which could house many young men at a time.

We slept in a little village named Kosso in a hut with bunks. Eight to ten employees shared each hut. We slept on mats made of bamboo. We ate

sweet potato, or cooked yams – we ate until we were full. The rent and the food were free.

FGARKO11: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

We slept in the forest in plastic tents. It was the boss who bought this plastic sheeting and took the price of it out of our wages. We were given condiments, rice and yams that we prepared for our supper. We were six people and we took it in turns to cook.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba).

We were in a sort of house that the Ivoirians call “Dogome So”. It is a sort of house made from wood with a layer of cement on the outside. It was a huge house that I shared with three other employees. Inside there were two big straw mattresses and we slept two to a mattress. We ate with our boss. We were fed and lodged for free.

FGARKOL8: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Bankass)

Others lived in their employers’ families but not under conditions that were acceptable or comfortable.

In the compound of my boss there were three rooms – two were occupied by his wives and I shared the third with his son. I spent the night on the ground on an old sack. I only ate in the morning and at night. I shared my meals with his children. I never ate until I was full.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba).

Those young men who gained food from their employers often did so on the understanding that its value would be taken out of their wages or that supplementary work would need to be done to balance its costs.

I slept in a room at my employers’ house – he fed me. Each Sunday I worked for my employer without any pay. This work was compensation for my rent and food. I used to eat with my employer.

FGARKO22: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Others from Kolondièba who were working for or housed by relatives recounted better living conditions. In particular, they seemed more likely to eat until they were sated.

We were two people sleeping in the same room. I didn't pay for the room. The person who slept there with me was the friend of my older brother. When I arrived, my older brother put me in with him. I slept on the mattress and I did not have any problem with the room. The friend of my older brother gave me his place on the mattress and slept on the mat even though the mattress had space for two. Even if he went away he left me the key.

Interviewer: What did you do about eating?

I ate with my older brother – I ate until I was full. Someone would bring me something to eat whenever I wanted.

FGARKO14: Male migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

When I arrived I slept with my uncle's child. I had no problem with my lodging. We were two who slept in the room on the same mattress.

Interviewer: What did you do about eating?

I eat in my uncle's family. After each meal my uncle would ask if I was full or not. I usually said I was full. If I was not full he would offer to buy me something.

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba).

Thus, the quality of food and lodging whilst on labour migration appears to vary considerably. Girls in domestic service tended to be housed with their employers and in general, be able to eat sufficiently. Those working in restaurants could help themselves from the cooking pot fairly frequently. Male migrants staying and working in the transport stations experienced harsh living conditions but benefited from a high degree of social support that helped them both financially and practically. Boys in the northern areas of Côte d'Ivoire who stayed with relatives appeared to be adequately fed and nourished and, in some cases very well cared for. However, those in plantations lived in often desperately poor conditions which compromised their well-being and lowered their morale. Clearly, this is completely unacceptable and merits careful reflection as to how both employers and employees can be made aware of workers' most basic rights to reasonable food and shelter.

19.0 MIGRANTS' PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING DURING THEIR STAY ABROAD.

Migrants were asked about their morale during their stay and if or how they thought about their families. All, virtually without exception, said that they were motivated during their stay by the thought of the economic gains that they would make. Even those who had been trafficked and those who worked in extremely difficult conditions on the plantations, said that they wanted to continue their work in order to fulfil their material aspirations.

I wanted to earn money and return to my village. That was my state of mind.

EGARKOL1: Male trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I was solely motivated by getting a bike and returning home.

EGARKOL2: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I wanted to get some capital to start up my own business. That was my objective – to work well to achieve that was all I thought about.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Some said that they were preoccupied with thoughts of their families and of the difficult conditions in which they lived.

I thought of my mother and I said to myself that I have come to earn money and I must not get discouraged. I need to keep my morale high in order to succeed.

FGARKO10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba).

From time to time I thought of my father. I thought above all of my father because he is poor and people don't think he is very important. My idea was to stay and earn money.

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I was worried about what conditions my mother, father, brothers and sisters would find themselves in.

FGARKOL1: Female migrant, 18 years old, secondary schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I had come to Abidjan to earn money and I was determined to get some. I would then go home and help my parents. Night and day I thought of my family. That's what I kept thinking about.

FGARBAN4: Male migrant, 17 years old, engaged, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Only a small minority of boys admitted feeling discouraged about their situation, often because they had no work and little social support.

I thought about a lot of things ... my parents who didn't have any support, my lack of work, the fact that I myself didn't have any support. I was alone and all my hope was resting on God's will.

FGARBAN1: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

During all my stay my morale was really low because what I wished for (money) was not coming true.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

At night I would lie in bed and recite blessings so that I would have a long life and succeed in it. I wished the same things for my village. I did this because I was conscious of the terrible life I was living there (on migration).

FGARBAN5: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

The vast majority of migrants were extremely strongly motivated by the thought of the material possessions that they had come to get. For some, these desires overrode feelings of homesickness and nostalgia for their families and villages.

I just thought about earning enough money to buy a motorbike.

Interviewer: Didn't you think about your family?

No, just about the motorbike.

Interviewer: Why?

Because all my peers had a motorbike.

Interviewer: Were you able to buy one (in the end)?

Yes, a Kamiko (moped) – I bought it here in Mali.

FGARBA11: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene,
(Bankass)

In particular, many girls were preoccupied with obtaining the items needed for their trousseaux.

I had the idea of earning money to be able to buy clothes and women's things. I did think of my parents –I was homesick for them but I could not go back without getting what I had come for.

FFILBAN3: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene,
(Bankass)

I had it in my head that I needed to get together my trousseau and clothes. I didn't want to go back to the village at all without my full trousseau and the clothes that I wanted to possess.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling,
Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Many migrants, particular girls in urban domestic service, were not, in fact, very keen to leave. Even one who during her first stay in Côte d'Ivoire had been trafficked preferred urban life after her subsequent visits to Abidjan.

I didn't think of anything - not of my mother or of my father.

Interviewer: Why didn't you think of the village and your parents?

I didn't think of them because it is so hard here. I didn't want to return to the village because I think that life here is no good.

EFILBAN1: Female trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling,
Diallassagou (Bankass)

I wasn't at all put off by the town. I wanted to get clothes before going back. I didn't suffer at all. It's great there.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

Similarly, those boys from Kolondièba who had found work with relatives or reasonable employers in Côte d'Ivoire were often happy to stay and were reluctant to return to their villages.

I wanted to stay there and continue to work. I didn't have any problems.

FGARKOL4: Male migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Zegueré (Kolondièba)

Sometime I had a strong nostalgia for my family. But apart from that I had no desire to go back. I didn't suffer in the work - the workload wasn't too great. I always had the idea to earn money for my own needs and then to return to my family.

FGARKO23: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Zegueré, (Kolondièba).

Out of all the migrants interviewed, only one child who had, in fact, been genuinely trafficked expressed a desire to leave his destination.

Often it came into my head that I should return to Sikasso so I could work to gain money. I did not want to stay in Côte d'Ivoire any more because of the work I had to do.

EGARBAN1: Male trafficked migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

20.0 REASONS FOR MIGRANTS' RETURN

Of those who did return of their own accord, only two (including one trafficked migrant) returned because they perceived that they were being exploited.

I decided to go back because I understood that I was not receiving a normal salary. I could not longer continue working for a salary that was so low. I had stayed long enough in Côte d'Ivoire so I decided to return.

EGARKOL1: Male trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I decided to return because I found that what the boss was paying me was too low. If he had accepted CFA 12,500 or even CFA 10,000 per month) I would have stayed longer. I was not chased away by my boss nor did I flee.

FGARKOL7: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

The vast majority cited needs or obligations associated with their villages of origin as reasons for their return. A significant number of migrants claimed that they wanted to go back because the agricultural season had begun and they needed to work in the family fields.

I left (to go to Côte d'Ivoire) at the beginning of the rainy season and at the beginning of the next rainy season I decided to return. I myself decided to come back because of (agricultural) work that needs to be done during the rainy season.

EGARKOL2: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I wanted to come back to the village at the beginning of the rainy season. The millet had been sown but the first weeding had not yet been done.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

As the rainy season came closer I decided to go back to help my family with work in the fields.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Kolondièba)

In fact, surprisingly few migrants cited the fact that they had achieved what they came for (ie the purchase of specific material goods) as a reason for going back. Those who did so tended to be boys.

When my objective was obtained – that is to say I had earned enough money to buy a bike and a had bit of money for my parents and for myself, I decided to return. It wasn't because I had been badly treated. I had made enough and therefore I decided to return to the village.

FGARKOL8: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Bankass)

I took the decision to come back at the end of Ramadan last year. It was during the dry season. My objective had been attained. I had got the things I needed when I left the village. I had bought a bike and some clothes.

FGARKO23: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

Interestingly, the majority of girls who had come for their trousseaux were not in fact engaged or married upon their return even though they had managed to accumulate the items needed during their stays. Only one girl (who had migrated to Saudi Arabia) actually returned because she had to get married (see Section 25.0).

I really started being homesick for my parents and I had got together all the things for my trousseau, so I said to myself that it was time to go back home. There was nothing urgent that was waiting for me in the village. I am not engaged as my parents say that I can choose my future husband myself. I decided to return because I was nostalgic for those close to me.

FFILBAN1: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

A greater proportion of female migrants came back because they were homesick for their families and wanted to see them again.

I had spent the festival of Tabaski abroad and I decided to do the next one in the company of my parents. So when Tabaski came near I told my employer that I wanted to go home. I just wanted to come back and see my parents – not to leave for another reason as I was well treated where I was.

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass).

I decided to return to my family as my thoughts were constantly revolving around my mother and my brothers and sisters – but I wasn't hassled or anything to make me move on.

FFILBAN8: Female migrant, 16 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

A considerable number also returned because their parents had sent for them or, in some cases, had physically come to get them. It is remarkable how families back in Mali could, in many cases, contact their offspring in Côte d'Ivoire fairly easily via the networks of relatives who had assisted the latter with their journey and in finding employment.

It was my relatives who came to get me to bring me home to the village. When I left the village for Côte d'Ivoire it was no longer the rainy season. I didn't decide to come back – it was my older brother who came and got me on his push bike.

Interviewer: How did your parents know you were in Tengrela?

Really, I don't know how they knew.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

In spite of the distance, my parents sent a letter saying that they wanted me to come back to the village as it was nearly the rainy season and I should come back with what little I had. For them, cultivating is easier than the kind of work we did there. I already wanted to go back but the letter from my parents made this desire even stronger.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Interestingly, for one male migrant there appeared to be something socially unacceptable about his being told to come back by his parents. He implied that his fellow villagers would think that he had abandoned his parents and would subject him to extreme derision and shame. He recounted how his mother had come to get him at the moment when, in fact, he did intend to return. However, the fact that his mother arrived made him extend his stay so as not to look like he had been forced to go back in the eyes of his peers.

My mother came to get me in Divo. The year that I left the family she accumulated debts with the CMDT (cotton company) because the cotton harvest did not work out. My father sent my mother to see me so that my brother and I could help them out with their debts. At this time I had a lot of money and I was just about to return. My brother and I gave CFA 150,000 to our mother to give to our father. I then preferred to postpone my return for three months. If I had gone back with my

mother certain people in my village would have said that I would not have come back if my mother had not gone to get me.

FGARKO14: Male migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

A number of boys returned because the violence in Côte d'Ivoire was escalating and they were afraid to stay.

When the problems started in Côte d'Ivoire, when there started to be a lot of noise I decided to return home. The situation was no longer favourable to foreigners. I wanted to go back to my country. The Ivorians were killing people.

FGARKO10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

One day in Abidjan my friend took some money out of his pocket to buy cigarettes. He was attacked by two young hooligans who stole CFA 25,000 from him. It was in the middle of the day and noone helped. That day I took the decision to return. I really wanted to leave the Côte d'Ivoire and go back home.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

20.1 Cases of migrants being repatriated

The process of formal repatriation of children from Cote d'Ivoire or from border towns where they have been intercepted is described in Section 28.0. It is discussed how children are supposed to be accompanied back to their villages by NGOs representatives and Ministry officials who, in theory, should help to facilitate their integration into the community and offer them income generating opportunities there. However, in reality, the repatriated children whose testimonies are presented below underline that they often resented being repatriated, had no one to accompany them to their villages, were often teased and humiliated by their friends and family for returning empty-handed and were offered no alternative employment opportunities, thus probably precipitating another departure very soon afterwards.

In 2000, one young man from Kolondièba and one from Bankass were repatriated by an initiative organised by the then-consul of Mali at Bouake. They described in detail what happened noting importantly that some of those who had been repatriated were reticent about leaving and were effectively duped into coming back. However, they did appear to

receive their salaries as a result of the direct intervention of the Consul which may not have been the case if they had stayed on the plantations.

After one year of working, I had not received my salary and the boss told me to be patient. In the mean time the Consul came to get us to repatriate us. There were two young Malians who, after one year of work, had not been paid as the boss said he had not yet received the profits from the sale of cotton. They fled from Kosso to go to Korhogo from where they wrote a letter to the authorities in Sikasso and they, in turn, informed the Consul in Bouake. One morning the Consul and some other people suddenly turned up in our cotton field. They asked us who we were and where we came from. We said we were immigrants from Mali... They got all the Malians together to repatriate them. A few did not want to leave without their salary but the Consul said noone was staying there and that he himself was going to bring us our salaries in Sikasso. That's how we came to be repatriated. There were four people. The consul asked us how we came to be here and each person told his story. The boss was present (during all of this). Each one of us gave his name his village of origin, his age, the name of his parents. the amount of time he had worked in the field and the amount that the boss owed him..... We had worked for one year and three months. The consul himself did the calculation and brought me CFA 120,000 when I was in Sikasso

FGARKO11: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

When we arrived in Bouake we found many gendarmes at the entrance (to the town). They said there were too many children in the coach and that Alpha (President Alpha Oumar Konare) had said to repatriate them as they were going to be taken to work in the plantations. So they took us to the Embassy (Malian Consul in Bouake).

Interviewer: How many were you in the bus?

We were 20 – all from the cercle of Bankass.

Interviewer: So it was the gendarmes who took you to the Consul?

No, they phoned the Consul and he came to get us.

Interviewer: What did the gendarmes do?

They asked us for money and they hit those who did not have any money.

Interviewer: Did you give them money or did they hit you?

They hit me with a rope.

Interviewer: Once the Consul arrived, what happened?

The Consul told us to wait for the next bus that was going to Abidjan. When we got in the bus we thought we were going to Abidjan but he told us we were returning to Mali.

Interviewer: Where did the bus drop you?

In Sikasso.

Interviewer: In Sikasso how were you received?

We were received by some people – I don't know who they were.

Interviewer: What was their job?

I have no idea.

Interviewer: What did you think when they sent you back to Mali?

I thought it was regrettable. I was sorry I had wasted my money (by buying a ticket as far as Bouake). If I had had the choice I would not have returned (to Mali)...After that they took us back to Bankass.

Interviewer: After you arrived in Bankass, what did you do?

We arrived in Bankass at 10h in the morning and we walked by foot to get back here to Diallassagou at 23h. We were four people.

Interviewer: How were you welcomed?

My older brother was the first one to see me. He said he had heard on the radio that we had been repatriated. I went to greet my mother and my father. My mother was in tears saying that we didn't listen to people and we had gone all that way for nothing.

Interviewer: What was the reaction of your peers?

The laughed at us because we had been repatriated- we couldn't even set foot outside of our families (for fear of being teased).

FGARBA10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

One young male migrant from Bankass was repatriated by the police despite wishing to continue his journey. Thus, it is more than likely that he, and many other returned migrants will try and leave on migration again in the near future.

I was repatriated (by the police). I tried to talk them out of it but they wouldn't listen and they refused so they sent me back. They put me in a vehicle that went through Sikasso, Sevare, Bandiagara. I slept in Sevare and then I came to my village. From Sevare we went to Bandiagara then to Gan and then to my village. I came in this vehicle because the policemen put me in it – they paid my fare.

FGARBAN9: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sondio, (Bankass)

Those who had been repatriated by the authorities were humiliated by their friends and family and reproached for not having brought back any material gains.

The police at Gnene took us to the police station at Sikasso. The police telephoned a project in Sikasso and they came to get us. We spent 5 days with the project and then on the fifth day a man and a woman accompanied us back to the village... I don't know the name of the project.

Interviewer: Why did you spend 5 days with them?

They asked us our names, the names of our parents, the name of our village. They wrote it all down and then took us back here.

Interviewer: What was your lodging like during this time?

The project gave us food, mats and blankets. We washed until we were clean. We didn't work. They employed a domestic servant to prepare food for us.

...Our friends teased us because we didn't obtain anything because we had been repatriated.

Interviewer: What did your parents say?

They said that it was because we did not ask permission to go to Abidjan that we were repatriated... Our peers say that we didn't earn anything and that we didn't even have our bus tickets reimbursed when we were repatriated. We told them that it was because of the intermediaries that we were repatriated and for no other reason.

Interviewer: When you were brought back, did you want to stay or leave again?

I wanted to go to Bamako but my parents didn't want me to.

Interviewer: What do you envisage doing now?

I want go to Bamako or San or Sikasso after the harvest, work a bit and then come back at the beginning of the rainy season.

Interviewer: Why do you want to work in Mali?

To get some money and not bother my parents for all the little things I need.

FFILBAN6: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Whereas in the above testimony, the services of an NGO are clearly in evidence, most repatriated children were not assisted by NGOs and, indeed, did not know of their existence.

The NGOs didn't play any role in my repatriation – I don't know any NGOs. I went to Daloa with my uncle who found me work as a servant. When I decided to come back, he accompanied me back to my parents.

FFIIKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling Fakola, (Kolondieba)

Although repatriation is often talked of as delivering the child back to his/her home village, in one case above, the migrants were dropped in the nearest ‘cercle’ town (in this case Bankass) and walked another 12 hours to reach home. For the most part, no measures were taken to explain their return to their families, to reintegrate them into the community, or to suggest alternative economic opportunities. In fact returnees’ parents and peers seemed to have mistaken ideas about why the migrants were returned, and subjected them to substantial humiliation for coming back empty handed. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that many migrants resent being repatriated and seek to leave again as soon as possible. At the time of the study, we were told by NGOs and authorities in Bankass that the vast majority of repatriated children simply return to go on labour migration often after spending less than 48 hours in their home villages as the peer pressure and pressure from their families to achieve economic gains is so great.

It is noteworthy that in the case of the repatriation organized by the Consul of Bouake, duplicitous means were used to get children into the buses returning to Mali. Many migrants are likely to have been extremely irritated at this forced repatriation and any notion of children’s rights or opinions seemed to be totally ignored. However these repatriations by the Consul took place at the beginning of media coverage about the issue of trafficking and indeed did much to raise the profile of the subject in the national and international press. In fact, his activities alerted much of the world to the problem of child exploitation and constituted the catalyst for the development of many of the anti-trafficking measures subsequently initiated by the Malian government.

Section 28.0 describes in detail how the relatively few rehabilitation and repatriation services available at the time of the study did not seem to work, despite considerable investment by NGOs and government on transit housing, transport and personnel needed to return migrants. In particular, the key area of reintegration seems to be woefully underfunded, as most children appear to leave their villages again shortly after being returned. And, although they may seek to work within Mali rather than abroad, there is no guarantee that, in reality, the working conditions within the country are really much better than those outside it.

21.0 EMPLOYERS’ REACTIONS TO MIGRANTS’ DEPARTURES

Migrants were asked about the reaction of their employers to their decision to leave. The vast majority reported that their employer had been favourably inclined to their leaving and had not forbidden them to go. Even those boys who had been trafficked reported that they left their employers freely, two of which even having their transport paid by their employer to enable them to go back home. This illustrates, as will be discussed in detail below, that a migrant’s journey involves different elements and individuals and cannot simply be deemed trafficking or non-trafficking. Some elements may include aspects of exploitation and trafficking and others not. The point is that each journey needs to be broken down and looked at in its constituent parts rather than applying a blanket label to the child’s whole movement.

It was our employer who paid our transport home. He let us go because the work was done. When we arrived at Sikasso, Bah Sangare took us to Severe where we took up our Koranic studies for a few months. Then he left us go back to our respective villages to help our parents with agricultural work. When we left for the village he didn't give us anything in the way of money, nor anything for our parents.

EGARBAN1: Male trafficked migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

The boss did not chase me away and I didn't flee. I left of my own free will. I said to my boss that I wanted to leave and he allowed me to do so.

EGARKOL1: Male trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I left there freely. In fact it was my boss who accompanied me to the bus station and who paid my ticket back to my village.

EGARKOL2: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

All the young women who had worked as domestic servants reported leaving their jobs freely without any pressure to stay, threat of non-payment of salary or other difficulties. Indeed, much emphasis and pride was placed on the fact that the migrants perceived themselves to control the nature and timing of their departures.

We (me and my boss) didn't have a row – I came back of my own accord.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I didn't flee. Nobody came to liberate me because I was not a slave. I left of my own free will with the permission of my boss.

FFILKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

One or two employers of domestic servants were, at first, slightly reluctant to let their maids leave but with sufficient persuasion they came to agree and even gave the girls

Islamic blessings to send them on their way. Some maids may make their departure easier by finding a replacement probably among their entourage from their villages who were looking for work.

I really wanted to go back to my village and I asked by employer's permission. At first she refused but I told her my parents needed me and so she left me go. She gave me blessings.

FFILBAN9: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

I wasn't sent back. When I wanted to leave I went to find someone who could work in my place.

FFILBAN7: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Young men in Abidjan often did not have an employer as they worked for themselves in markets as porters and so were free to leave when they wanted.

I left Côte d'Ivoire of my own volition. I didn't have as boss as I was a porter.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Kolondièba)

I wasn't sent back neither did I flee. I came back of my own accord.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Those who worked in the plantations also, for the most part, were able to leave of their own free will.

I didn't flee. It was my employer who gave me the money to return as he told me that the work was finished.

FGARKOL5: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

I told my boss that I wanted to go back home. We worked out what he owed me. He paid me and wished me well. I left Côte d'Ivoire of my own will.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba).

I left of my own free will. The boss did not chase me away. In fact, he said that if I ever went back there I should not forget to come to him for work.

FGARKOL2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

In one or two cases, male migrants' employers were not happy but after persuasion they eventually agreed to the migrant's departure.

My boss did not want me to leave when I asked to go. But I pleaded with him and he accepted but said he was short of workers. I said it was impossible (that I stay) because my brother is no longer at home and someone needs to be with our mother. He understood and he accepted.

FGARKOL3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

My brother (who employed me) did not want me to go back. He had palm plantations and wanted me to help him maintain them. I didn't want to stay because he is our mother's oldest son, and if I stayed, it would be problem (for the family).

FGARKOL4: Male migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

One migrant reported that even though his boss reacted favourably, his peers with whom he ate and lived were not so happy at his departure.

When I told my boss I was leaving, he let me go without any problem. But my roommates were not happy as we had very good relations. They wanted me to come back next year. But if I go back next year it will be to Abidjan.

FGARKO23: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Zegueré, (Kolondièba).

22.0 THE JOURNEY HOME

The vast majority of migrants took the same routes home that they had taken in coming and so these will not be described in detail here. The same principles applied on their return in that many paid supplementary sums to the drivers to have them either avoid the authorities at the border by taking a back route, or to motivate them to negotiate fines/bribes with the police if stopped.

The boys who had worked in the bus station Abidjan were in some cases able to negotiate lower return fares because they had got to know the drivers who would be taking them.

Because we worked in the bus station we got to know the drivers and the convoy people and we arranged our return trip with them. Passengers outside the bus station paid CFA 10,000 whereas we paid CFA 5,000 so the driver would arrange the trip. This way we could count on the driver avoiding the authorities at Pogo. Then we took a motorbike to cross the border at Zegoua and then got a '35' minibus to Sikasso. From Sikasso to Dimbal we came in a '35' as well.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Many leaving Abidjan for Bankass spent three or four days en route as often the vehicles made many stops because of fear of thieves or because the driver was tired.

We took four days to get back – we had to sleep in Sikasso to get a vehicle to go on to Bankass.

FGARBAN5: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

Others took several vehicles often getting off at borders, crossing the border on foot or by motorbike to avoid interception by the authorities for fear of being fined and then taking another bus to continue their journey.

I took a vehicle to go to Pogo directly. From Pogo we took motorbikes to go to Zegoua and from Zegoua we took a vehicle to Sikasso and then another one to get us home.

FGARBAN8: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

At Pogo, so that we weren't bothered by the police officers, there are motorcyclists who will take you to Zegoua for CFA500. I spent the night there and the next day I went to Sikasso. From Sikasso, I went to Zantiebougu and then to Kolondièba then Kadiana.

Interviewer: How long did it take you to get back (from Bouake)?
It took 2 days and one night.

FGARKO20: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Those who left Tengrela for the villages of Kadiana or Fakola often made their journey on foot or by bicycle.

We took a vehicle from Diana to Tigrela. At Tengrela we went to get the bike that we had given to someone for safekeeping and that's how we returned. He (my friend) was on his bike and I was on foot.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I bought a new bike at Tengrela – the first and return journeys were the same. We left early in the morning and arrived at Tengrela at night.

FGARKOL3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

22.1 Penalties imposed by law enforcement authorities and migrants' strategies to avoid them

On their return from Côte d'Ivoire many migrants were stopped by the authorities (police, gendarmes etc) and asked for their papers. Although they were also stopped en route to Côte d'Ivoire (see Section 14.0 above) the frequency of such verification and the 'fines' (or bribes) imposed increased significantly on their return - probably because the officials knew they would be going back with cash earnings on their person. Some migrants who had made over CFA 100,000 during their stay were forced to relinquish nearly half of it to the authorities on their way home. Others, who made less, often returned with no financial gains whatsoever having been forced to hand over all their earnings to the police.

On my return I didn't have any papers and so I had trouble with the police.

Interviewer: How did you resolve this?

At each stop I had to pay CFA 1,000 or CFA 2,000. In certain areas we had to get off the bus and go by foot to avoid the chec point and then take the same vehicle the other side. Or I presented myself as the driver's apprentice – we did all that.

Interviewer: When you left there (Côte d'Ivoire) how much did you have in your pocket ?

I had CFA 55,000.

Interviewer: And you came back here with how much?

We spent everything en route in the transport costs.

Interviewer: You didn't bring anything back here?

Nothing.

FGARKOL6: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I had to pay a lot to the authorities on the way back. I didn't have any papers and at each stop the policemen made me pay CFA 1,000, CFA 2,500, CFA 5,000....

FFILBAN3: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

On my return, because of the policemen I had to part with CFA 50,000. They are harsh.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

Even those who had the correct papers often had them confiscated by the authorities who only gave them back when they paid a bribe. In fact, in some cases, it seemed to be better to have no papers rather than to produce any papers which could be conveniently construed by the authorities as being the 'wrong' documents and thus the basis for a bribe.

(I didn't have any trouble) apart from being harassed by the authorities. This harassment related to the necessary papers. Often they asked me to pay CFA 5,000 if I said I did not have any papers. I bargained and sometimes they accepted CFA 1,000 or CFA 2,000. In certain places, they get everyone who has papers to give them to them and told those who papers were not in order to pay money. Those of us who didn't have any papers (at all) were saved from this. During my whole return journey I paid CFA 22,500 to the authorities.

FGARKOL3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Others asked the driver to take routes which would help them to avoid the checkpoints but paid them a substantial sum to do so.

Well, on my return, he (the driver) told me to pay CFA 25,000 because I did not have any papers. I paid this sum so the driver went and intervened with the policemen for me (each time we were stopped). There was someone with me who had the correct papers - he paid CFA 15,000 for his ticket but still had to pay more than CFA 10,000 when we were stopped.

FGARKO20: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Not surprisingly, in many cases, young people hid in the vehicles in which they were travelling to avoid having to make such payments. Thus, the use of migrants' documents (or lack of them) as a basis for unjust fines and bribes seems to force young travellers to hide from the authorities to take circuitous routes to avoid them.

On my return I had many transport problems. I did not have enough money and I had to hide in a vehicle that was transporting cement... From Abidjan we went to Bouake where we spent 2 days. I stayed enclosed in the vehicle for 24 hours because I had to avoid the police because I didn't have any money (for fines). They gave me something to eat in the truck. Then we went on to another village- I can't remember the name of it. We spent the night there but I still had to stay in the truck...I had to pay at certain checkpoints because they discovered me in the vehicle, When I arrived in Mopti all my money was gone and I was obliged to sell the baggage ties that I had... the sort of ropes that you use to attach luggage (to a roof rack), in order to have enough money to get me back to my village...During all this time I was lying on sacks of cement. When I arrived in the village my whole skin was discoloured. For a month afterwards you would think I had rash all over my body.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass).

In general, it seemed that it was the authorities in Côte d'Ivoire rather than in Mali who were more aggressively seeking to relieve migrants of their earnings.

I am talking about the Ivorian authorities. At the exit from Seguela they took CFA 500 from me and CFA 500 at Tengrela because I did not have any papers.

EGARKOL1: Male trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

We weren't asked for our papers by the Malian authorities.

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Sokoura,
(Bankass)

These testimonies suggest that any additional document required by migrants (such as the 'titre de voyage') may serve to increase their exploitation by both the drivers (who will demand extra cash to avoid the checkpoints) and by the authorities themselves. Thus, it can only be suggested that the policy is carefully examined so as not to increase the clandestine and dangerous nature of children's journey, which the need for acquiring and showing documents seems to promote.

23.0 THE PROCESS OF REINTEGRATION

23.1 Attitudes of migrants' friends and families to their return

Those who came back to their villages having been able to save some money in Côte d'Ivoire (and retain it throughout their return journey) were, in general, welcomed with open arms upon their return. The fact that they were able to exhibit proof of their material gains aboard made them the centre of attention among their friends and families.

My parents were very happy to see me back. They rushed to meet me – some of them carried my bags and others gave me water to drink. They greeted me, asked after my health and after my boss and things like that. My friends came to see me and told me I was welcome. I brought presents, clothes and shoes for my brothers and sisters. I gave a bit of money to my parents. Soon after my return my parents didn't make me do any work around the house and my brothers and sisters were always ready to run errands for me, but little by little things got back to the way they were before I went away.

FFILKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling,
Fakola (Kolondièba)

I was well received by my parents. They killed a chicken for me and made me a nice dish of rice. Because I had not stayed away too long on labour migration I didn't have much money. I gave 6 pieces of cloth to my mother together with CFA 1,500 and CFA 5,000 to my father. My friends used to come round to my house to chat every night.

FGARKOL7: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Zeguere
(Kolondièba)

The parents of those who had been trafficked were simply glad to see them alive.

When we came back to the village, our parents said that they thought we were no longer alive. They thought we were dead. When they saw us they were very happy... the young people followed me because I gave them some money. I told you we didn't earn anything but when we got back to the village they (the intermediaries) gave us CFA500. It is not much but I spent it (on my friends).

EGARBAN1: Male trafficked migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Some migrants were able to provide financial support to their parents and relatives which made them much appreciated upon their return, even if they had fled to go on labour migration without parental consent. In some cases, parents who feared their children might flee again did everything they could to spoil them in order that they would stay in the village.

On my return I was appreciated by my peers because I had come back from labour migration. Not only did I have clothes, but I had money on me.

Interviewer: And your parents?

I was appreciated by my parents because we had been apart for a long time.

Interviewer: But because of the way you left (by fleeing) weren't they cross with you?

They weren't cross because when I came I brought clothes for my mother and my sisters. I gave CFA 100,000 to my father.

FGARKO14: Male migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

My parents were very glad to see me upon my return. My brothers, my sisters and my mother all rushed to meet me. They took my bags and gave me water to drink. My relatives said 'welcome back'. My peers, when they learnt that their brother had come back, came to welcome me. They were happy to see me.... My parents don't want me to go back there so they do everything to make me happy (here). It wasn't like that before.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Both returned girls and boys appeared to be able to better attract members of the opposite sex due to their apparent material success.

When I arrived I had three suitors. The first one, his mother and my mother had quarrelled so I don't want anything to do with him. The second had been adopted into our family and my folks didn't want me to marry a close relative and there was a third that my parents would never accept.

FFILBAN12: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallaye (Bankass)

Many boys ran after me when I got back but I stayed with the one I was going out with before I went to Côte d'Ivoire.

FFILBAN9: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

My friends welcomed me back warmly – even the girls did. I was more appealing to them than I was before I went away.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Kolondièba)

However, those who had returned with nothing due to unsuccessful employment experiences or because they had lost all their earnings to the authorities on the return journey risked being belittled by their peers and insulted or teased.

I wasn't at all envied by my peers. The day I came back, my friends came to visit me. With the CFA 515 (I had brought back) I bought some tea and sugar and was left with CFA125 in my pocket. I only brought back 2 pairs of trousers and a shirt. I wore the first pair of trousers for two days. On the third day I wore the other pair saying I was going to visit my mother who lived in a neighbouring village. I told her I hadn't brought anything back (from Côte d'Ivoire).

Interviewer: How did your peers perceive you?

They knew they were better than me as I had not even brought back a radio to which we could listen at night.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

I was ashamed because I had brought nothing back- I found it difficult to speak in front of people.

Interviewer: What was your status in front of your friends?

They were better than me because with their bikes they could transport luggage between here and Tengrela

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

When I arrived in the village I was ashamed to see people of my age group because they would say I had fled to go on labour migration and I had come back empty handed with not even any clothes. I was really ashamed in front of my friends. My parents shouted at me too saying that I had come back empty handed. I hid the CFA700 I had gained – if not they would have snatched them from me.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

23.2 The impact of migration on young people's status and on their potential for innovation and development

Many of the migrants brought back new ideas and behaviours that were likely to change the dynamics of their interactions with their parents and peers. Often these were articulated or evident in quite subtle ways and on other occasions migrants were clear about how their experience had changed them. In many cases, girls in particular, were more aware of the importance of personal health and hygiene. They had also been able to diversify their cooking repertoire.

Interviewer: Has anything changed about the way you dress?

Yes I have learnt how to be hygienic, to wear beautiful clothes and to look after the way I look.

Interviewer: Did you learn to make other dishes there?

Yes I learnt how to make other dishes- Ivorian dishes.

FFILBA12: Female migrant, 19 years old, married, no schooling, Diallaye (Bankass)

I was better than my peers who stayed in the village because I was better dressed than many of them.

Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I have new ideas now.... I dress in clean clothes.

FGARKO19: Male migrant, 14 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

One young woman even started wearing trousers – something that was probably considered quite revolutionary in her village.

Interviewer: What sort of new ideas did you bring back?

On my return the way I dressed changed because I now wear clothes that before I was ashamed to wear.

Interviewer: What sort of clothes?

Skirts and trousers – before I never wore such clothes but now I wear them.

FFILKOL1: Female migrant, 18 years old, secondary schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Some had seen elements of the ‘modern’ world for the first time and this had given them ideas about how to improve their village and, in particular, their homes.

I had the opportunity to see beautiful houses and the airport. That gave me the idea to build a nice house for my parents. In addition, I learnt how to cross the busy streets of the big city.

FGARKOL9: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

On my return my mother was crying because my brother had gone to get me... but she was very pleased to see me. The other members of the family didn't even speak to me. So on my return I built a room on the side of the house for my mother and me. I sleep there with my friends who welcomed me back with joy.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba).

Others spoke of how the migration experience had generally broadened their worldview.

Where the Senufos live there is the telephone and electricity – we don't have that here

FGARKO17: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba).

I saw electricity in Tengrela- everywhere was lit up. Every day was like market day.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Some returned migrants became more individualistic and said that they were more ready to take initiatives and to solve their own problems.

I changed my point of view in that I have been conscious that you mustn't depend too much on your parents. Often you must take your own initiatives and responsibilities and not bother your parents.

FGARBA12: Male migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Soukoura (Bankass)

I learnt that work alone pays off because I bought clothes and bowls through the sweat of my work.

FFILKOL5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Tongui, (Kolondièba)

One returned female migrant was able to start up a savings club based on what she had seen while away. Another appeared highly motivated to start up independent commercial activities.

I stated up a tontine (savings club) here with my friends. It didn't exist here before and it was something I had seen in Abidjan.

FFILBAN1: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

I came back with new ideas such as once I arrived in the village I wanted to do business if I had the means – if not I would go back (to Abidjan). I had my heart set on getting money to help my parents.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Others were proud that they had been able to learn French and impressed their peers in the village with their linguistic competence. Among the Dogon migrants from Bankass many had picked up Bambara, the lingua franca of Mali, which had opened up new horizons for them.

On my return I was really liked by my peers and they used to come round to my house....

Interviewer: Why were you liked by your peers?

Because I had been everywhere and I spoke Bambara.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene,
(Bankass)

My friends used to come round every night to chat. I have not been to school but now I speak French. This impressed my friends.

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Sokoura,
(Bankass)

I have changed from when I used to live in the village. When you are in the bush (in the village) you don't understand certain things. If you have not been to school, it is dangerous because you might cross somewhere where you risk dying without even knowing it. In Abidjan, people don't speak much Diola (Bambara) and so we are obliged to communicate in French – it was the tool of our work.

FGARBAN1: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou
(Bankass)

I did not come back with many new ideas but even so I was 'awakened'. I learnt Bambara and if there was a problem I could usually sort it out.

FGARBAN7: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe
(Bankass)

Thus, these testimonies indicate that, in addition to being an economic phenomenon, migration by young people increases their status among their families and peers *if* they bring back required money and material items. By contrast, those who return empty handed are subjected to shame and ridicule. The immense pressure on young people to fulfil these social and financial expectations and undertake this rite of passage means that they are likely to be prepared to put up with numerous risks and hardship whilst away in order not to be embarrassed or ostracised.

In addition, the returnees indicated that migration has exposed them to new ideas, new behaviours and given them a broader world-view. Many had gained the ability to speak a new language, were aware of the more developed corners of the region and were able to apply their new ideas, behaviours and aspirations to their village setting. This can only serve to increase the development potential of rural villages as migrants come back with the initiative and problem-solving abilities to make effective use of their skills and resources once they are home.

23.3 Migrants' problems with reintegration

Most migrants said that they did not have a problem returning to their village routine but a small minority cited problems that had made their reintegration difficult. Most of these related to the fact that they had not fulfilled the economic expectations of their friends, were embroiled in family conflicts that led them to migrate in the first place or, more frequently, that they had simply lost the taste for village life.

One migrant spoke of the discrimination he felt at the hands of his late mother's co-wife.

I did not want to stay in the village because my aunt (my father's wife) doesn't give us enough to eat and she insults us. I have a little brother and our mother is dead. If my mother wasn't dead I wouldn't have gone on labour migration.

FFILBAN2: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

One boy spoke of his unwillingness marry the girl that had been assigned to him. No girls mentioned the issue of dissatisfaction with their family's choice of spouse.

I don't want to stay but my mother has been saying a lot of things to persuade me to take a wife and to stay here. The woman in question had been reserved for my older brother who is in Côte d'Ivoire, but he doesn't want to come back so she was given to me. I didn't want (to marry) her as I don't want to stay here, by my mother said that if I refused she would disown me – she really wanted me to do this so I accepted.

FGARKO20: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba).

A number of boys who had been subjected to excessively hard labour or who had experienced difficult journeys were embarrassed to appear in front of their friends

because they had lost weight or because they perceived that they had not grown as much as they peers who remained behind.

I had trouble with my friend because he had (physically) grown more than us. I was not happy because the work here is as hard as it was in Côte d'Ivoire... I'd prefer to be a beggar. I don't like Nene (the village).

EGARBAN1: Male trafficked migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

When I had just got back I didn't go out because I had got so thin and people kept asking if I had been ill.

FGARBAN2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

In many cases migrants had been asked to bring certain items back as gifts for their friends. When they had not been able to do so, the latter became angry. Others were unable to integrate into their group (even though their friends had also not been able to return with any material benefits), because they were ashamed of their lack of success.

When I was leaving certain people told me that they wanted a radio – others a motorbike or money to feed their families. I was able to honour certain commitments like the radio and money but not all. Those who wanted motorbikes were angry. I told them to be patient as labour migration is not easy. You gain things little by little.

FGARBAN6: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass).

When I returned I had to go out and look for my friends – they didn't want to come round to my house because I had not brought anything back. They thought they were better than me because I hadn't brought anything. But I know that they didn't bring anything back either. I am really ashamed that I came back empty handed, so much so that I want to go on labour migration again. I am aware of the fact that my parents are poor and I didn't bring them anything.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

A number had simply lost the taste for village life now that they had seen the bright lights of the big city.

When I came back I really didn't have a taste for village life.

Interviewer: Why?

Because I had lost the habit of village life ... the way the meals tasted for example. I wanted to buy beautiful things that you don't see here. The money you can earn there, you can stay a month here and not be able to earn as much.

FGARKO23: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

Interviewer: Did you still have a taste for village life?

No, I wanted to go back to my first boss, the Peulh.

Interviewer: Why?

Because when you live the city life, it is very difficult to come back and live in the bush.

FGARKO16: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Thus, migrants appear to return with a different sense of self and view of their village environment. Integration can be made more difficult if they had not fulfilled the expectations of their peers. Others may view village life as inferior as their experience away has inculcated them with new values and aspirations that can only be met in the city.

24.0 RETURNED MIGRANTS' INTENTIONS

Now that they had returned home, migrants were asked what they intended to do. Those who had experienced hardship whilst abroad said that they would not go again but preferred to stay in the village or work elsewhere in Mali.

I don't want to go on labour migration again. I want to stay here in Mali. Labour migration is difficult – the Côte d'Ivoire is hard. When you arrive there everything goes wrong... the policemen take all your money.

EGARKOL1: Male trafficked migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I want to stay here and earn enough money to buy a radio. I don't want to go on labour migration again because it is too hard.

EGARKOL2: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

However, a large number of returned migrants (especially girls) said that they wanted to go back to Côte d'Ivoire⁷. Many were dissatisfied with the apparent lack of opportunities in their village and were determined to leave even if their parents objected.

I want to go back to Abidjan. I had the intention of going back to Côte d'Ivoire but my parents gave me away in marriage. Neither my mother nor my father nor my husband want me to go back to Abidjan. Here I just cultivate and do unpaid housework. I have decided to go, even if my husband doesn't want me to, as here there is nothing.

FFILBAN3: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

After the harvest I want to go to Côte d'Ivoire (again) but with the permission of my parents.

Interviewer: Where precisely do you want to go and why?

I want to go to Tengrela to get my wedding trousseau and clothes. Tengrela is near here – because of the war I don't want to go right into Côte d'Ivoire.

FFILKOL2: Female migrant, 16 years old, engaged, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

Boys were primarily interested in staying in their villages but admitted that realistically their financial needs could probably be only met elsewhere in Mali or abroad.

My project is to try and get money and to work in the village. That's what I have set my heart on – but how to get money? That is my main problem. If I continue like this I will go on labour migration to get money and then come back and work here.

FGARBAN5: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Others had more concrete ideas about how to stay in the village. One migrant repatriated from the plantations of Côte d'Ivoire described how, despite his meagre earnings, he was

⁷ However, this was just before the current difficulties in Côte d'Ivoire and presumably many will have changed their minds.

going to invest his money in a small business. Another was going to start a fruit farm with his father.

I don't want to go on labour migration again. I want to stay and work here. I want to get a grinding mill and with the little money I have I can sell cigarettes, tea, flour, sugar and kerosene. My father said that the person who brought me back gave him my salary which was CFA 12,000. I told him to give CFA 500 to my mother and to take CFA 1,500 himself. With the rest I am counting on being able to settle here.

FGARKO11: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I want to stay here and work. I gave more than half my (labour migration) earnings to my father. He wants to plant fruit trees that we will farm together.

FGARKO18: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Many girls were still worried that their dowries were not complete and some counted on going to Bamako to earn money to buy the missing items.

In Abidjan I just bought clothes – I need bowls. When I get enough money I am counting on going to Bamako to work so I can buy bowls.

FFILBAN5: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

My wish, if it is granted, is to go to work in Bamako and to come back to the village at the beginning of the rainy season.

FFILBAN9: Female migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

25.0 MIGRATION FROM BANKASS TO SAUDI ARABIA

The migration of girls from the villages of the 'cercle' of Bankass to Saudi Arabia has been discussed briefly in Section 4.1 above but will be examined in detail here as it involves different logistics, dynamics, and international authorities than those characterising migration to Côte d'Ivoire. In general, it also appears to involve girls younger than those who go to Côte d'Ivoire and who stay in their destinations for longer

periods – on average 7- 8 years. Nevertheless, the motivation behind this movement is the same as that driving girls to go and work as servants in Abidjan; namely, the possibility of earning money to enable them to put together their wedding trousseaux. It is noteworthy that most villages taking part in this migration adhere to the Wahabbiya brotherhood and are of Dafing ethnic origin rather than Dogon.

In the village of Sokoura, three girls were interviewed about the Bankass-Saudi Arabia connection. One had recently returned from Mecca where she had spent seven years as a domestic servant and two 11 year old girls were abandoning school at the time of the study to go to work in this destination. However, we got the impression that the movement was part of a phenomenon that was extremely widespread and long-standing. It often involved many generations of Dafing women both in Bankass and in Mecca who arranged a constant supply and exchange of young girls for domestic service in Saudi Arabia. In the village itself it was very noticeable that many women wore hijabs (headscarves) and chadors (long black robe) indicating that either they had stayed in Saudi Arabia or that they were influenced by family members who had done so or who were practising Wahabbiya. It was also noticeable that the village was one of the more economically developed among those we had visited. It boasted numerous mosques often built by those who had made money in Mecca, a significant number of residents had cars and it had a number of generators and mills and a large secondary school. People spoke a variety of different languages including French, Arabic and English and the village claimed to have migrants in the US, Canada, Spain, France as well as Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea.

As described, the main motivation for working in Saudi Arabia is to earn money for trousseau items. However, when compared with the aspirations of girls in other Bankass villages and those of their peers in Kolondièba, the young Dafing women wanted items of a higher value and sophistication that could often only be found in Saudi Arabia.

I want to (still) get items for my wedding trousseau and to decorate my house nicely because all the Dafing girls have nicely decorated houses. That's why we go and work in Mecca, to put our trousseau together. I want to (still) possess silver jewellery and gold plate. All the girls with whom I went on labour migration have their houses nicely decorated. The trousseau that I was able to put together with my jewellery made of gold and silver was stolen (here in the village). My peers wear their jewellery...

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

It was also perceived that the earning opportunities in Mecca were greater than in West Africa and that the work was less tiring. In addition, the benefits included the opportunity to go on pilgrimage and to learn other languages.

I heard that it is less tiring to go and work in Mecca. It is more tiring to go and work in Bamako. It is more advantageous to work in Mecca than to work in Bamako because Mecca is richer. I have 3 sisters in Mecca.

CFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 11 years old, primary schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

Other advantages of going there were that I learnt to speak Hausa. In addition, every year I went on pilgrimage. During my stay I went on pilgrimage 7 times.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

All the girls seemed to have close female relatives in Mecca who could strategically place them with families where they could work as servants. There seemed to be a highly developed multi-generational network comprising the girls' sisters, aunts, mothers, and grandmothers ready to help them and who were well linked to potential employers.

When I left the village, Mecca was my destination because my mother is based there and she told me to come and sent me the transport money.

Interviewer: Why did your mother ask you to go?

I wanted to go and get my trousseau together – there are a lot of people from here who are based there and they get their children to come. We have a lot of people (from here) living there. Even this year, a lot of girls are due to go.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

My paternal grandmother has been living there since well before I was born.

Interviewer: Is she alone there?

She is with her children- her husband died here.

Interviewer: Who are you going to travel with?

I am going with a relative of my grandmother and a number of other children from here who are going to work there.

CFILBAN2: Female future migrant, 11 years old, primary schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

Interviewer: How did you get to know about this work?

Through an intermediary called Sory, my older sister (who lives there) sent me a cassette telling me to come and work in Mecca.

CFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 11 years old, primary schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

The very young female migrants (often aged between 10 and 12 years) seem to be assisted by a number of intermediaries who trade between Saudi Arabia and Mali. These individuals, who were often born in the Bankass villages in question but who lived in Mecca where they traded, arranged for the girls' papers, accompanied them between Bamako and Saudi Arabia (usually on Ethiopian Airlines flights via Addis Ababa) and delivered them to their relatives in Mecca. Quite how or why the Saudi Arabian authorities in Bamako allow visas to be issued to groups of very young female children travelling such long distances with men to whom they are often unrelated in order to carry out potentially exploitative work in Mecca is unclear. In addition, it seems as if airport staff and airline companies turn a blind eye to lone men regularly accompanying groups of such young females. The one returned migrant interviewed described how, at age 11, she had been made to seem part of a religious delegation and was so able to pass unnoticed.

When we left we were 10 girls who all went together. We were 2 girls from Sokoura and the 8 others came from the surrounding villages, Massakana and Yira. In addition, there were 2 old men and 2 old women. The whole group was guided by someone from the (nearby) village of Yira. It was my mother who paid for my transport.

Interviewer: At what moment did you leave?

We went during the time of 'Umra' – just 15 days before the start of Ramadan.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

The two who intended to travel were going to have their arrangements made by intermediaries who presumably would have ways of getting them the necessary papers in Bamako. Indeed, the intermediaries were paid for such services by the children's relatives.

Interviewer: With whom are you going to leave?

I am going with Sory who is from this village.

Interviewer: Are you going alone with Sory?

There's me, an old lady and another girl who is going to Abidjan.

Interviewer: And where is Sory based?

He lives in Mecca but from time to time he comes to visit his mother and his uncle who are here.

Interviewer: What papers will you need and how will you get them?
I don't know what papers I need - it is Sory who is going to get the necessary papers in Bamako.

CFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 11 years old, primary schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

Interviewer: With whom are you going to travel?

With Seydou

Interviewer: Who is Seydou?

He is a young man from this village who lives there (Mecca). My grandmother lives there. She told Seydou to tell me to get ready to come and join her there as I was going to work there. She gave my transport costs to Seydou and sent CFA 1,000 so I could get an identity card.

Interviewer: This Seydou, what does he do?

He trades between Bamako and Saudi Arabia.

Interviewer: Where is he based?

Bamako.

CFILBAN2: Female future migrant, 11 years old, primary schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

The young woman interviewed who had been to Mecca described the process of preparing her trip and the ruses that were used en route to facilitate the journey and that of her young compatriots who travelled in a group with a number of other adults. It seems as if the young girls were passed off as the children of the people accompanying them and were given false names and false papers to this effect to show to the authorities.

From Sokoura we went to Bamako where we spent 3 months so that we could get the necessary papers to travel. From Bamako we took the plane that made a stop at Addis Ababa. The next day we continued to Jeddah. Once we arrived in Jeddah, we took a bus to go to Mecca...en route we were asked for our identity cards, our passports and visas. We passed ourselves off as the children of the old man and had a fabricated birth certificate and vaccination card to this effect. It was the trader who held the papers. Once we arrived in Addis Ababa he gave them to us so they could be checked by the authorities. Then he took them back again and gave them to us again at Jeddah. At the end everyone was given their papers. (As we were travelling) the trader in question told us to make sure we remembered our (false) names. He said to us that we would be repatriated if we forgot our names.

Interviewer: When you arrived in Mecca, what did you do?

Once we arrived we went to his house and each person's relative came and got them there. Before our departure it was he who arranged the papers. Our relatives gave me money to do this.

Interviewer: Was the trader paid to bring you there?

My mother said she gave him CFA 50,000 as compensation.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura, (Bankass)

Once she was there, her mother relied on a network of people originally from Bankass to find her daughter work.

It was my mother who welcomed me. She asked someone from our village to find me a job. That is how I came to work for some Hausa people.

Interviewer: Did your mother give money to this person (from your village)?

No, it was done as part of the solidarity that exists between them there.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura, (Bankass)

The young woman herself participated in discussions about her salary and chose to give her mother her salary at the end of each month.

The compatriot who found me work discussed my salary in my presence. At the end of each month the employer phoned her and said she was going to give me my salary which she did. I, in turn, then gave it to my mother.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

Her early days working as a servant were difficult because she could not speak Arabic and newly arrived girls tended to lose jobs because of this. Nevertheless, she remarked that even where a contract was broken, the girls were still usually remunerated for the little work they had done.

When you are newly arrived in Mecca because you don't understand Arabic, you can have major difficulties. Once you understand Arabic and the work system you don't suffer any more. You can work to buy your trousseau and then return. At the beginning, you can lose 3 or 4 jobs because you don't understand the language and you do the work badly.

Interviewer: If you lose your job are you paid?
Even if you work just one day you are paid.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

However, eventually, after losing two jobs at the beginning of her stay, at her third attempt she found a Saudi employer who treated her well. Her working conditions seemed good with a comfortable room, enough to eat and paid holiday.

I slept at my employer's house. I had a whole room to myself. I had everything in my room - work clothes, telephone and a foam mattress.

Interviewer: How did you eat?

I ate with my boss and the children. At work I wore a veil so that the husband of my boss did not see me. When the husband came back from work I went elsewhere in the house so we did not meet each other.

Interviewer: Were you free to go out when you wanted or were there restrictions?

From the beginning of the work agreement, it was decided by my employer and me that I would visit my relatives whenever I wanted to. I was free to go out. When the family went on holiday for three months I went to work elsewhere for two months and during the 3rd month I prepared for their return.

Interviewer: Were you paid during these 3 months' holiday?

Yes.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

The standard procedure seemed to be that when the migrants wanted to return home, they sent their luggage back in advance by freight and then declared themselves voluntarily to the Saudi police as illegal immigrants in order to be deported at the Saudis' expense.

I got myself repatriated. The people who are in charge of the repatriation are paid according to the number of people they send back.

Interviewer: How long were you detained before being repatriated?

I stayed for 7 days. On the day we were arrested we were taken to the prison in Mecca where we spent 2 nights. Then, on the third day we went to Jeddah and spent the rest of the time in prison there. On the 7th day everything was in place to repatriate us. It was the prison vehicle that took us to the airport.

Interviewer: How many were you?

We were 7 women and 2 men. From Jeddah the plane touched down at Addis Ababa and then continued to Bamako.

Interviewer: What did you do with your luggage?

I had already sent it home by boat as I was preparing to leave.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura, (Bankass)

Life in prison was by no means hard as the young woman described.

I had no difficulty in prison while I was being repatriated. By contrast, in prison you have everything. We slept on a bed with a fan. They gave us rice and chicken – which was really well cooked - a drink and coffee – (we had) everything we wanted.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura, (Bankass)

Evidence from elsewhere in the world suggests that many maids in Saudi Arabia may experience sexual harassment and exploitation but for our interviewee this did not seem to be the case. However, she had begun a relationship with a young Dogon man whom she had met there and was pregnant with his baby when she returned home. However the infant was born prematurely shortly after her return and then died. Her parents did not want her to marry someone from a different ethnic group and she since married a Dafing man from the village.

I did get pregnant by a young Dogon from the Mopti region who wanted to marry me but unfortunately my parents refused. This Dogon was working there and also studying at a Medersa. When I came back I became ill in the plane and gave birth to the baby after only 7 months and the child did not survive.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling,
Sokoura (Bankass)

The returnee described how she had been able to bring back numerous gifts for her friends and family. Her reintegration was made easy by the fact that she had always been in contact with her peers during her absence.

I was really well appreciated (by my friends and family) because I brought back, clothes, bowls, big scarves, holy water and money for my relatives and the old people who came to greet me.

Interviewer: Did you bring back any new ideas?

I know how to look after my parents-in-law without causing them any problems.

Interviewer: What facilitated your reintegration into the village?

When I was in Mecca I was always in contact with my peers. They sent me little presents from the village (couscous, assaka) and I sent them clothes and money. Immediately after I arrived back our social relations continued (where they had left off).

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

The migrant, now married and with a young child, expressed her desire to return to Mecca if her husband permitted.

I am trying to get a visa to go to Mecca – I am really counting on going back to Mecca. If I can't get the visa I will try and trade between here and Bamako.

FFILBA11: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

In this setting, unlike in the other villages of Bankass or in Kolondièba, some pupils perceived that labour migration to Saudi Arabia was more profitable than studying. The obvious material gains (which surpassed those achieved by migrants to Côte d'Ivoire) made it tempting to go to Mecca rather than to stay in school.

I am going to abandon school and go to Mecca because it is more advantageous to go to Mecca than to go to school.

CFILBAN1: Female future migrant, 11 years old, primary schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

However, it appeared that some provision was made for their being able to continue their education there.

Interviewer: Do you like school?

Yes

Interviewer: You are in 4th grade – why do you want to leave and go to Saudi Arabia?

To earn money.

Interviewer: So money is more important than schooling?

No.

Interviewer: So why don't you tell your father that you would prefer to study?

Because apparently it is nice there – so I am going to see what it is like, otherwise I like school.

Interviewer: Are you going to continue your schooling there?

My grandmother gives lessons to children from our village in Arabic. I will go to these lessons when I have finished working for my employer.

CFILBAN2: Female future migrant, 11 years old, primary schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

This type of migration from Bankass to Saudi Arabia raises several important moral and safety issues with regard to the children who undertake it. Firstly, the phenomenon is obviously borderline trafficking in the sense that an intermediary falsifies papers to allow the girls to cross international borders. However, as described above, the children themselves are willing to go and the decision is often made or supported by their families. In addition, their parents (often including their biological mothers) are often resident in Mecca and are the catalyst for the child's migration. These factors need to be considered in a context where the movement and fluidity of children between households (for example, through the phenomenon of child fostering⁸) is widespread even in their home villages. Furthermore, the fact that the intermediaries do not seem to be remunerated exorbitant sums or sometimes not remunerated at all, underscores the role of the latter as a facilitator rather than as a trafficker in this context.

If we return to the Palermo Protocol:

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of the threat of 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.

Even if the intermediaries described here are considered traffickers, the actual act of trafficking appears to only apply to the journey of the child and to the obtaining of documents needed for this, and not to other parts of the migration experience. However, even so, the fraud and deception is at the level of the intermediaries' dealings with the authorities and not with the child who is aware of, and in agreement with, what is happening. The intermediaries described here appeared neither to recruit the children directly but rather accompany them at the request of their parents. Once they deliver them to their relatives in Mecca, they do not place them with employers and do not receive any benefit from their salaries. This points to the complexities of applying an operational definition of trafficking to situations like this where only parts of the child's migration experience may be considered to comprise trafficking and others elements of it may not.

⁸ Child fostering or the shifting of children to be raised by people other than their biological parents is extremely common in these societies. Previous studies in the same region showed that over one third of all girls aged 5-15 were under the care of someone other than their biological mother (Castle 1995).

Furthermore, these cases point to the role of fraudulent systems which allow rules pertaining to the travel of unaccompanied minors to be bent through cash payments to corrupt administrations. This perhaps has more serious implications and consequences than the actions of individuals who use these procedures as a means to deliver a child to their parents (who have requested their presence) with the child's full approval. Collusion (albeit sometimes inadvertent) amongst Embassies, health services, travel agencies and civil administrators as well as airport employees who facilitate the acquisition of visas, false birth certificates and vaccination cards, and who permit such children to be embarked on aeroplanes when they are obviously minors, is in some ways far more key to the perpetuation of so-called trafficking or the exploitation of children than the actions of the intermediaries. In this sense, it is the institutions facilitating the intermediaries rather than the intermediaries themselves that need to be investigated. As described above, children would not need to use such intermediaries if such lapses in the system did not exist.

Nevertheless, it is also clear that taking young girls out of school at 11 years old (or having them forfeit the chance of going to school altogether) to undertake a long and arduous journey, with someone they do not necessarily know, to a country where they do not know the language or culture has to be potentially destabilising and damaging, no matter what the perceived economic advantage or family support available. There is a strong possibility (although no evidence was collected here to corroborate it) that placing such young, probably naïve girls in Arab and other households in Mecca is likely to result in their incurring sexual and reproductive health risks at the very least. However, in order to understand the context, dynamics and consequences of this migration, more in-depth research is required in the villages of Bankass, among authorities in Bamako who issue necessary papers and visas and apparently permit such children to travel unhindered. In addition, an investigation of their treatment in their families' and employers' households in Saudi Arabia seems necessary to protect their interests.

26.0 YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS IN ORDER TO LIMIT MIGRATION

Both migrants and non-migrants were asked what factors might limit rates of out-migration from their communities. Many made reference to the poor infrastructure of many of their villages and said that it was necessary to improve basic services to encourage people to stay.

The building of things such as schools, roads, health centres and water supplies and the development of the cotton sector could be carried out – our village could be developed to the point where we don't want to migrate.

FFILBAN7: Female migrant, 18 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

If our roads were tarmaced we could communicate with others and construct dams on our rivers together with bridges like there are at Daloa (in Côte d'Ivoire). Then we would stay.

FFILKOL6: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

The essential thing is that we have a road that links us to Bamako. If there was a road, even if you have a bit of money you could do commerce and make some money. Then, there needs to be an irrigation system so we could do market gardening. This could slow down labour migration by young people.

FGARKO22: Male migrant, 18 years old, engaged no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

However, the overwhelming majority of both educated and uneducated respondents said that it was education and the building of schools that would retain young people.

If there was a school then people would stay as they would know that later they will have a lot of money if they work well at school.

FFILKO16: Female migrant, 18 years old, engaged, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

If we could unite to build a school then this would help retain young people. Even if the school doesn't stop migration it will slow it down because school pupils haven't got time to go on migration. Apart from a school I don't know what you can do to make people stay here.

FGARKOL5: Male migrant, 16 years old, no schooling, Fakola, (Kolondièba)

For those who were not able to go to school, migrants suggested that literacy courses may help to retain them.

Now there is a form of teaching which is called 'the leaning calabash' (filend a jenge) for young people and after four years they get a job. We would like a type of 'school' like this because when you are illiterate

you are like an animal. An educated man is awakened and he never gets lost in life.

FGARBAN1: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

One pointed out that many were stopped from continuing their education because they did not have host families in the town where the secondary schools were located.

They need to do a lot of things to retain young people. School can retain young people but here people don't go far in their studies – either they are expelled or they can't go and continue their (secondary) schooling elsewhere because they don't have relatives (there).

FFILBAN4: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Sokoura, (Bankass)

A large number of young people claimed that access to capital would serve to stop young people migrating. Many spoke of the need for credit or small enterprise schemes that were aimed specifically at young people and managed by them. Existing credit schemes appeared to discriminate against them and only target older people.

If something could be done in the village that would bring money to young people then we wouldn't go on labour migration. For example, they could install a pump to provide us with water or give us a grinding mill that could be managed by us.

FFILBAN1: Female migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

When you organise young people you could get them to have a (market) garden for themselves – that would lessen labour migration. There are savings and loans clubs but they don't give credit to young people. Life is becoming difficult and I think young people should have access to credit.

FGARKO21: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Many spoke of specific skills that young people wanted to acquire. They perceived that these would then enable them to earn money and provide a service in their village environments.

You should teach young people to do carpentry and give them a fund with which they can do commercial activity.

FGARBA10: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

You could open a tailoring centre to retain young people. Young people could learn how to tailor and teach others.

FGARKO13: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Others in Kolondièba spoke of developing the cotton sector and involving young people in its production.

The cultivation of cotton could slow down labour migration. With money gained from the sale of cotton, a lot of young people's needs would be satisfied.

EGARKOL2: Male trafficked migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

What could retain young people is the cultivation of cotton. You should give young people a field that they cultivate and manage themselves.

FGARKOL2: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

As it stands, the problem is that there is very little economic opportunity in the migrants' villages during the dry season. Faced with very little to do and no possibility of remuneration it is, of course, logical to try and seek employment elsewhere.

Here there is nothing to do – you should let us go to Abidjan.

FGARBA11: Male migrant, 17 years old, no schooling, Nene, (Bankass)

We don't have anything here – you just have to sit around inactive until the rainy season starts.

Fgarba12: Male migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Soukoura (Bankass)

If you see the young women go off to Abidjan with all the risk that entails and coming back in a bad state, ill, it is because there is nothing to do outside the rainy season.

FGARBAN1: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

However, the social importance of migration cannot be underestimated. It is possible that even if development activities were carried out that the peer pressure and material aspirations driving many migrants may still mean that they leave for Abidjan or elsewhere.

In the whole village you think that something can be done to retain young people? I don't think so. Nothing can retain them. They have to go so that they can see the good things and the bad things of life outside Mali. Those who stay in the village are envious of those who go because when they come back they speak other languages like Bambara and French. Those who stay in the village are not happy – they have to go. Nothing can stop them. In my view, nothing you can do will stop them.

FFILBAN8: Female migrant, 16 years old, married, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

I think it is difficult to retain the young people because a lot of them go to Côte d'Ivoire just to see it.

FGARBAN3: Male migrant, 18 years old, no schooling, Diallassagou (Kolondièba)

Finally, the importance of encouraging and maintaining family dynamics where young people are respected and listened too cannot be underestimated. One young migrant made a direct link between improving family environments and decreasing migration.

Also, you should raise awareness among parents so they don't insult or hit their children because this could incite them to go on labour migration.

FGARKO14: Male migrant, 15 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

27.0 PARENTS' AND COMMUNITY LEADERS' OPINIONS ABOUT MIGRATION

27.1 Migration as a tradition

Parents and community leaders revealed that youth migration has taken place for an extremely long time and that almost all families had experienced the phenomenon at some point. Many claimed that migration has increased in the past ten years due to poverty caused by successive years of poor harvests and, in Kolondièba, depressed world prices for cotton. Interviewees reiterated that these factors had led to migration involving younger and younger individuals.

Migration is an old practice in my family. Some of my uncles were already in Côte d'Ivoire before I was born. I have been in the habit of going too.

Father, Secretary to the mayor, 34 years old, secondary schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

Long before I was born, there was population movement from here. I left to go to Côte d'Ivoire. Since coffee has meant money, our countrymen have gone to Côte d'Ivoire more and more to look for money.

Leader, President of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

In the Dogon Country, migration began a century ago: but in the community of Dimbal, migration to Ghana began from 1913. It was an isolated phenomenon. Later Côte d'Ivoire became the favourite destination for young Dogons.

Leader, village chief, 45 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

However, a small minority noted that the practice is more recent in their families.

Migration started in our household after I was married. It is a recent practice.

Father, weaver, 48 years old, no schooling, Sondio (Bankass)

Migration is recent in our family. It started with our children, and that was because of the financial problems that have hit our household in recent years.

Mother, cultivator, 47 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

There were also households where young people did not migrate because the labour of all individuals was needed at home or because they were able to eek out a living in the village.

The young people in our household are not used to migrating because they have too much work to do in the fields and in the house. In addition, they are small traders during the dry season. They know that they earn a better living here than abroad.

Mother, cultivator, 33 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

27.2 Changes in the economic reasons for migration.

Parents and leaders testified that the principal reason for youth migration has always been economic, although, as described above, the social and psychological consequences of the practice cannot be underestimated. Young people tend to seek paid employment with which to satisfy their own material needs and those of the family. However, they reiterated that, in recent years, young people's departures have increased because of poor harvests which have led to food insecurity.

The land no longer produces enough. There is drought. The rains are inadequate, and poverty hits more and more families. So the young people leave. There are also those who leave because their friends have gone.

Father, stonemason, 56 years old, no schooling, Sokoura (Bankass)

The arable land is impoverished. There is no income-generating work, and this is the reason for the migration of young people.

Father, weaver, 58 years old, no schooling, Sondio (Bankass)

Some leaders perceived the departure of the young people after a poor harvest to come as a relief to poor families who would then have fewer mouths to feed.

When there are not many people in a family, there are few mouths to feed. But when there are many, then you have to find food for all the members. And there has not been enough rain to produce a good harvest.

Leader, Mayor, 56 years old, secondary schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

In Bankass, parents recognised that girls' migration appears to be a more recent phenomenon motivated, as described above, by their need to outdo their friends in terms of the size and composition of their wedding trousseaux.

Years ago, a girl could go to her new home with a piece of cloth, a scarf and a few kitchen utensils. Now they need a whole variety of cloth, scarves, dishes and cooking pots and so on for the girl to accept joining her husband. Without this prestigious trousseau, the wedding will not take place.

Mother, hairdresser, 55 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Leaders noted the same practice and said that, while men under the age of 18 have always left the region, young unmarried women, particularly those from Bankass, began to go only recently. As described by the young migrants above, a young woman will not agree to leave for her husband's household, (particularly if he is polygamous) without a trousseau of the required standard which she perceives her peers to have been able to acquire. Having an inferior trousseau would mean that she would become the subject of mockery on the part of her co-wife and feel humiliated.

Migration of young women is recent. It dates from the 1980s. They go to put together their marriage trousseaux and also to acquire skills (cooking, hygiene, etc.) Their mothers can no longer offer them the trousseau that brings prestige. This trousseau is one of the conditions to be met before moving to the husband's house.

Father, cultivator, 45 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

27.3 Changes in the social and cultural reasons for migration

If young boys migrated twenty years ago to fulfil the family's economic needs, today individual wellbeing is more important than that of their relatives. Notions of family solidarity have given way to individualism and young people want to satisfy their own needs first. For young men, these relate to bride-price payments (which are often very costly) and, as articulated above by young people themselves, the need to pay for bicycles, radios and clothes. These material aspirations often overrule any family

obligations and, as shown above and reiterated by parents here, result in many young migrants leaving without parental consent.

Before independence, young people migrated following a decision by the family. It was the head of the family who designated those who were to leave. The reason was economic. The migrant had to work and bring back the money earned to give to the head of the family who used it to pay taxes. So the contribution of migration to the family's living conditions was important. For the last ten years, young people have been leaving to satisfy their own needs and not those of the family.

Leader, President of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

Young people want a bicycle or a motorbike. A young man who does not have one and knows that his father cannot afford to give it to him, decides to go away to work in order to fulfil these material needs.

Father, cultivator 45 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Parents noted that young people who feel discriminated by their family heads often free themselves from the patriarch's authority. Leaders remarked that, in polygamous households, the attitude of the father in rewarding the children of the favourite wife after the harvest often causes anger and frustration among the others who have worked for him all the year long. With their mother's financial support, and often with her encouragement, these children leave to migrate and find their own resources.

When a young person doesn't get on with his family, he frees himself from the elders' authority by migrating.

Father, Muezzin, 33 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Unequal treatment of children in polygamous households is also a reason for the departure of those who are irritated (by this). Some children work in the fields and are not rewarded by the head of the family. The children of the favourite wife who have not worked in the fields receive the presents. So the mothers of frustrated children encourage them to go abroad to earn their own income.

Leader, cultivator, 48, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Leaders agreed that the traditional extended family which used to act as a means to increase stability, has broken down in the face of the increasing importance of individual needs, because of poverty and due to the inability of heads of families to meet the

requirements of all members of the extended family. Young people who are dissatisfied with the attitude of their family head leave the village to try and make it on their own.

The youth of today no longer want to work for their elders. Their first priority is themselves, followed by their relatives.

Leader, President of surveillance committee, 77 years old, secondary schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

Parents said that young people are no longer attached to the values of which their elders were so proud. Many young people think they no longer have duties and responsibilities towards their families and communities. This can result in migrants' rejecting the extended family or even the spouse chosen for them and, as the leaders remarked, keeping their earnings for themselves.

In our day, the earnings from migration was given to the family (to pay the family's taxes). Today young people don't bring anything back and don't give anything to their parents. They keep to themselves the money they earn, if they make anything.

Father, cultivator, 60 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

During migration, young people learn many practices that conflict with our values. They don't want (to live in the) the extended family and prefer to live on their own.

Father, koranic teacher, 75 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

When they come back to the village, young people consider us to be 'has-beens'. They refuse to do agricultural work and can no longer live our life. Girls reject the fiancés chosen by their parents.

Father, cultivator, 55 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

27.4 Positive consequences of migration for the household and community.

Despite conflicting with elders' social values, parents and leaders did talk of many positive aspects associated with migration. Migration earned funds to enable some families to fulfil vital needs such as payment of taxes, brideprice, or allowed them to acquire agricultural equipment or a wedding trousseau.

The earnings from my migration helped finance the weddings of some young men in our family and to clothe several people.

Father, cultivator, 55 years old, primary schooling, Zeguere (Bankass)

With the money brought in by the migrant, the head of the family pays taxes for the household and the brideprice for a young man old enough to marry.

Father, cultivator, 68 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

I have sons in Côte d'Ivoire. We survive today thanks to them. They send us money to pay for cereals, fertilizers and clothing.

Father, cultivator, 55 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

The advantages of migration are not only material ones. As the young women themselves remarked, girls also acquire certain skills such as learning a new style of cookery and rules about hygiene. They become wives of whom their households can be proud.

The girls learn rules of hygiene, and how too cook in the style of their receiving country. They become the pride of their households because they are different from those who did not migrate. They are cleaner and more welcoming.

Mother, trader, 52 years old, no schooling, Sondio (Bankass)

Many leaders recognised that migration has positive aspects and can facilitate village development. Not only has moving away enabled some to earn resources for their families and themselves, but also to acquire new ideas about forming associations, and organising development activities in their home villages.

Upon their return, young migrants communicate new ideas such as planting orchards, creating associations that are more structured than the traditional 'ton' (age-set) associations. Some become intermediaries between the villagers and development projects. Some migrants build communal structures in their village (mosques, health centres).

Leader, cultivator, 48 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Upon their return, some migrants have introduced changes with respect to architecture in their villages. The state of public buildings, such as mosques has often improved thanks to the migrants' financial contributions.

I was the first to build a house with a corrugated iron roof here. Later others did the same – all this is thanks to migration.

Leader, president of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

Some return with plastic prayer mats and alarm clocks for the mosque. Others have new doors made for their mosques.

Leader, imam, 65 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Others introduced modern means of communication, such as radio and television sets, which enable the villagers to become better informed. Other migrants were able to facilitate general development through their remittances.

Migration has a positive influence on the village because on their return the young people bring televisions, radios, motorbikes: all the village benefits. It also brings about development in the village. They buy basic foodstuffs for the family.

Leader, head of women's association, 34 years old, no schooling
Tiongui (Kolondièba)

Migrants from our commune who are in Mecca sent us the money to undertake development work. The fund sent to the mayor's office was 600,000 CFA

Leader, village advisor, 46 years old, secondary schooling,
Diallassagou (Bankass)

One leader remarked upon how returning women migrants use pre-natal services during their pregnancies and explain to their peers that they should take advantage of them too.

Migrants return with their eyes opened and with modern ideas. As far as young women are concerned, they go for pre-natal check-ups. They know the recipes for dishes prepared in the countries where they have been. You can say that migration has been of benefit to them. The girls who have not left imitate them.

Leader, mayor, 56 years old, secondary schooling, Dimbal Haabe
(Bankass)

Thus, in the many parents' and leaders' eyes, migration leads to acquisition of more than material resources for those who leave. It facilitates the development of village infrastructure, and the acquisition of new ideas which can improve living conditions and the health of the whole community.

27.5 Negative consequences of migration for the household and community.

The parents and leaders talked about the negative aspects of migration, ranging from the lack of manual labour to damage it did to social values. Parents remarked that sometimes boys are less respectful on their return. They adopt behaviours that are contrary to village values. For example, they may refuse to work in the fields, pretending that they are going into small business. Some encourage their brothers to leave saying they could earn more abroad.

On their return from migration, some encourage their brothers and sisters to go there too. That has made the lack of labour even worse.

Mother, market trader, 30 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

There is a lack of labour to cultivate the fields during the rainy season. On their return, some migrants are disrespectful and no longer help their parents in the fields.

Father, cultivator, 60 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Some people migrate right in the middle of the rainy season. That leads to a lack of manpower. On their return, there are some who do not like doing agricultural work any more. Migration has led to selfishness.

Leader, advisor to Mayor, 67 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Leaders remarked that the authority of the elders is increasingly called into question and a family head will be humiliated if he can no longer feed the members of the family. He will be no longer respected by young people who often migrate without telling him.

Values, duties and responsibilities have changed. The consumer economy has created special needs. Young people no longer wish to submit to the authority of the elders. Working the soil is considered too hard. The meagre revenue it generates is kept by the elders. Young people feel unjustly treated. This is why so many run away without telling their parents. The (increasing numbers of) nuclear families is the first manifestation of all these changes.

Leader, member of surveillance committee, 48 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Before, we used to leave to migrate and we didn't change our way of looking at life because the reason for our departure was economic. Now, once young people go abroad they develop an attitude. They reject our values and rebel against practices like showing respect for elders and for parental authority.

Leader, president of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, Kolondièba

However, migration appeared to be seen as a necessary evil for poor families. On the one hand, parents condemn it because of the suffering it brings on children. On the other, the lack of material resources often means that parents are obliged to condone or even encourage it.

Because of poverty, I am for youth migration as it enables them to fulfil their needs. If it were not for that I would be against the practice, because they suffer and are often victims of non-payment of their salaries.

Mother, midwife, 36 years old, secondary schooling, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

Some women said they counted on their children to help them because the men do not contribute to all the family expenses. In particular, women needed migrants' remittances in order to get their daughters' wedding trousseaux together.

It is a good thing because men do not help their wives with expenses for children: so if a child can manage to pay for his own needs thanks to migration, that will give the mother some relief.

Mother, trader, 49 years old, primary schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

I am for youth migration because they use their money for family needs. Girls prepare their own trousseaux – however, some of them turn to prostitution.

Mother, trader, 50 years old, no schooling, Sondio (Bankass)

In general, more men than women tended to be opposed to youth migration, particularly by girls. They argued that migration tended to reduce the family labour force and some girls never returned.

Girls can be seduced by men in the towns. I am absolutely against youth migration.

Father, cultivator, 54 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I am against youth migration because it prevents families from making progress. Migration is a gamble. Some come back empty-handed, and others stay there for good.

Father, trader, primary schooling, 47 years old, Fakola (Kolondièba)

I do not approve of migration by girls because they are liable to come back pregnant.

Father, weaver, 58 years old, no schooling, Sondio (Bankass)

Leaders consistently reiterated that girls behaved in an inappropriate manner upon their return, sometimes rejecting the spouses that had been chosen for them and freely socialising with the opposite sex.

Some young women who leave to migrate reject their fiancés once they return home. They lead a life that is different from ours. For instance, they can go out of the house at any time and be seen in public with the boys in broad daylight.

Leader, advisor to mayor, 45 years old, primary schooling, Tiongui (Kolondièba)

Other girls who migrate reject their fiancés in the village to go and follow men in the town.

Leader, imam, 65 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

They bring bad behaviour into the village. Those who have never left try to imitate the bad behaviour of the migrants. They take drugs. The girls behave in a way that is contrary to our values. They let themselves be treated familiarly by the boys: they are shameless and reject their parents' authority.

Leader, president of cotton cultivation association, 60 years old, Zeguere, (Kolondièba)

Some leaders referred to cases of AIDS which had lead to the death of some migrants on the return to their country.

Some of our children came back from Côte d'Ivoire with unknown illnesses. Some have died. We all think they had AIDS.

Leader, assistant to Mayor, 45 years old, Tiongui (Kolondièba)

I have seen some sick from AIDS and others who had sexually transmitted diseases.

Leader, president of women's association, 34 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

There have been cases here among returning migrants of unknown illnesses. They had diarrhoea and vomited a lot. Unfortunately they are all dead now.

Leader, president of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

27.6 Parents' and leaders' knowledge of intermediaries

Parents and leaders in Kolondièba noted that intermediaries and also Ivorian employers come to villages on the border with Côte d'Ivoire. They described an old practice which involves giving a young man from the family as an agricultural labourer to an Ivorian farmer who brings him back after the sale of the harvest. The intermediaries and employers are often men originating from the border areas who own cash-crop farms in Côte d'Ivoire. Negotiations often take place with the child's father.

Before, Senuso farmers came from Côte d'Ivoire to recruit seasonal labour here for their farms of coffee, cocoa and cotton. Negotiations took place with the parents who knew them well in any case. This is why the parents let the young people leave with them. The farmer gives a third of the harvest to the labourer as his salary

Father, cultivator, 54 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Ivorian farmers come at the beginning of the rainy season to look for young men of 12 – 15 years to become labourers. The contract is made with the father who receives the salary once the work has been done..

Leader, president of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

As described by the young interviewees above, intermediaries also comprise people originally from the Malian villages who take young people back with them to Côte d'Ivoire on their return from visits to the village, without consulting the parents. On their arrival they give them to Ivorian farmers and take a fee for this. What is interesting about the parents' and leaders' testimonies below is that they contrast so sharply with children's testimonies of their own experiences, which indicated that many left their villages freely and used intermediaries as a means to reach their goal.

Some people from our village, now settled in Côte d'Ivoire, are also intermediaries. They take advantage of their stay in the village to attract young people and take them away. They usually come after the rainy season and take them to work on their plantations.

Mother, cultivator, 50 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

There is a man from Gorongo (a village near Kolondièba) who came here last year to recruit two young men, claiming that he would give them work. He shut them up in Daloa where they were found by the authorities who rescued them and brought them back here. The intermediaries come at the time of the coffee harvest. They look for children aged from 9 to 13 who are naïve and do not know Côte d'Ivoire. They promise them work on the coffee plantations but sell them to other planters as soon as they arrive.

Father, cultivator, 60 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Often the deal is discussed directly between an intermediary and the young boy, following promises of high wages, a bicycle and clothes. The intermediary advises the child to say nothing to his parents as he runs away and joins the employer on the road outside the village.

To recruit children, the intermediaries promise high wages, clothing and good living and working conditions. They forbid the children to tell their parents because they will refuse to let them go. Generally the children are given to Ivorian farmers known to their families. Some parents give their children to relatives or people originating from their village and settled in Côte d'Ivoire, so that they can give them as agricultural workers to Ivorian farmers.

Leader, president of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, Kolondièba

This very old practice is known to the population of Kolondièba 'cercle'. It can be explained by the fact that the Ivorian farmers have used animals for agricultural work for much longer than their Malian counterparts. It is also a system that enables poor families to acquire the means to purchase certain family needs and to buy working oxen. Some families have had good experiences, as at the end of the contract the Ivorian farmer brings the child back and pays his salary. There are also less successful experiences since children who deal directly with Ivorian farmers have often not received the whole of their salary at the end of the contract.

In Kolondièba, a number of villagers became accomplices of some of these intermediaries by identifying young people liable to migrate and some were arrested.

Last year a young man called Bréhima came from Côte d'Ivoire. In agreement with a young man from our village called Lancéni, he

wanted to take children away. We made enquiries and found they were responsible for this plan. They were arrested. It is at the time of the rainy season when you hope your son will take up a hoe and start work that he runs away with intermediaries. Some claim the boys will work for them, others that they will find employers for them. They take 30,000-50,000 F CFA from the employer and give him the child who will then work for years with no pay.

Father, cultivator, 55 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

The intermediaries identified and known to the villagers are originally from the border area, residing either in Côte d'Ivoire or in Mali. In many cases, the parents know nothing of the child's migration until the child reaches Côte d'Ivoire, if they happen to be seen by someone from the original village who knows the child. Families with the means to do so then send someone to fetch their children.

To obtain our children, the intermediaries from our village contact them by night, unknown to the parents. They trick the child by proposing attractive salaries. The children meet them at an agreed spot. They pay the children's transport costs. They use them in their fields until another person from our village discovers them and informs the authorities. They then send a message to the employer that he should send the child back. Usually the employer pays about half the wages owed to the child and refuses to pay the rest.

Mother, trader, 49 years old, primary schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

They propose a high salary to the child. The child accepts, thinking that he will earn a lot of money and bring it home to his parents. But upon arriving in Côte d'Ivoire, he is let down.

Father, cultivator, 55 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

The intermediaries promise children bicycles, radios and other objects. They tell them that it will take much more time to have these items here. They propose sums going up to 250,000 F CFA a year.

Mother, midwife, 36 years old, secondary schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

The intermediaries cited by the parents are above all Malian and Ivorian small farmers as well as a few young men who know the young people who want to migrate. Some also spoke of the role of drivers and ticket-sellers, not as intermediaries, but as persons who facilitate the migrants' journeys in order to place them with Ivorian planters.

However, some parents say the recruitment of children by Ivorian farmers no longer takes place in their village.

We have forbidden this practice, but it used to happen. The intermediaries came when the rains were due to start. They looked for children aged 7 to 10 years.

Father, cultivator, 60 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

27.7 Parents' and leaders' knowledge of surveillance committees

Knowledge of the surveillance committees was not very widespread among parents in the Bankass Circle area where the only committee is in the town of Bankass. Although the Kolondièba Circle has more than a dozen surveillance Committees to monitor trafficking, few parents knew about them. Even where their existence is known to the population, most parents are unaware of the objectives that the committees have been assigned. The committees in the Kolondièba Circle were established by the Save the Children US' Kolondièba office, in collaboration with the Regional Direction for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family and are described in detail in Section 29.0.

I know that there is a surveillance committee in the village but I don't know what it is supposed to do.

Mother, hairdresser, 55 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

As the season for the departure of young people approaches, the committee holds an awareness-raising campaign for them. During the two years of the committee's existence, youth migration has diminished.

Father, cultivator, 50 years old, no schooling, Tiongui (Kolondièba)

Our surveillance committee has already brought back 4 children. Our weakness is the fact that there is no communication between members. They don't hold meetings.

Father, koranic teacher, 75 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Parents perceived that the committees have financial and material difficulties which prevent them from achieving satisfactory results in terms of repatriating young migrants.

There is a surveillance committee here and I'm a member. The committee operates checks at the bus stations in collaboration with the gendarmes. Since its creation, transport workers have no longer dared take children without authorisation, for fear of being arrested. The committee lacks means of transport and financial resources to conduct its business properly. Members are unable to go to Côte d'Ivoire to look for children in difficulty.

Father, trader, primary schooling, 47 years old, Fakola (Kolondièba)

Previously, no strategy had been taken at village level to which all villagers had to adhere until the surveillance committees were established. The setting up of committees occurred following the information fora held by Save the Children US in the communes of the Kolondièba Circle area. These are described in detail in Section 29.0 below. In some cases, the policy was instigated by the surveillance committees involved the interception by adults of any child travelling unaccompanied towards Côte d'Ivoire.

The members of the surveillance committee prevent the migration of young people. The inhabitants of our village and those of neighbouring villages are informed that they must keep watch over the children who are not old enough to migrate. Even an adult from the village is unable to make a young person turn back: he must inform the members of the surveillance committee.

Leader, advisor to mayor, 67 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Persons originating from the villages on the border with Côte d'Ivoire have been told of the measures to intercept children that are from the communes of Fakola, Kadiana and Tiongui and Zeguere.

We sent a committee to see people in Côte d'Ivoire who originate from our area and the transporters in Tingrela to inform them that they should bring back to us any child from the village who is aged under 18 and who travels alone without identity papers. In the village anyone who sees a young person trying to leave secretly should bring him back or else inform his parents. We have taken this decision because Save the Children informed us about the dangers to which children are exposed.

Leader, advisor to mayor, 45 years old, primary schooling, Tiongui (Kolondièba)

Measures also comprise the arrest of any adult who attempts to influence a child to cross the border by making promises to him. These individuals are considered to be traffickers even though, in many cases, they may be intermediaries who are assisting the child by helping him/her negotiate the journey, relations with the police and facilitating his/her search for work.

In our village we have decided that whoever notices an outsider trying to recruit a child or to influence him with talk about migration will bring him to the attention of the authorities. Even a fellow-villager who wants to be involved in this kind of activity will be handed over to the authorities. The local authorities came here to tell us that migration has many negative effects on children like exploitation and child trafficking

Leader, president of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, Kolondièba

Measures taken to intercept children wanting to migrate have led to some arrests of adults thought to be traffickers, even if the exact number is not known. It is through the action of village surveillance committees that children travelling alone have been turned back despite the fact that they might have been leaving of their own free will and with their parents' consent. Information has often been given by farmers who observe young people on the road leading away from the village, carrying a bundle of belongings in a cloth. Once intercepted, these young people are housed by the president of the surveillance committee while waiting for their parents to come and collect them.

There is a committee that opposes the departure of children. We think this is a good thing because from the time it was set up, the committee has returned 5 young people. I am not talking of those who have been returned without my knowledge, but of the 5 who have stayed with my family before being handed over to their parents who came to collect them.

Leader, president of surveillance committee, 77 years old, secondary schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

However, as described above, many of those intercepted were repatriated simply for not having the correct papers or for being under-age, not because they were necessarily being trafficked. The current mode of operation of the committees, which often seem to hunt down children, means that young migrants will likely seek more clandestine ways to leave and put themselves in the hands of potentially unscrupulous intermediaries.

In both regions, some leaders did not know of the existence of the surveillance committee because they were not told about them nor invited to their setting up. The aims and activities of the committees are often not known by some of their members or by the community. In some cases, members do not know each other and have not met again since the formation of the committee.

There is a surveillance committee in the village, but I don't know any of the members.

Leader, president of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, Kolondièba

I am a member of the surveillance committee, but our roles are not yet defined. We have not met again since the committee was established. The committee made a woman who wanted to go to Côte d'Ivoire with a baby turn back home. She said her father and mother are there, but we have no precise information about her parents.

Leader, advisor to mayor, 67 years old, Kadiana, Kolondièba

There is a surveillance committee created on the initiative of Save the Children which raised our awareness about the conditions of children outside the country. This committee has already intercepted a child from the village and brought him back to his parents. The committee's problem is the lack of communication between the members. They do not hold meetings, they do not agree on things.

Leader, advisor to mayor, 45 years old, primary schooling Tiongui (Kolondièba)

27.8 Parents' and leaders' knowledge of travel documents

Some parents knew that an identity card and vaccination certificate were necessary for a child to be able to travel. A minority mentioned the '*titre de voyage*' but said that it was unavailable in their villages. Many parents said that most young people do not possess identification documents because they are not old enough to be given them. The parents and leaders confirmed that during the young migrants journeys, they are often assisted by the drivers, who, as shown above, pay fees to the gendarmes who let the young people pass over the border without identity documents. As described by the children themselves, on approaching checkpoints, the drivers often ask passengers without identity documents to get out of the vehicles and make their way on foot to avoid the authorities. Near the border, young people enter Côte d'Ivoire on foot or by bicycle, using country tracks through sparsely populated areas.

To travel without papers, the young person pays money to the police who let him pass.

Mother, cultivator, 33 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

A child can travel without identity papers, without his parents' knowledge, but with the help of an intermediary who will arrange everything with the police. In Côte d'Ivoire, the driver looks for an

employer on behalf of the child who will reimburse the major costs of transportation. This employer then exploits the child as he wishes and makes him work without pay.

Father, cultivator, 55 years old, no schooling, Fakola (Kolondièba)

We are close to the border that young people cross without problems by foot or by bicycle if they don't have an identity card. In any case, getting an identity card is not a problem because they know they can enter Côte d'Ivoire territory without difficulty whenever they wish.

Father, cultivator, 55 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

Leaders also recognised that the lack of papers can be used as a means to bribe migrants upon their return. According to the leaders the lack of papers has never prevented young people from travelling.

We have heard on the radio that a child has to have a 'titre de voyage' but we have never seen one. I don't know how the young people travel without papers. A lot of them go through the woods.

Leader, president of cotton production association, 60 years old, no schooling, Zeguere, Kolondièba

I only know identity cards. To travel without papers, young people give the money to the drivers who find a compromise with the gendarmes. The young people carry on like this until they reach their destination.

Leader, president of women's association, 34 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe (Bankass)

Parents knew of another strategy, reiterated by the young people above, whereby the driver gives the impression to the authorities that some young people travelling with the him are his apprentices.

They only have an identity card. To travel without papers, young people pass themselves off as apprentice drivers: others use cart-tracks.

Leader, village chief, 45 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

27.9 Parents' and leaders' suggestions for reducing migration or for making it safer.

Some parents suggested alternatives for young people in order to reduce the lack of labour for agricultural work and the potential danger caused by migration. These included:

- Awareness-raising among parents, so that they will place their children in apprenticeships to become carpenters, mechanics, masons, etc;
- Awareness-raising among children, talking about the dangers that await them in Côte d'Ivoire.
- Informing parents about the measures taken by the Malian authorities against child trafficking;
- Awareness-raising among security forces so that they do not deliver identity documents on the basis of false information;
- Making the '*titre de voyage*' available.

Many commented that increasing the cultivation of cash crops by young people would be likely to reduce migration. In particular, they suggested that young people should be given the right of ownership and cultivation of their own fields to enable them to stay.

The cotton crop has to be developed further. It brings in a lot of money to individual households. We need a small dam, so that mothers can grow rice and have enough money to prepare their daughters' trousseaux.

Mother, midwife, 36 years old, secondary schooling, Zeguere (Kolondièba)

Young people should be given their own fields: that would reduce migration.

Mother, basket seller, 52 years old, no schooling, Kadiana, (Kolondièba)

If the young people have plantations of fruit-tree that they can harvest, then they will make money to meet their own needs and they will stay in the village.

Mother, trader, 50 years old, no schooling, Sondio (Bankass)

Parents and leaders suggested increasing schooling opportunities to prevent or delay young people leaving.

Nene is a big village where there is a need for a school. The children will be enrolled there and won't think about migration. There is no market for trade with other villages. By creating this infrastructure, the young people will stay here.

Mother, market trader, 30 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

We have to increase the number of schools and Islamic classes. Those who are enrolled will not think of migrating.

Father, koranic teacher, 75 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Children must be enrolled in school, and in this way they will not think about migration.

Leader, village advisor, 46 years old, secondary schooling, Diallassagou (Bankass)

School can keep children in the village. I once heard a young man tell his friend who was visiting about a man with a big motor bike "you see that man? Well he has that motor bike because he went to school: Let's go there ourselves."

Leader, advisor to mayor, 45 years old, primary schooling, Tiongui (Kolondièba)

Those who are opposed to youth migration said that they intercept children wanting to run away by describing the working conditions in Côte d'Ivoire to them.

If I notice that a child wants to migrate, I talk to him and take him to his father, saying: 'Here is your son, he wants to run way to Côte d'Ivoire'.

Leader, advisor to mayor, 67 years old, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

Another leader added that he inspects the vehicles on market day, which is the day when young people leave.

I keep an eye on the young people on the days of the market: if I see a child in a vehicle going to Côte d'Ivoire, I make him get out.

Leader, village chief, 45 years old, no schooling, Dimbal Haabe, (Bankass)

Others suggested that young people could try and earn extra cash elsewhere but should also come home to work in the fields when required.

Let them leave after the harvest and return for the rainy season. There is nothing to keep them here - they pay the taxes and buy cereals. I prefer the young people to go and look for money to help me with family expenses.

Father, cultivator, 55 years old, no schooling, Nene (Bankass)

According to the leaders, young people leave the village because its level of development does not allow them to earn enough money to meet their own needs. As one of the principal reasons for migration is economic, it is necessary to undertake initiatives that will persuade the youth to remain and develop their home areas.

Proposals put forward by the leaders ranged from constructing school buildings, small dams to foster market gardening, roads to facilitate marketing agricultural produce, and income-generating projects.

If we build a small dam to retain water, the young people will grow vegetables. It will also be necessary to repair our roads to market our vegetable produce.

Leader, advisor to mayor, 67 years old, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

For the youngest children, the parents and leaders thought it was necessary to develop vocational training (carpentry, tailoring etc.) They felt that the young people should set up associations to establish contact with development partners. They suggested that raising awareness among parents would lead to a reduction of departures of young people aged from 10 to 15 and that monitoring intercepted children should be undertaken so that they no longer return to Côte d'Ivoire.

We have to create conditions to facilitate social development and income-generating activities, and give children vocational training (carpentry, mechanics.)

Father, weaver, 58 years old, no schooling, Kadiana (Kolondièba)

We have to have craft activities to enable young people to express themselves. We should teach girls tie-dying, soap making, sewing and if there is permanent water supply, the boys can make bricks in the dry season that they can sell to fund other economic activities such as small trade.

Leader, cultivator, 67 years old, no schooling, Diallaye, (Bankass)

28.0 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION INITIATIVES TO COUNTER TRAFFICKING

When reports of trafficking first emerged at the end of the 1990s⁹, several local and international NGOs including Mali Enjeu and Save the Children (US and Canada) took steps to counter the phenomenon. The programmes they developed comprised community awareness raising, the setting up of surveillance committees, the creation of reception houses for repatriated children and the repatriation of intercepted and trafficked children. Funding for such initiatives came from the international community, including the Canadian and US governments together with international NGO partners.

28.1 Save the Children Canada

In May 1998 the first Malian children working in plantations in Côte d'Ivoire were repatriated to Sikasso by the Malian Consul in Bouaké. At this time, the Sikasso Regional Directorate of Social Development made an appeal to NGOs to help cover the costs of the repatriated children and to return them to their respective villages. Save the Children Canada (SC/C) agreed to meet these costs, and since then increased its profile as one of the major NGOs in Mali seeking to counter trafficking and to rehabilitate trafficked children.

From January to October 1999, SC/C met the expenses of 71 children repatriated from Côte d'Ivoire in collaboration with the regional office for the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family (DRPF EF).

In March 2000, AEC supported the National Emergency Plan against trans-border child trafficking and became a member of the committee to monitor its implementation. In 2000, to cope with the increasing number of repatriated young people, SC/C established a transit centre for child victims of trafficking in Sikasso. The transit centre is called 'Horon So', which means the 'House of Free Persons' in Bambara and is the main focus of SC/C's work in Mali.¹⁰

SC/C collaborates closely with the DRPF EF and the regional Social Development Directorate which sends repatriated children or those intercepted by the gendarmes, the police and transporters to the transit centre. On their arrival, the children are registered by one of the monitors. However, the circumstances of their interception and information as to whether they have been truly been trafficked do not appear to be systematically recorded.

After a medical examination and evaluation by a psychologist, the children are fed, clothed and cared for until their departure to their villages. Their stay at the Horon So

⁹ A figure of 15,000 Malian children in Côte d'Ivoire was widely circulated. It appears to have stemmed from an extrapolation following the discussion of a UNICEF report in Bamako in 2000. The figure was never intended for official use but was widely cited in the Malian and international press and appears to be the basis for a number of NGO activities.

¹⁰ See: <http://www.savethechildren.ca/en/whatwedo/Campaign/positivechocolate/Horonf.html>

centre usually lasts a week. The children have access to a TV and video, music centre and numerous games. They have sport in the afternoons, play football and join in theatre sessions. Their return to their villages is in the company of the male or female project monitor who entrusts them to the local office of the Social Development Ministry. On their arrival, the accompanying adult is supposed to raise awareness among the local authorities, parents and other young people as to the consequences of youth migration, as well as to talk about negative practices such as trafficking, and difficult working conditions in Côte d'Ivoire.

Table 11: Numbers of intercepted and repatriated children cared for by SC/C, Sikasso.

PERIOD	BOYS	GIRLS		REPATRIATED	INTERCEPTED	TOTAL
2000	28	08		14	22	36
2001	95	21		34	83	117
2002	68	16		10	69	79
TOTAL	192	45		58	179	237

Source: SC/C monitor and secretary. NB: There were other nationals among the children: 1 Mauritanian, 8 Ivorians and 2 Burkinabés.

Table 11 above shows that, since its inception, 237 children have transited through the centre. These comprised 192 boys and 45 girls of whom 179 were intercepted on their way to Côte d'Ivoire and 58 were repatriated from that country. The age distribution of these children was not given nor is it known what percentage was genuinely trafficked. Given that the testimonies of the children above indicate that most interceptions occurred due to a lack of correct papers rather than because of trafficking per se, it is likely that the numbers of genuinely trafficked children were rather limited. The table indicates that, since its inception, the centre has received, on average, just over one child per week. On the two occasions that Castle visited the centre (May 2001 and July 2002), it was empty. During the research period when Diarra visited the centre, only one child was present and he later fled less than 24 hours after his arrival. If current diplomatic difficulties and civil strife in Côte d'Ivoire continue, they will make the identification and repatriation of children from that country very difficult. Unless another strategy is found, it is probable that the centre will continue to remain underused in the near- to medium-term.

Most children are from areas in the centre of Mali such as Bankass. A minority of children who are originally from Sikasso and who had been repatriated from the Ivorian plantations have been organised in an association called in Bambara 'Horon Denw'. Although professional reintegration is not one of SC/C's objectives, it has helped some of the repatriated children find jobs in the town. Staff testified that SC/C's support for such activities will increase over the next three years. An emphasis will be placed on repatriation of children from Côte d'Ivoire and their rehabilitation which will occur in collaboration with the International Organisation for Migration. As for the current situation, the testimonies above indicate that once the returned children (both trafficked

and non-trafficked) are back, they will try and leave as quickly as possible; the testimonies also revealed that most were not systematically monitored.

There appears to be competition between SC/C and Mali Enjeu (another NGO described below which does the same kind of work in the same town). Although SC/C and Mali Enjeu have identical aims, namely repatriation and rehabilitation of victims of child trafficking, they do not work together. During discussions with both NGOs, it emerged that they perceive themselves to be rivals instead of helping each other and looking for a solution to the problem of trafficking and other potential dangers associated with migration.

SC/C is clearly associated in the public's eye with combating child trafficking. However, the study indicates that it is likely that a majority of children intercepted and then assisted by SC/C are simple migrants. The question then is whether identifying all children as trafficked and providing them with services meant for trafficked children, meets the needs of child migrants generally.

28.2 Mali Enjeu

Mali Enjeu is a local NGO whose aim is the promotion of child rights and the social and professional rehabilitation of vulnerable young people.

In 1999, Mali Enjeu commissioned a study of child trafficking in West Africa in collaboration with the German NGO, Terre des Hommes. This study noted the existence of a number of Malian children on Ivorian plantations. In July 2000, Mali Enjeu embarked upon a three-year programme to combat trans-border child trafficking financed by Terre des Hommes. The program has three parts – firstly, repatriation or emergency action; secondly, awareness raising among the communities concerned; and thirdly, the social and professional reintegration of young people into their home communities.

In response to the same UNICEF figure of 15,000 young Malians in Ivorian plantations that was the basis for SC/C's activities, Mali Enjeu set themselves the objective of repatriating 500 children each year for three years (July 2000 – June 2003) from Côte d'Ivoire. To facilitate this activity, they also established a transit centre in Sikasso to house repatriated and intercepted children. As occurs in the SC/C centre, on their arrival at the house, the children are listened to by a woman monitor who fills in identification forms. The children then see a doctor and a psychologist, and are cared for for one week during which they play sport and take part in cultural activities. They are given new clothes before being taken back to their respective villages by Mali Enjeu's staff. Upon their return, the accompanying adults organise broadcasts on local radio and discussion groups with the population addressing child trafficking and the difficulties of arriving and working in Côte d'Ivoire. As with SC/C, no clear record seems to be made of the circumstances of the child's arrival at the centre to find out if they were genuinely trafficked.

As described above, lists furnished by Mali Enjeu entitled ‘trafficked and repatriated children’ were used in Bankass (along with other data sources) as the basis for identifying interviewees for this study. However, as we tried to contact children on the lists in a number of their home villages, it soon became very clear that the vast majority had left their home communities again to go on labour migration again soon after they had been returned. This was confirmed by community leaders, parents and the local Mali Enjeu representative. Mali Enjeu has established a vocational training programme for victims of child trafficking, coming from certain Bankass Communes. Activities include: literacy training; school enrolment; vocational training (handicrafts, mechanics, carpentry, etc.); cultural activities and income-generating activities. Young people can take part in these activities free of charge. However, at the time of the study, no one was taking a vocational training course in Bankass presumably, and as was surmised in interviews, because they preferred to return to Côte d’Ivoire, particularly as repeatedly poor harvests drive more young migrants to leave the country. The Bankass Circle does not have a sufficiently well developed infrastructure or viable income generating activities to retain its young people.

Table 12: Numbers of intercepted and repatriated children cared for by Mali Enjeu, Sikasso

PERIOD	GIRLS	BOYS		REPATRIATED	INTERCEPETED
2000	6	37		43	-
2001	16	42		02	56
2002	04	08		01	11
TOTAL	26	87		46	67

Source: Interview with the centre’s co-ordinator.

Table 12 above shows that in just over two years, Mali Enjeu’s Centre has housed one hundred and thirteen (113) children, compared with the projected number of 1,500 children. On the two occasions since 2001 when Castle visited Mali Enjeu’s centre it was completely empty. During the visit Diarra undertook for this study the centre also housed no children.

As for SC/C, there have been more children intercepted on Malian territory than have been returned from the Côte d’Ivoire plantations. The local agent for Mali Enjeu in Bankass said that he had never come across a victim of trafficking despite the title of the lists. Rather, the children being repatriated were those without the correct papers or those under age 18. The repatriation of such children may be occurring because of Mali Enjeu’s need to meet the self-imposed targets and obligations to donors. As most children appear to leave their home villages as quickly as possible after being returned, the question must be asked as the effectiveness of repatriation services as currently conceived and implemented. Section 30.1 describes how the financial and personnel investment in such children was perceived as wasteful by the regional director for Social Development in San who had failed to find a single one out of 15 children repatriated by Mali Enjeu soon after their return.

Thus, both SC/C and Mali Enjeu programmes for the rehabilitation and reintegration of so-called trafficked children have proved very difficult to carry out. To counter the potential duplication of roles, the National Directorate for Children's Services asked SC/C to concentrate on housing repatriated children. Mali Enjeu was asked to focus on their job orientation in the home community and to house children if SC/C's Horon So was full. However, apparently this cooperation has not materialized. The similarity of the activities of these two NGOs, in the same location, minimises their impact, particularly when they perceive themselves to be in competition with each other.

28.3 Save the Children US

In 2000, after the adoption by the Government of the 18-month National Emergency Action Plan to combat trans-border child trafficking, Save the Children US (SC/US) assigned an employee at its Kolondièba office to combat the phenomenon.

In 2001, a year-long project named "Local Action Plan to Fight Child Trafficking" was implemented in the Circle area of Kolondièba, funded by the Save the Children-Sweden. Activities included the collection of information on child migration, community awareness-raising regarding the dangers of trafficking, and the setting up of anti-trafficking surveillance committees. The activities were carried out in collaboration with the Regional Directorate for Promotion of Women, Children and the Family, the Kolondièba gendarmerie, and the local radio Ben So.

SC/US and the Regional Directorate of Children's Services in Sikasso carried out community awareness-raising in six Communes. Explanations given by facilitators to the participants (who comprised men, women and young people) covered children's rights, agreements ratified by Mali, the results of studies on trafficking, and the National Action Plan to combat the phenomenon. Organization and implementation of the fora led to setting up anti-trafficking surveillance committees.

The NGO Jekataane signed a contract to work with SC/US which enabled it to hold information and awareness-raising sessions on child trafficking in sixteen villages in six Communes and to inaugurate the surveillance committees. The surveillance committees are responsible for informing the local authorities of movements and suspicious behaviour on the part of certain persons (drivers, conductors, and others), and to raise awareness among the population of the dangers of migration and child trafficking. However, as discussed in Section 29.0 below, most of the committees were not operational at the time of the study, and most manifested obvious confusion over the distinction between trafficking and migration. One reason for this may be because, when interviewed during the study, the SC/US agent in charge of trafficking issues believed the definition to comprise children who leave home without parental consent in addition to children who were sold (*den fere*). He conveyed this definition to villagers he encountered which may account for some of their confusion and apathy discussed below. The lack of clarity at the field level may be explained by the fact that he appeared to

receive very little follow up from the Bamako office and expressed that he felt rather isolated in his work.

A theatre group selected by SC/US presented a play on child trafficking in all the villages in the six Communes. At the end of the performance, facilitators opened a debate on trafficking and the spectators discussed the subject of migration and child trafficking.

A contract for collaboration with the local radio BEN SO from Kolondièba covered broadcasting programs including round table discussions, and theatre presentations on child trafficking and its consequences. These broadcasts, which attracted wide audiences, were well received by the population as they helped them to understand the practice of child trafficking throughout the country.

Awareness-raising was carried out with agents of the Gendarmerie and the Territorial Brigade and the National Guard squad organised patrols in the Côte d'Ivoire border zone. On several occasions they passed through the border villages explaining the reasons for their presence, as well as talking of the dangers and consequences of child migration, and particularly of the practice of trafficking.

The aim of the information and awareness-raising activities was to set up a local committee to combat trans-border child trafficking at the level of the Kolondièba Circle area. A committee of thirteen members was elected. Chaired by the Prefect, it was to include all social categories and Government services in Kolondièba. However, at the time of the visit of the team carrying out this study, the members of the local committee had not been chosen. In effect, there is no operational structure to counter trafficking at the Circle level. It was noted that the local authorities do not seem particularly committed to addressing trafficking or other forms of unsafe migration indicating that it is perhaps not really a priority for those in the Kolondièba area.

29.0 PERCEPTIONS OF SURVEILLANCE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

A total of eighteen surveillance committees have been set up by SC/US in Kolondièba. They are composed of 8 to 23 members who are men and women leaders, administrative authorities, technical services agents, and transporters. Notably, none of the committees includes young people as members. The aims of the committees are to:

- Inform the population of the Circle of Kolondièba of the dangers of youth migration in general, and of trans-border trafficking in particular;
- Intercept children of less than 18 years travelling alone, or without travel documents.

The members of the three committees (in Fakola, Kadiana and Tiongui) we met all stated their wish to combat trafficking because of the suffering the children undergo in Côte d'Ivoire and because of the very small profit they earn from migration. However, the definitions of trafficking that some put forward were confused. The surveillance committee members all referred to a number of criteria, including the age of the children,

the difficult working conditions in Côte d'Ivoire and above all their exploitation by drivers and employers. Some committee members counted children making the journey without their parents' consent or without the correct papers among those being trafficked.

Interviewer: What does child trafficking mean for you?

Trafficked children are those who run away from their villages and leave without their families' agreement; those who travel without identity documents; and those who are given to Ivorian planters by drivers or other intermediaries. Those who are trafficked are aged between 12 and 15 years.

Member of committee, Kadiana

For me, child trafficking means monitoring migration by children to make sure they are not exploited, so that they don't do work that is beyond their ability.

Member of committee, Fakola

Whoever takes a child on migration without his parents' authorisation is a thief. He is a child trafficker.

Member of committee, Kadiana

Other members said it is difficult to give a definition of child trafficking because the term used by the Malian authorities is not very appropriate to describe certain traditional practices in the Kolondièba area. These persons prefer to talk about migration, or difficult conditions of child labour.

It is better to talk about child migration and difficult working conditions in Côte d'Ivoire. Those who leave have not been forced to go. They leave of their own accord, often running away from the village.

Member of committee, Kadiana

29.1 Objectives of the surveillance committees

As described above, the Kolondièba office of SC/US signed a contract with the local NGO Jekatanaane, in order to establish surveillance committees in eighteen villages in six communes, including Fakola, Kadiana and Tiongui.

After the village assemblies, which comprised explanation and exchanges about the movement of young people and trafficking, the committees were set up by the village leaders. Explanations given about child trafficking and its consequences led to the definition of the following objectives for the committees:

- The monitoring of the movement of young people and preventing attempts to run away without parental consent.
- The giving of information about the consequences of youth migration to Côte d'Ivoire and child trafficking in the villages;
- The stopping of child trafficking and the interception of young people who leave alone, or without identity papers;
- The arresting any adult who wants to have a child leave without his parents' authorisation.

However, to the extent that these committees have clearly been set up in response to the problem of trafficking, the mandates they have given themselves are confused regarding the distinction between child trafficking and child labour migration. This confusion results in the stopping of any young migrant who wants to leave. Yet, as seen in this study, in the majority of cases, children make the decision to leave on their own.

29.2 Surveillance committees' activities

The committees organised information meetings with the drivers, conductors and Transporters' Unions and their local communities about the establishing of anti-trafficking surveillance committees. These organisations all asked to be involved in the anti-trafficking activities and said they would inform their colleagues of the measures taken by the State to end child trafficking.

Family heads present at general information assemblies were asked to inform adults and young people in their families. At Fakola, committee members visited each household to raise awareness amongst mothers so that they could advise their children to stay in the village. This is, incidentally, the only committee in the Commune whose members meet from time to time to review the situation of youth migration.

For the most part, committees concentrate efforts on interception activities, as described in more detail below.

Despite being motivated at the beginning, the committees' activities have become minimal to non-existent in the last few months. The problems are associated with the fact that the committees were set up in a haphazard manner following a visit from the Regional Director of the Office for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family. Committee members were designated by the leaders who were present and some members were nominated in their absence and never notified as to the fact they had been chosen. Some of the members learned that they had been nominated when the team

carrying out this study wanted to interview them. Some committees have never held meetings.

The committees interviewed did not know the terms of the National Action Plan to combat trafficking, nor were they aware of the legal measures penalising trafficking. They do not have the financial or material means at their disposal to return young people who are intercepted to their own homes.

29.3 Interceptions of children

According to the members encountered, the facilitators who instigated the setting up of the committees explained that the committees must prevent migration of young people not just through informing parents of the dangers of child migration and of the existence of trafficking, but also through the interception of both children travelling alone and/or without parental authorisation, and of any adult found in the company of a child with whom he has no connection.

Members are active in their villages or often at the Côte d'Ivoire border, and sometimes alerted by the communal authorities to the presence of girls or boys wanting to run away from the village. Such children are taken to the village chief or to the chairman of the surveillance committee. The parents are then asked to come forward to collect their child. All the committees operationalise their trafficking activities in this manner. In Fakola especially there have been a considerable number of interceptions of young people: eighteen as compared with three in Tiongui and four at Kadiana. There were very few girls among those intercepted, and none of the committees had repatriated any children from Côte d'Ivoire. The Fakola committee members said that repatriation demanded financial resources and means of transport that were not available to them.

Some Ivorian farmers living not far from here in the rainy season look for children to guide their draft oxen. These children suffer a lot and do not earn enough. We learned that one child was wounded with a knife by his employer because he had a fight with this man's son. We were told about this incident, but we had no means to go and bring him back.

Member of committee, Fakola

The three committees we met during the study act on the assumption that all migration should be stopped to prevent children becoming victims of traffickers.

Before, we didn't know how our children were treated in Côte d'Ivoire. During the discussions, we learned how badly our children are treated, exploited and harmed by the work imposed on them by the employers. This is why we now intercept them. In any case, the intermediaries no longer come here because some have been arrested and put in prison.

Those who leave on foot or by bicycle are watched closely and stopped as soon as we see them in the fields. They often have little cloth bundles on their backs, or on their heads.

Member of committee, Fakola

However, the use of ‘*den fere*’ (sold child) to describe all migrating children also promotes an emotive discourse about migration which means that all movements may be seen to be harmful. Although committees are to be commended for their enthusiasm to address the problem, it seemed, in some cases, as if the need to stop migration had been transformed into hunting down any child wishing to leave (the vocabulary used by surveillance committee members likened interceptions to hunters’ trapping of wild game). The spontaneous arrests that have occurred have often provoked anger on the part of the parents, and there is polarisation between the older people on the committees and the young people who want to leave. As well, and not surprisingly, this ‘hunting’ has led to children leaving in a more clandestine manner and in fact probably actually increases the likelihood that they will fall in to the hands of traffickers who may offer to facilitate their ‘escape’ from their villages. These problems point to the need to develop an appropriate workable and operational definition of trafficking with the involvement of young people and their parents and the inclusion of young people themselves in the surveillance committees.

Interceptions are carried out by individuals and are not documented. Each member who is called on to arrest a young boy will often do so without giving an account of this to other members. It was only in Fakola that the study team obtained a list giving the names and home villages of the young children who were intercepted. Members of some committees declared that they did not know they were supposed to keep a register of interceptions. There is no information in the Mayors’ offices on repatriations or the interceptions, even where they were the result of concerted action by the surveillance committee. Communal authorities drew attention to the lack of financial resources to help the anti-trafficking surveillance committees. In general, follow-up activities to support the committees and ensure their smooth running were not forthcoming. Paying the expenses of intercepted children is a problem because the committees have no financial resources. It is the chairman of the committee, the Chief of the village, or the Mayor, who house the children until their parents arrive to collect them.

We intercept children. The committee has no money to feed them before the parents come to fetch them. We receive no assistance to pay for the children’s needs.

Member of committee, Fakola

Despite these difficulties, the committees explained how, in their view, positive results have been achieved. The Committee in Fakola gave information as to how the departures of children to Côte d’Ivoire had been reduced because they know they would be intercepted on the way. Their perception of the apparent satisfaction of parents when they

are handed back their intercepted children is, for them, an indication of success in the combat, even though, as shown in the parents and children's testimonies above, many parents actively encourage their offspring to leave, and some express bewilderment and even disappointment at their child's return.

Interviewer: How do parents feel about the interception of children?

Parents really appreciate interceptions. Each time a parent is invited to fetch his child, he comes to thank the committee for the service it has done. Some have congratulated us and asked us to continue this work. Six months ago, we arrested three young boys on their way to Côte d'Ivoire. We told the parents who came here. When they were asked why they wanted to leave, the children replied: "We have grown cotton for our parents who promised us bicycles after the cotton was marketed. Once they had the money, they refused to reward us. So we decided to go to Cote d'Ivoire". We pointed out to the parents that they had promised to pay for bicycles. They returned to their village, Gonansékéla, with the children.

Member of committee, Fakola

29.4 Operational suggestions made by the surveillance committees

Members of the surveillance committees made a number of very practical proposals to make the committees more functional:

- Choose members who are free, and ready to make a commitment to the combat against child trafficking;
- Draw up an action plan for the committees;
- Choose young migrants as members of the Surveillance committees;
- Take part in training on the issue of trafficking;
- Collaborate with the associations of persons originating from Fakola, Kadiana and Tiongui, who are now living in Côte d'Ivoire
- Raise awareness among parents to the need to meet some of their children's aspirations;
- Establish family dialogue between the young people and adults;
- Create income-generating activities for young people.
- Reinforce school enrolment for children;
- Encourage young people to set up associations to further their economic status;
- Establish co-operation between the surveillance committees in one Commune in order to better monitor departures.

30.0 THE PERSPECTIVES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES

The Regional Directorates for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family (DRPF EF) in Sikasso and San were visited as well as local representatives in Kolondièba. In addition, representatives from the Regional Directorate for Social Development in Sikasso, San and Bankass were also interviewed.

30.1 Definition of trafficking.

The officials in Kolondièba emphasised that child trafficking was a reality and stated they had personal experience of the topic. By contrast, in San, officials had no direct experience of the subject and their sources of information often appeared to be local and international media rather than their own personal experiences.

We didn't know about trafficking until the press told us about it. I saw a documentary about children on the plantations. Before this I didn't know about it. I have seen this documentary twice.

Representative from Regional Office of Social Development, San

They defined trafficking as the luring away of children by intermediaries who promise them a better future and then place them with planters who impose an unbearable workload upon them, often without pay.

The Sikasso Directorate of Social Development was asked very early on to look after the first children to be repatriated from Côte d'Ivoire. They therefore met the children and listened to their evidence, which was often moving.

Between 1992 and 1994, in the course of my work at the Regional Directorate of Social Development, we received victims of child trafficking repatriated by the Malian Consulate in Bouaké. Some were sick and others had scars as a result of the violent treatment they had received. They recounted their own bad experiences.

Representative from Regional Office of Social Development, Sikasso

The Sikasso Directorate of the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family (DRPF EF) aims to intercept children, in collaboration with the gendarmerie, police, and transporters. The Director of the DRPF EF told us about her latest attempt to pursue traffickers.

Only three days ago, the DPFEF was told of two buses full of children leaving for Côte d'Ivoire. In the time it took to inform the gendarmes and the NGO AEC (SC/C), the first bus had left, and despite all our

efforts in Zégoua and Kadiolo we were unable to find it. On our return, we passed the second bus carrying children. We turned back as far as the border where the driver had made the children get out, and continue on foot past the checkpoint. Then the gendarmes intervened. The children were obviously minors, but their identity cards showed them as being 18 years old. Only three of them were disembarked because they were aged under 18. The driver who came from Bankass was arrested, and the driver continued with the other young people.

Interviewer: Why didn't you disembark these minors with false identification?

We follow the decision of our administrative authorities who delivered the identity cards. Our responsibility is limited to observation.

Director, Regional Office for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family, Sikasso

The officials considered that both adult men and women are at the basis of child trafficking and described how they infiltrate networks of young people as soon as they decide to migrate. The officials recounted how intermediaries approach young migrants either in the village or in the bus stations, offering high wages. They described how, in this way, some young people fall into the hands of the traffickers. However, this contrasts somewhat with the young people's own testimonies which indicated that many left their villages freely and only used drivers' services to avoid fines from law enforcement agents along the route. Most relied on networks of friends and family members along the way to both house them and to find them work. Although the scenario of traffickers luring children away from their own villages that the authorities describe does undoubtedly exist, the importance of the migrants leaving of their own free will with set goals and routes in mind cannot be under-estimated.

Some are preyed upon right from their home community. Adults promise them substantial earnings and get them to come out at night. Others are approached by recruiters at the bus station. Those who don't know where to go when they arrive in Côte d'Ivoire fall into the hands of traffickers at that point.

Chief of children's services, Regional Office for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family, Sikasso

The Regional Office of Social Development in San recognised that the repatriations result in many children simply leaving again as quickly as possible. The representative commented that it was a waste of his department's resources to co-ordinate the repatriation of young people who would leave again almost immediately.

Mali Enjeu came here with a list of 10-15 children who had been repatriated (to villages round here). We went to their families to try and find them but could not find one single child – not one was there.

Representative from Regional Office of Social Development, San

30.2 Action against trafficking taken by local government officials.

Since the arrival in 1992 of two convoys of 12 children repatriated by the Malian Consul in Bouaké, the Direction of Social Development in Sikasso has broadcast messages on the radio about the dangers of youth migration, aimed at the villagers sending migrants. It has continued as best it can to house the repatriated young people and to inform their parents by working with Mali Enjeu and SC/C.

From the beginning the question of trafficking was handled by the Regional Directorate for Women, Children and the Family (DRPFEF), assisted from time to time by Social Development. The DRPFEFs activities are carried out with regard to the National Plan of Action coordinated by a regional committee. In each Circle administrative area there is, in principle, a local committee to counter trafficking, but as, shown above, these do not often appear to be functional. Forty-eight anti-trafficking surveillance committees have been established in the border villages of the Kolondièba Circle, with the support of the DRPFEF. As described above, all these structures have to inform the communities of the dangers of youth migration, and intercept and repatriate children as well as arresting traffickers. There is some limited collaboration between the regional office of Social Development, the gendarmerie, the police, and the NGOs. However, despite interceptions and returns, awareness-raising and the arrest of traffickers, there are still problems with local governmental strategies to counter trafficking.

According to the government authorities, the application of measures taken against child trafficking has met with certain difficulties. Firstly, the parents are often unwilling to accept that their children could be exploited.

The parents cannot believe that their children can become victims of trafficking during migration. They do not believe this at all. We have difficulty convincing them that times have changed. Although they managed to leave and to return with money, their children are now exploited and maltreated. The real problem is the lack of conviction among parents regarding the campaign.

Head of children's services, Regional Office for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family, Sikasso

Secondly, the regional directorates often have inadequate financial and material resources to support anti-trafficking activities. The chief of children's services at the Directorate of

Social Development in Sikasso recalled how housing the first children to be repatriated from Côte d'Ivoire met with financial problems, because there was no budget for such activities. Despite contributions by the High Commissioner and staff members of the service, it was still difficult to cover the children's expenses and facilitate their return to their home villages.

In towns such as Bankass and Kolondièba, there are no means to pay the expenses or travel of intercepted children. Surveillance committees, local services and NGOs have to manage as best they can. This lack of support explains the sporadic nature of the arrests and interceptions and the lack of commitment by the various actors.

On the arrival of the first convoys from Bouaké, the Regional Directorate had no financial resources to house and pay for the children's expenses. There were not enough personnel to take charge of them. I have to admit that we often made contributions here to Social Development to pay for food for the repatriated children, as there was no financial provision at the Directorate to face such a problem. The operation of accompanying children on their return to their villages was difficult. Once one of our colleagues remained stuck in Mopti because of a lack of resources to be able continue the journey with the children.

Representative from Regional Office of Social Development, Sikasso.

Thirdly, in addition, the Regional Office for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family remarked that the means made available to the DRPFEF by UNICEF are not enough for awareness-raising.

Fourthly, greater efficiency and effectiveness of services through better collaboration between various intervening groups, as described above, has not materialized. For example, both SC/C, and Mali Enjeu have transit centres for child victims of trafficking and seem to duplicate efforts. Local officials believe that their inability to work collaboratively in a complementary fashion may be linked to their having different perceptions of both the problem and the solution, feeling themselves to be in competition with each other and being constrained by the small number of children who need their services. During this study, it became clear that National Director of Children's services had said that that SC/C should be given the task of repatriating children and Mali Enjeu their rehabilitation. This proposition by the Director has always been respected by the DRPFEF which always turns to SC/C on the arrival of children.

Finally, the officials realised that unless specific steps were taken to develop migrants' areas of origin, they would simply migrate again soon after their repatriation.

As long as the area of socio-professional reinsertion is not developed, intercepted and repatriated youth will migrate again because upon their return they will find themselves in the same environment that first

made them run away. They have poor parents who cannot feed or clothe them. The young child who brings nothing back from his journey finds himself humiliated among his peers, and this brings a high probability that he will try his chance another time.

Head of children's services, Regional Office for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family, Sikasso

30.3 Officials' suggestions to combat trafficking.

The officials interviewed made the following recommendations:

1. Awareness-raising efforts should be intensified through local radios, with discussion groups in the home villages of young migrants so that rural communities can learn of the consequences of youth migration.
2. A functioning system to monitor repatriated/intercepted children should be set up to facilitate their reinsertion including details of how they were travelling and with whom.
3. Development of income-generating activities could retain a majority of young people in the villages.
4. The reception centres need to act together in order to better co-ordinate their intervention activities.
5. There needs to be an intensification of the monitoring of children at departure checkpoints.

31.0 OPINIONS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES

The gendarmes and police of the towns of San, Kolondièba and Sikasso also gave their opinion on youth migration and trafficking.

31.1 Definition and perception of child trafficking

The law enforcement authorities defined trafficking as a process that consists of giving young Malians aged under 18 years (considered by law to be children) to Ivorian planters who take fees for this service. For the security forces, the phenomenon was very difficult to identify as young people are frequently accompanied by adults. They recognised that adult men have always taken advantage of the naivety of young migrants to exploit them on the other side of the border.

Interviewer: Does child trafficking really take place here?

Trafficking is a practice that didn't start yesterday. I have a friend of my own age who went to Côte d'Ivoire when he was very young. He only came back last year, looking really old. He told me he worked on plantations for someone. He had nothing when he returned to the village.

Gendarme #1, Sikasso

Child trafficking is linked to child labour and its exploitation. You know, the question is a delicate one and takes a lot of thought at all levels. A young Malian migrates for economic reasons. Now, distinguishing between the one who is trafficked and the one who isn't - that's the great problem facing our policing services."

Gendarme, #1 San

According to some gendarmes in San, trafficking has not yet reached their town despite the fact that San is a crossroads for departures within Mali and to Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire.

Despite our checks, we still haven't seen a case of child trafficking in San.

Gendarme #2, San

The gendarmes in San also stressed that a greater problem was that of certain *marabouts* (religious teachers) who sometimes have a large numbers of children, often from Burkina Faso, under their care whom they exploit by sending them out to beg.

You should take a walk round San. You will see the Burkinabé 'marabouts' with children that they send out into the street to beg and who become delinquents. They exploit these children in the name of religion. We have Nigerian, Ghanaian and Burkinabé children in the streets here in San, and in the entrances to people's houses, to learn the Koran. So that is not child trafficking.

Gendarme #1, San

For one of the policeman interviewed in Sikasso, child trafficking is a reality that concerned him both as a father and as an agent of the security forces. He cited a specific case which was brought to his attention on the day of the interview. However, his description of the case below implies that the problem he described was more one of non-payment rather than trafficking.

In the beginning you couldn't talk about trafficking because the Malians were used to going to work for a few months in Côte d'Ivoire and coming back without problems. Now, migration has taken on a different aspect. Dishonest drivers cheat children, and deliver them to Ivorian planters for 50,000 to 100,000 F CFA. They receive no pay from the employers. I have listened to children repatriated by the Consulate in Bouaké. It is pitiful to hear them.

Interviewer: So it is a real phenomenon?

Yes, I have proof. I have even arrested traffickers. There is the case of Marc Traoré who made off with five children from Blindio (Kolondièba Circle). He is in prison, and the intercepted children have been returned to their parents. The young man sitting opposite you was an intermediary between an Ivorian farmer and two 15 year-olds from his village. They worked for a year and received no pay. He is going to be accused of child trafficking because he acted as the intermediary between the young men and the Ivorian employer.

Interviewer: Did he receive money for playing this role?

I don't know. He insists that he received nothing. But the brothers of the two young men have said the practice in their zone is to look for young people and receive a reward of 25,000 F CFA per person.

Interviewer: Why have you arrested him?

The parents of the two young boys brought him here so that he can ask the Ivorian employers who are known to him to pay the two boys' wages.

Interviewer: Are you going to accuse him of child trafficking?

He is a trafficker who will be tried by the judge. He is the one who will take the final decision.

Police officer #1, Sikasso

According to the security forces, the most common route taken by young migrants is the National Highway No 7, that is to say Sikasso-Kadiolo-Zégoua. Since the traffickers have been pursued by the security forces, routes have been constantly changing as well as migrants' means of transport. In addition, as described, vehicles carrying children without identification try to avoid checkpoints on the national highway. As the children themselves recount above, they take country tracks, passing from one village to another to get to Burkina and finally to Côte d'Ivoire.

Interviewer: Do you security forces know these itineraries?

We know the country tracks but we don't have checkpoints. But sometimes the gendarmerie organizes patrols. Last month we intercepted a trafficker who had three children from Blindio (Kolondièba Circle) who he was taking to Côte d'Ivoire. He put two on the bus, and transported one by motorbike. He was arrested in Sikasso thanks to the Investigation Brigade. He is in prison here.

Police officer #2, Sikasso

31.2 Apparent victims of trafficking who were handed over to law enforcement agents.

The gendarmes and police have intercepted young Dogon boys who were handed over to the DRPFEF (Sikasso). Young men repatriated from the plantations were handed over to the gendarmes in the same town.

In 2001, we received 34 children repatriated from Ivorian plantations. We intercepted 216 children leaving for Côte d'Ivoire. They are generally young people coming from the Dogon plateau. Yesterday, thanks to our Investigation Brigade, we picked up a young Dogon without identification papers at the bus station: he wanted to go to Côte d'Ivoire. I asked him if he knows what is going on in Côte d'Ivoire: he said 'No.' He doesn't know anyone in Bouaké which is where he wanted to go. The last arrests took place on August 29 and September 5, 2002.

Police officer #1, Sikasso

In Kolondièba, the gendarmerie had arrested children and their Ivorian employers. This case was also brought to our attention by the judge in Kolondièba.

At Fakola, a Communal counsellor reported to the Gendarmerie the presence of a stranger, accompanied by two young boys. Before his arrest, the Ivorian declared that he had negotiated a means of payment of wages with the boys' fathers, as well as the amount. In Kolondièba another man was arrested with 14 children coming from Banamba (Koulikoro Region). They were released after the gendarmes had been heard in the presence of Save the Children workers and the Mayor.

Gendarme #1, Kolondièba

31.3 Measures taken against child trafficking.

Since 2001, countering child trafficking has become a daily activity for the security forces because trafficking is considered to be a crime. Following the intensification of media coverage of the phenomenon, they have taken certain steps ranging from checking identity paper to arresting adults. The law enforcement officers participated in meetings on child trafficking organised by SC/US in Kolondièba

From December 2001 to April 2002, the gendarmerie took part in four meetings associated with the setting up of anti-trafficking surveillance. This was positively received because the community understood that the gendarmerie is involved in the fight against trafficking. It is informed by the population about suspected cases. The two arrests resulted from information provided by farmers in the community.

Gendarme #2, Kolondièba

The gendarmerie also carried out the verification of vehicles and passengers at the checkpoints, and examined documents held by persons accompanying children. In addition, patrols were organised by SC/US (in Kolondièba) and the DPFEF (in Sikasso).

31.4 Law enforcement agents' perceptions of the difficulties in applying the measures adopted.

In tackling child trafficking, the police and gendarmes encountered a number of difficulties. Firstly, they remarked that there was a lack of understanding by the security forces of the texts and laws penalising child trafficking. Gendarmes and police in San do not know about the measures taken by the Government through the National Action Plan. The law enforcement agents also remarked that the lack of understanding by parents hampered their work against trafficking.

Parents do not understand the necessity for our actions. They wonder how we can arrest someone who wants to look for a better life, simply on the grounds of his age, or because of trafficking. They need to be convinced.

Gendarme #1, San

In addition they noted that it was often difficult to determine the ages of children who are travelling.

It is difficult to determine the age of children in the countryside because their births are not registered. On the eve of the 2002 presidential elections, identity cards were given to a lot of young people in the

countryside without any way of judging their age. How can we disembark these children because of their age?

Gendarme #2, San

The officers in San also remarked that if children said they were going to work in Bamako, they did not make them disembark even if they were underage. However, if they said they were going to Côte d'Ivoire and did not have papers they were made to get off the bus. However, as discussed above, a number of children told their parents (and probably others) that they were going to Bamako when they had every intention of going to Côte d'Ivoire.

Finally also in San, the officers remarked that the last ministerial note concerning transport in Mali states that San is no longer an official checkpoint as it is not a frontier town. This means that there is no legislative basis for stopping young people despite the fact that the town is an important crossroads for many going to national and international destinations.

32.0 OPINIONS OF LEGAL SERVICES

During the study the consultants met the magistrate in San, the Judge in Kolondièba and the public prosecutor in Sikasso who all gave information about the practice of migration and particularly their perceptions of child trafficking. They also made suggestions to reduce and even ban migration of very young boys.

32.1 Jurists' definitions and perceptions of child trafficking.

The legal authorities all adhered to the definition of trafficking resulting from the Libreville sub-regional consultation held in February 2000. They defined trafficking as the placing of a child with an employer for a fee, negotiating his salary and depriving him of liberty of movement (consistent with Article 244 of the Penal Code). All those involved in the process of placing a young person under the age of 18 (both within and outside the country) are considered to be traffickers. However, the legal experts interviewed thought that this definition should be revised to make a more appropriate framework for operational application and to avoid misunderstandings and interpretations. By taking this definition, all the traditional practices of placing a child with an employer that are widespread in the areas in this study, are considered to be trafficking. As a consequence, areas of high migration such as Bankass, and Kolondièba become considered as zones of child trafficking when in fact, the migration of many young people is a systematic, long-standing practice building on well-established networks and opportunities to facilitate economic advancement.

Interviewer: Are all children leaving to work on the plantations the victims of trafficking?

We should be discriminating. The young person who has negotiated his work and who receives his pay regularly in order to be able to return home is not a victim of trafficking. Article 244 of the new Penal Code is not very explicit as in interpreting it one can say that people who place young female and male domestic workers with employers are considered to be traffickers. But these young people are selling their labour. So there is a need to review the Article to put it in its real context.

Public prosecutor, Sikasso

For example, legal experts in Kolondièba cited the practice whereby parents give a young boy aged from 10 to 13 to a Fulani herder so that he can guard the animals out to pasture in Côte d'Ivoire and after six months he returns to his family with a bull calf. For the communities concerned, these practices are not child trafficking. They enable needy households to earn money for their basic expenses and to obtain draft oxen.

In addition, the jurists said that the definition given by the Penal Code is not known to the general public. This leads to a problem for the legal authorities who have to judge every act defined by Article 244 of the new Code and determine whether it is or is not trafficking. They remarked that Article 244 has been directly copied from French law and their international decrees on this subject but is not appropriate to the local context and can result in many individuals being classified as traffickers when in fact they were simply rendering poor families a service.

32.2 Selected cases of suspected child trafficking presented to the court in Kolondièba.

The judge in Kolondièba described four cases whereby people had been prosecuted for trafficking between 2001 and 2002.

In May 2001 the gendarmerie apprehended an Ivorian farmer who was accompanied by two young Malian boys who he was taking to his village to guide draft oxen. At the hearing, the Ivorian said that the clauses of the contract had been negotiated with the parents. After the judge had completed his enquiry, the three adults (the Ivorian employer and the fathers of the two boys) were put in prison. After 6 to 8 months detention, the three men were freed and the affair was filed without a verdict. At that time there was no existing legal text penalising this practice as child trafficking. It seemed that the men were jailed as an example to others even though there was no legal status for their imprisonment.

Interviewer: Why did you keep them in prison all that time?

I sent them there and kept them there in order to persuade other parents not to place their children in this way.

Judge, Kolondièba

The second case, also filed in 2002 without any further action being taken, concerned a driver who had embarked a young boy of 7 years of age to go to Côte d'Ivoire without his father's knowledge. Learning what had happened, the father complained to the judge who ordered the driver to bring the child back. This was done in a day.

The third case, from February 2002, involved a farmer who had persuaded the 12 year-old son of his neighbour to go to Côte d'Ivoire because his father would not give him any financial remuneration after the harvest. The neighbour in question brought the child back at the judge's request and the affair was dropped.

The fourth case of 14 young people from Kiban (Banamba Circle area) has not been investigated because the gendarmerie, the mayor's office and Save the Children sent the children home with the person accompanying them without being heard by the judge. Documents obtained from SC/US indicated that although the young people in question were said by local agents to be trafficked, they were in fact children travelling without the correct paperwork.

In Sikasso, cases of trafficking were also handled by the prosecutor.

At my level there are three cases being handled. They concern men arrested in possession of young under-age boys without identity papers. I was contacted by the local Directorate of the Ministry for the Protection of Women, Children and the Family, and by the gendarmerie who intercepted the vehicles near Zégoua. Before August 2001, there was no text penalising this form of activity: so as a judge I could neither pursue nor charge persons arrested for trafficking. So there has been a misunderstanding that has led to dishonest persons talking of favours being granted to traffickers.

Public prosecutor, Sikasso

32.3 Jurists' suggestions to improve legal aspects of trafficking.

The Kolondièba area judge made several suggestions concerning child trafficking and efforts to halt it from a legal perspective. These included:

- 1 Regular consultation of all the administrative services concerned and NGOs on the question of child trafficking to allow for exchange of points of view and decision taking.

- 2 The dissemination of Article 244 to the population. At present the Article is not known to the population. They therefore do not currently understand that some of their traditional practices are forbidden by law.
- 3 Dissemination of the Declaration on the Rights of the Child and of the Charter for the African Child should take place throughout the country.
- 4 Awareness-raising among the population is essential for comprehension of trafficking and of legislative measures penalising the practice.

As described, the main problem in Kolondièba and elsewhere is that Article 244 seems to be inappropriate to the local context. The testimonies of the legal experts indicate that either the article should be redrawn or the local population made much more aware that if they do act as intermediaries or carry out other activities that could be perceived as exploitative, then they could be pursued by the legal services and imprisoned.

The population does not understand why the person accompanying a young migrant can go to prison for offering a service requested by the parents. The parents of a child who was intercepted came to declare the innocence of the person accompanying the children because it was they who entrusted the boys to him. They don't understand why this gentleman who was doing them a service now finds himself in prison.

Public prosecutor, Sikasso

The judge in Kolondièba concluded that the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family should widely publicise the ‘*titre de voyage*’ among the gendarmes, police, transporters and the mayors’ offices. Distribution should be undertaken by the competent authorities so that the document is available. He added that checks and patrols should be intensified periodically because drivers and conductors with bad intentions know the country tracks all too well.

33.0 TRANSPORTERS’ OPINIONS

33.1 Perceptions of trafficking

Transporters reiterated that young migrants who pass through the bus stations in San, Kolondièba, Bankass and Sikasso generally come from villages where the climate does not produce an adequate harvest, and where after the harvest there are no dry-season activities. These bus stations are the mandatory “passing points” for these young people who often work in the towns first to earn enough money for the journey to Côte d’Ivoire.

In years of poor harvests (such as the time of the study), parents encourage young people to leave to look for money to feed the family, but also so that they will have fewer mouths to feed. In addition, in San, transporters remarked (like the gendarmes) that there were more and more young Burkinabé in the area, having been entrusted to *marabouts* (religious teachers) who come to San before continuing to Niono in north-eastern Mali to take part in rice growing.

I once transported 40 Burkinabé children and their Koranic schoolteacher to Niono. They were going to cultivate rice.

Focus group with transporters, San

Two groups of young people can be distinguished on their arrival at the bus-station in Sikasso. They are those who have the necessary resources for the journey to Côte d'Ivoire and those who will work for 4-9 months to earn the fare. The latter are often taken on by certain transporters, or are given help to find work. The transporters said they advise them to stay in Sikasso instead of going to Côte d'Ivoire.

Interviewer: How do you help these young people to find work on their arrival?

When these young people arrive at the Sikasso station without money, they ask the transporters if they can find or give them work, or if they can take them to Côte d'Ivoire by the arriver-payer system (if they have the name of a 'logeur' in Côte d'Ivoire).

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

I am a market gardener and planter. I use young people on my farm. As soon as they've saved a bit of money, they leave me to continue to Côte d'Ivoire.

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

According to the informants, child trafficking is a recent phenomenon which appeared with youth migration. Some drivers, vehicle owners and '*coxeurs*' (young men employed to drum up custom for passenger vehicles) take advantage of the naivety of young migrants and place them with Ivorian employers from whom they take a commission. The transporters remarked that the national media served to highlight the dangers of trafficking and served as a catalyst for anti-trafficking measures introduced by them.

Since we saw the scenes on trafficking on TV, we have taken all the necessary measures. When we see a kid at the bus station, we find out

where he has come from and where he is going, before we let him continue.

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

There were also transporters who had heard of the practice but who were sceptical about its existence.

Concerning the question of child trafficking, it doesn't exist yet in San, and we don't believe it exists, either.

Interviewer: Why?

Because, according to our enquiries, the children go to Côte d'Ivoire of their own accord. We still haven't seen people who bring them here and we haven't seen a concrete case of trafficking here like those we have seen on TV. Nevertheless, we remain watchful and we'll continue to make enquiries.

Focus group with transporters, San

Some transporters say they have noticed that practices such as *arriver-payer* which is sometimes associated with child trafficking are actually encouraged by some drivers because, of course, they gain financial benefit from it.

Still, I have seen one thing that made an impression on me. Some drivers going to Côte d'Ivoire only like to take young people who have no money for the fare. They prefer to take them 'arriver-payer'. I don't know why. These drivers often spend as much as two months looking for this category of young person.

Focus group with transporters, San

Other drivers and vehicle owners agreed that they knew of the drivers who take the young people and give them to planters who repay twice, or three times the transport costs. However, children's discussions of the *arriver-payer* system above showed it was often the only way they could afford to migrate and was not necessarily exploitative if they were involved in the negotiations about their subsequent work.

Child trafficking as a practice is rare in the San bus garage. But it really happens in the garages in Bougouni and Koutiala. Last week, at the gendarmes' office in Niéllé (Côte d'Ivoire) I saw a group of young girls and boys coming from Bankass and Douentza and who had passed through Bougouni. They were accompanied by two men (a Togolese and a Malian).

Focus group with transporters, San

33.2 Measures taken by transporters to combat child trafficking.

The transport workers explained that, for over ten years, their union had adopted and applied measures against youth migration, well before the State became committed to do so. As parents, they felt it is their duty to protect children and to shield them from the suffering involved in migration. The measures taken include: refusal to sell tickets to anyone under 14 years of age, denunciation of any traffickers they are aware of, offering free transport to those who are obviously in difficulty and persuading some young people to remain in the village. However their testimonies contrasted strongly with the evidence gained from observation of the transport station presented in Section 34.0 below.

I am the father of a number of children. I have also lived in Côte d'Ivoire. I know the conditions in which young Malians and Burkinabé have to work there. Many drivers and conductors know Côte d'Ivoire. We have always refused to sell tickets to young boys and girls, and have even informed those parents we know about their child's attempt to run away.

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

Long before the Government's measures, we, the members of the Transporters' Unions looked after sick youngsters on their arrival at the bus station, housed some of them for a day, helped others to find the home of their 'logeur' in Côte d'Ivoire, and also let some of them travel free back to their home village.

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

When a vehicle transporting young people passes through Kolondièba, the Chairman of the Union checks the passengers and asks the ages of the youngest, which villages they come from, their destination and the name of the person accompanying them.

Focus group with transporters, Kolondièba

The transporters said that a 24-hour watch system has been set up at the San bus station to help passengers in difficulty.

At the Kolondièba station, measures have been adopted and applied. All the drivers, apprentices and porters have been informed by the Union Chairman of the measures taken against child trafficking.

After the participation of our chairman at the information meeting organized by Save the Children US, our Union held a meeting for

vehicle owners, drivers, conductors and porters. It was decided that the Union will neither protect nor defend any driver or conductor accused of child trafficking.

Focus group with transporters, Kolondièba

Every Monday, which is market day in Kolondièba, the chairman of the Transporters' Union checks the registers of departing vehicles (going to Côte d'Ivoire and Bamako). Vehicles in transit for Côte d'Ivoire are also inspected by the chairman and other Union officials. These checks have meant that, in theory, the Transporters' Union in Kolondièba now disembarks young boys and girls of 14-16 years who do not have identification papers.

Collaboration between the Kolondièba transporters' Union and that of Soubré (in Côte d'Ivoire) has led to the repatriation of young Malians in difficulties. They were looked after by the Union Chairman until their parents arrived. Thanks to the collaboration with the Soubré Transporters' Union, other young people have been repatriated.

A driver of a vehicle from Kolosso (Kolondièba) brought back a young boy of 15 who, in 2001, had been thrown out by his employer, an Ivorian planter from Soubré, without receiving his pay. Thanks to the Malian members of the Transport Union, the young man got his two years' pay. On arriving in Kolondièba, the boy told the Union that there were two other boys with the same employer. The Soubré Union was informed and immediately repatriated the two others. They were housed by the Union Chairman in Kolondièba until their parents arrived.

Focus group with transporters, Kolondièba

This effective collaboration encouraged the Kolondièba Union to write to its counterpart in Tingréla, an Ivorian border village, where many young Malians transit without identity papers, asking them to repatriate young Malian migrants who are in difficulties. According to all our interviewees, the measures taken are in accordance with Government declarations and are aimed at reducing the movement by young people and above all to combat the difficult working conditions in Côte d'Ivoire. However, their application is not without its problems in that the Union does not have funds to house young people. Collaboration with Government services regarding the covering of expenses of repatriated and intercepted youths is difficult.

33.3 Difficulties encountered in relation to trying to reduce youth migration

The difficulties are administrative, material and financial. Firstly, collaboration with administrative and communal services (for example, the court and the Mayor's office) over the expenses of repatriated and intercepted children is difficult. None of the services

referred to is primarily responsible for the expenses of repatriated children who have been intercepted. The transporters who intercept them are not supported by the State services and this is the source of frustration for them.

At the beginning in Kolondièba, there was a misunderstanding between the judge and we the transporters, about the costs of children who are intercepted or repatriated. Their expenses have always been borne by the Union in addition to transport costs to their home villages. Because of that we got the impression that anti-trafficking measures are only the business of the transporters. The attitude of these services does not encourage the application of certain strategies.

Focus group with transporters, Kolondièba

The other problem that the transporters highlighted was their lack of knowledge of the texts forbidding trafficking, and the ‘*titre de voyage*’. The Unions have still not received a specimen of the child’s travel document that the MPFEF and the Ministry of Security produced in 2001. In addition, the transporters do not know the texts, laws, the National Action Plan or other measures taken by the State to combat child trafficking. Only in Sikasso and Kolondièba did the Unions of Transport owners and drivers take part in information seminars and in drawing up programmes of activities. However, these have not been followed up.

When they talk about child trafficking, I get annoyed. In Sikasso, we the transporters and drivers took part in a workshop at the Governorate on the question of trafficking. At the Circle administration, we took part in drawing up an action plan. We recommended setting up surveillance systems in the stations in Zégoua, Misséni and Kadiola. Since then, we haven’t received any information. Do you think it is possible to wage a campaign empty-handed? So intervene for us, and talk to the authorities that are employing you.

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

The San Transporters’ Union has no knowledge of the measures taken by the Government to fight trafficking as its members have not been informed.

It is difficult for us to say that the application of measures taken by the State has run into difficulties, because we don’t know what they are, despite our collaboration with the gendarmes. Without a means of getting around, we will be unable to follow and arrest the traffickers.

Focus group with transporters, San

In addition, the transporters conveyed their incomprehension as to the activities of the police and gendarmerie services. Frequent stops and checks of public transport vehicles at every guard post were perceived to be a waste of time and made the companies lose money. To avoid them, the drivers admitted that they take rural tracks and young people without identification will cross the border that way to avoid the checkpoints.

Repeated checks (at several points) can lead to vehicles carrying minors constantly taking hidden routes because the check is a loss of time for us. The country kids we carry don't have identification. They will end up going on foot to avoid the agents carrying out the checks. The checks should be limited to the border posts.

Focus group with transporters, San

The application of certain legal procedures such as surprise checks is an enormous loss for the transporter because many of our passengers don't have identity documents. By making them get down, the driver will have no more clients and in the end everyone will avoid his vehicle. Clients will no longer come forward because he will be pointed out as a driver who is unable to protect or defend his clients.

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

One company in San (Bani transport) had taken the police to court accusing them of making them lose money due to the interminable checks. However, the judge said that they had to continue checking the papers of young travellers and disembarking those with no papers or the wrong papers.

Despite the difficulties presented, some drivers and conductors did apply the new measures aimed at regulating youth migration. Certain members of the Unions said that they verified young passengers' identity documents before selling them tickets for the journey. Clients without travel documents who used to come in groups of 60 to 70 have rarely been seen at the Sikasso station since the application of measures against trafficking. Many passengers try to obtain travel documents instead of counting on the efforts of the driver or the conductor. For some members of the Transporters' Union the checks have had positive results.

Of course it is a loss that has to be made up; but when I think that lives of children are in danger because of mistakes made by the transporters, I think the checks are positive. The results we have obtained are encouraging.

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

33.4 Collaboration with administrative services and with NGOs.

The San transporters assured us they have good relations with the gendarmerie who tell them of the illegal activity of some of the drivers. Those of Kolondièba and Sikasso say that the border guard gendarmes often hand over intercepted youths to drivers and conductors, to take them back to Sikasso. The older drivers and conductors who are always at the bus station intercept young minors, calling the gendarmes by telephone to come and collect them right away. However, there is no arrangement for covering the costs of this transport. The Transporters' Unions are always in contact with the local directorate of the Ministry for the Protection of Women, the Child and the Family, as well as that of Justice, with which they exchange information about interceptions and the children's journeys to their home villages.

The question of the financial responsibility for those young people intercepted by the drivers and conductors is a major concern in combating trafficking and until now has been borne by the drivers.

We have had problems with the High Commissioner who told us that his organisation will pay for the home journey of intercepted and repatriated children. But we have never received payment for the journeys. So we have to cover the cost on a volunteer basis.

Focus group with transporters, Sikasso

Despite positive actions to help young migrants in difficulties, the transporters and drivers think they are victims of prejudice.

The services do not recognise the good actions that we transporters undertake. We are accused of everything discreditable as soon as there is a problem. According to the administrative authorities and persons with evil intentions, we are considered to be the main child traffickers.

Focus group with transporters, Kolondièba

The transporters and drivers have a good knowledge of youth migration and also of trafficking, even if some interviewees say it does not exist. The information they have been given on trafficking by the authorities and NGOs is inadequate and the measures applied are not taken universally or unequivocally. Responsibility for the transport costs of intercepted and repatriated youths seems to be a source of disagreement between State services and the transporters. According to some of them, the State has encouraged publicity on the issue of child trafficking without giving enough consideration to measures that need to be taken to combat it. Lack of communication and failure to take into consideration the suggestions of the transporters are factors which have led to a decline in motivation among them to combat trafficking.

34.0 OBSERVATIONS IN SAN

As described, a team of two research assistants who were well acquainted with the networks and dynamics of the transport industry were asked to go and observe the bus station at San and the outlying police checkpoints. The aim of the observations was to see what happened when unaccompanied minors tried to buy tickets and if the authorities reacted to their presence on busses leaving the town. They also chatted informally to the women vendors at the bus stations and with young travellers to get their opinions on whether the anti-trafficking measures had had an impact on the atmosphere and functioning of the station. The bus station was observed from 7-12h and 17-19.30 on two consecutive days in September 2002.

The observations revealed that nearly every vehicle leaving contained one or several young people under the age of 18. None were asked for identification by the ticket sellers when attempting to purchase their tickets. One of the research assistants went and asked the ticket seller if he could send a (fictitious) 10-year old girl to Zegoua without any documents and with noone accompanying her. The ticket seller said that there would be no problem that that he should bring the child before 13h that day.

At each control point outside the town the observers noted that the police checked the notebook of the driver who usually got down off the bus to talk to them. In no case did the officers get into the buss and inspect the papers of those travelling.

35.0 CONCLUSION

The study raises many issues relating to the dynamics of households, communities, national and international institutions regarding the way that children are viewed, how their work is valued and what are considered acceptable levels of risk or hardship. Clearly, migration by young people is much more than an economic phenomenon. It comprises social and psychological dimensions pertaining to the need to explore new places, experience new settings and accumulate material possessions in order to conform to peer group aspirations and requirements. It is as much a rite of passage as a financial necessity. Thus, increasing economic interventions and development activities in migrants' villages of origin, although important, will only address one element of the motivation driving young people to leave.

The study revealed that the types of hardship experienced by young migrants were similar both within and outside Mali and even sometimes between those who had apparently been trafficked and those who had not. A significant proportion of young people working in both domestic and foreign settings were often exploited, badly paid or not paid at all, accused of lying or theft, and lived in poor conditions with insufficient food or medical care. The findings thus underscore the need to examine fundamental attitudes to child labour and to build systems of support and recourse for *all* working children in hardship, not simply those who have experienced trafficking and to advocate for those who are exploited within as well as outside the country.

By contrast, many young people also revealed that they had had positive migration experiences, were well-treated by their employers and were able to achieve their economic aims whilst making social advances in terms of improving their linguistic skills and ability to negotiate the modern world. Thus, there is no doubt that migration is, in and of itself, a very important development tool and one which can bring significant positive advantage both to individual migrants and to their home communities, particularly in the absence of schooling. Migrants described how, through their migration experience, they had become more aware of health and hygiene practices, gained new entrepreneurial skills which they then applied in their village settings and were more able to problem-solve and to manage their time and resources. Policies which seek to limit migration in these settings, which often experience extreme natural resource shortages, are unrealistic and fail to recognise that the social capital that migration may bring or mobilise can act as an important catalyst for development and investment in many villages.

Importantly, the study highlighted that young people felt that existing development activities, such as credit systems or agricultural projects, did not target young people and, in fact, sometimes actively discriminated against them. It would thus seem appropriate to establish economic interventions that directly targeted adolescent men and women to ensure that they can actively participate in their community's development and reinforce their own financial wellbeing. This may not diminish their desire to migrate but may give them a sound basis from which to plan their departure and give them a level of financial capital to at least pay for their journey and thus make them less vulnerable en route.

The research also found that schooling had an important role in slowing rates of migration and probably in delayed age at first departure for those who eventually did leave. It was very clear from the testimonies of school children that they had different aspirations and felt less peer pressure compared with their non-schooled counterparts. In addition, they were prepared to postpone their chance of material gain until the long-term. This contrasted with the immediate gratification that migrants expressed with many wanting to accumulate key possessions, such as wedding trousseau items, bicycles and clothes as soon as possible in order to conform to their peer group norms. Thus, in the future, widespread schooling may be the key to making communities less reliant on migration and victims of its uncertainty. However, educating the current generation of young people still means that any material development they may achieve in their communities is still likely to be postponed for several decades whilst they establish their careers. Such ability to improve their natal villages is also a function of their being able to find relatively well-paid jobs or commercial opportunities that will enable them to have sufficient capital to invest and the motivation to do so – something which is not at all certain in a state sector where wages are notoriously low. Although increasing educational opportunities have to be a priority given the immense social, academic and intellectual benefits of schooling, concurrently, for those who cannot or who do not wish to go to school, there needs to still be an emphasis on making migration a safe and lucrative alternative.

Turning to the family dynamics of labour migration, there is clearly a strong connection between the perceived position of the child in the family and his/her felt need to migrate. Children who were the victims of family conflict or who felt that their mothers were disadvantaged in their marital households often went on labour migration to bring back meagre benefits for themselves and for other family members whom they felt had not received a fair deal. In addition, the immense competition among girls to accumulate more and more sophisticated trousseaux in order to out do their peers is largely a function of the fact that many may well find themselves in polygamous marriages and need to avoid the humiliation of having less luxurious or fewer items than their co-wives. This appears to be the principle motivation driving young women to migrate and, as it relates to fundamental values pertaining to family structure and labour needs in these settings, it is not one that can be addressed overnight. However, it may be possible to strengthen traditional systems of mediation so that family conflicts do not escalate and become a principle factor pushing young people to leave. In addition, it may, with appropriate awareness-raising, be possible to emphasise that bringing literacy skills and education to a marriage is likely to be more advantageous than numbers of pots and pans. However, given the lack of visibility of such intellectual skills, this is likely to be very difficult to instil.

On a policy level, the study highlights many weaknesses in the conceptualisation of international definitions of trafficking and the extreme difficulty of applying them operationally in the field. The study used as its basis the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, also known as '*the Palermo Protocol*'. The definition considers that, an intermediary who gives or receives payments (or expects to give or receive payments) can be considered a child trafficker if there is intent on the part of the intermediary to exploit the child. The main problem with this and similar definitions, and national legislation that stems from them, is that operationally the focus tends to be put on intermediaries generally without consideration of the complex issue of intent to exploit, perhaps for the simple reason that determining such intent is obviously very difficult. This is particularly problematic in many West African settings where the use of an intermediary is almost obligatory for most social and economic activities or needs. In many cases, such an intermediary is compensated with something to 'encourage' him, whether this is to negotiate the price and transport of any commodity or to guarantee a desired social outcome such as securing a spouse or resolving a dispute. Thus, simply attributing a "trafficking" label to anyone involved in taking money to facilitate a child's journey or obtaining of employment simplifies a much more complex cultural reality. International agencies associate the presence of intermediaries with negative experiences whereas, analyses presented here conclude that those children who travelled without an intermediary were much more likely to be seriously exploited and harmed. Legal experts and jurists reiterated that current definitions and legislative measures did not enable them to distinguish between a trafficker and simple intermediary. Therefore, it must be recognised that culturally, virtually no social or economic transaction takes place without the presence of a third party and it is very difficult to determine who does and does not have the best interests of the migrant at heart. Thus, the international definitions need to be tailored for this cultural setting. In addition, it became very clear from the research that the word

‘trafficking’ cannot be applied to all parts of a child’s migration experience but rather to different elements of his/her journey and employment. A child may be exploited by the *arriver-payer* system but then succeed in earning a regular wage. The Dafing girls from Bankass travelled with forged papers with intermediaries who were sometimes remunerated to Saudi Arabia, but then often seemed to go on to earn reasonable salaries in very acceptable living conditions. Thus, the definition is not clear-cut - a child is not simply “trafficked” or not “trafficked”, rather some elements of his journey or experience may have been more exploitative than others.

An additional issue pertains to international declarations about children’s rights where the rights of the child are seen as paramount. In fact, as discussed above, Article 12, of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child notes that a child has *‘the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child’*. It seems that in, the heated and emotive debate about trafficking and migration more generally that the voice of the child migrants is not being sufficiently heard. It is clearly shown in the research presented above that many children want to migrate, have a worthwhile experience abroad and come back and make a real difference to their families and communities. In this context, therefore it is necessary to listen to children’s opinions regarding their migration as well as to take into account the expectations of the parents who use it as a livelihood strategy. Given the extreme poverty of main of the sending areas, a lack of other opportunities, migration needs to be able to continue safely and children need to be allowed to work in acceptable conditions to bring benefits to all. It is crucial therefore to address child labour issues generally both within and beyond Mali and to involve children in the decision-making regarding their own migration and labour experiences. In addition, labour laws comprised in the Code du Travail and Code Pénal seem to bear no relation to the reality and are almost impossible to enforce. Legal authorities called for the texts to be revised to make them more appropriate to the local context and easier to enforce. In addition, they suggested that it may be feasible to simplify key elements of the Code that relate to child labour and translate them into local languages, raise awareness about them as to their value and encourage communities to adopt those that are likely to reduce physical risk and exploitation.

The schemes to repatriate children are not, as yet, well thought out and actually involve large numbers of agencies and personnel, in addition to funds, to return children to their villages when, in fact, many then leave shortly afterwards. Though the titles of the lists used by NGOs and local Ministry representatives give the impression that the repatriated children have been trafficked, the reality is that most have simply been sent back for not having the correct papers such as the *‘titre de voyage’* (which was not available anyway) or for being under age. The testimonies detailed above show that most children resented being sent back and felt humiliated in front of their peers for returning empty handed. In one case, the repatriation appears to be driven by unrealistic targets set by a local NGO who is obliged to find a certain number of children to send back to reach donor objectives. This appears to result in children who are not victims of trafficking being sent back to their communities only to leave again shortly afterwards.

Throughout the study the label ‘trafficked child’ was applied indiscriminately by people, including to cases of children merely using the services of intermediaries, children who had been intercepted, children who had been repatriated and children travelling without parental consent. This over-emphasis on trafficking, and the measures taken to stop it, has resulted in many children who could go on productive, open, labour migration being increasingly obliged to put themselves in the hands of potentially unscrupulous intermediaries, travel clandestinely in vehicles, take back routes to avoid police checks and obtain false documentation. Given that many of the dangers to which children are exposed result from their having to acquire and use false or inadequate documents, adding yet another document (the ‘*titre de voyage*’) is likely to increase rather than reduce their vulnerability whilst travelling.

Equally worrying is the fact that the ‘*Comités de Surveillance*’ seem to operate with the notion that all migration is negative and consequently children appear to be almost hunted down and ‘arrested’ by local leaders. This again, is only likely to increase young people’s need to migrate clandestinely and to deny them the family support that seems so crucial to protect them at the beginning of their journey and en route. In addition, the committees appear to have a very unclear understanding of the notion of trafficking, no clear operational guidelines, and thus seem to target any potential migrant as opposed to those genuinely at risk.

It would much more appropriate to drop the emotive terminology of “trafficking” and engage migrants, their employers, their communities and the authorities in a frank discussion of the risks of *all* migration, and of the unacceptable side of child labour. In this way, it would be possible to promote a practical and appropriate strategy to encourage safe and remunerative work both inside and outside Mali. However this requires a debate (which is already emerging in the national press) not just with international partners but within the country itself. Society as a whole (perhaps motivated by elders, religious leaders, women’s associations and most importantly children’s representatives) needs to examine how children’s work is viewed, and to what degree exploitation, non-payment and maltreatment usually associated with ‘trafficking’, may also apply to the very many ‘regular’ workers in households, markets and fields around the country.

In conclusion, much of the rhetoric to date has focussed on the concept of the trafficker-child dyad with the trafficker vilified as being the primary exploiter of the child in question. Apart from the fact that many of the presumed traffickers appear to be simple intermediaries operating within a cultural system that demands payment for services, focussing on such a dyad fails to reveal the larger picture in which it functions. As described above, the reason children need intermediaries in the first place is that it appears that police and gendarmes (albeit more frequently in Côte d’Ivoire than in Mali) demand excessive sums from children during encounters at the borders which they are unable to negotiate alone. In addition, the relative ease with which false documents are procured (such as identity cards, vaccination cards, visas, birth certificates) points to a system of national administration where such falsification often becomes a routine means to an end. In such a setting, taking out the intermediary (who in fact gains comparatively

little) is the least effective solution. Others will simply come and take their place as the demand for them by children is always going to exist if the system continually revolves around the need for false papers or to avoid the authorities to whom they need to be shown. Thus, the whole issue of child migration, whether it be trafficking or not, poses some of the most basic moral questions to Malian society which need to be answered by introspection as well as by responses from the international community.

36.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

36.1 General

1. Engage a debate among the press and national media as to the nature of acceptable and unacceptable child labour and mobilise discussions about young people's working conditions and rights. The current focus on trafficking ignores the plight of many vulnerable children both within and outside Mali who are not trafficked but who face physical, social and psychological problems associated with their work. The needs of domestic as well as international migrants and young workers need to be prioritised in addition to those of trafficked children. Although trafficked children have clearly had extremely negative if not harmful experiences and require specific services, the focus upon their plight detracts attention from other working children who may also experience severe hardship.
2. The term 'trafficking' appears to be overused by government agents, NGOs and by surveillance committee members who often do not have a clear and appropriate definition of the concept. It has been frequently incorrectly applied to children who are leaving without the correct papers, travelling under the age of 18 or going on migration without parental consent. None of these situations merits the use of the term 'trafficking'. The legal texts in the Code du Travail and Code Pénal are derived from international (namely French) law and are inapplicable in the field. The legislative authorities are hampered by the inappropriateness of the definition which makes it difficult to identify true traffickers and leads to the risk of imprisonment for innocent individuals. There needs to be a simplification of the international definition of trafficking made appropriate for the Malian context and clear training and awareness-raising carried out with all parties so as to avoid confusion and embellishment of the problem.

36.2 Governmental

3. Actors in the domain of child welfare need to recognise that not all intermediaries are traffickers and that in many cases the presence of an intermediary has a significantly protective effect on the child. In cases where children are intercepted, it is preferable that a legal expert (judge or public prosecutor) makes a quick decision as to the status of the individual(s) detained (based on appropriate texts) which is communicated to the NGOs and others intervening with the children in question.

4. Greater transparency is needed among the police and gendarmes who appear to be ready to relieve migrants of very significant sums of money in exchange for letting them go over international borders. Even those who have the correct documentation appear to be victims of such 'fines' which thus increases their need to cross frontiers in a clandestine manner. Training as to the importance of gendarmes' role as facilitators of migrants' safe passage rather than as impediments to their free movement need to be implemented.
5. Greater transparency is needed among selected diplomatic staff, civil servants and state administrators who seem to frequently issue false passports, visas, birth certificates and vaccination cards for migrants. The ready availability of such documents fuels the need for intermediaries and increases children's' vulnerability. The market in counterfeit documents is particularly important in facilitating the movement of young girls between Bankass and Mecca. Regarding this migration, international airlines need to be more aware, and ready to stop groups of female children bound for Jeddah accompanied by an adult male. Training and awareness raising need to take place to combat this type of movement and to ensure that if girls do leave for Saudi Arabia that it is the company of a real relative, that the parents' and children's full consent has been obtained and that safe employment and continued educational opportunities are maximised at the destination.
6. According to the website for the Maliens à l'Extérieur et l'Intégration Africaine (Maliens outside the country and African integration) there is no formal or honorary diplomatic presence in Saudi Arabia. Given the large presence of Malians in the country (including many vulnerable children), the government may need to consider opening up a mission to protect their interests.

36.3 NGOs

7. There needs to be more open discussion and collaboration (rather than competition) among NGOs intervening in the domain of 'child trafficking' so that appropriate and complementary strategies and definitions can be adopted that identify truly at-risk children (i.e. very young or genuinely exploited children) and rehabilitate them or repatriate them (if they wish). The two agencies need to start to work together to address, in addition to trafficking, the everyday exploitation and hardship experienced by non-trafficked working children.
8. Avoid the setting of targets amongst NGOs to identify and repatriate a certain number of children. To date, it appears that these targets have tried to be met by the repatriation of migrants who are not trafficked but who, as described above, simply travel without the appropriate papers or without parental consent. Repatriating such children is extremely costly and appears to be wasteful as most leave again shortly having been returned to their home communities.
9. The concept of child trafficking as understood by surveillance committees (and known as '*den fere*' (the sold child in Bambara) is so broadly defined that committee

members seem intent on stopping all young migrants from leaving. The confusion stems from the fact that the committees were formed in haste in response to directives from the regional government offices without due thought to their representativeness and function. Young people need to be part of the committees so that potential migrants can objectively understand the dangers of migration and work with the community to make the migration process safer without necessarily stopping it.

36.4 Communities

10. The networks of 'ressortissants' seem to greatly facilitate young migrants' journeys and their search for work. Community development activities need to find ways to strengthen these links and to make sure that migrants are informed about the location of people originally from their home villages before they leave. In the receiving areas, such as transport stations in Côte d'Ivoire, awareness could be raised among transporters so they can facilitate links between new arrivals and their more established counterparts in their chosen destination.
11. Given the need for young people's labour in many marginal communities, stopping those below age 18 from leaving without parental permission is not realistic in settings where such young adults can be highly productive and gain both financial remuneration and important life-skills away from home. However, limiting the movement of very young children (below 14 years of age) is probably necessary in order not to expose them to physical and economic exploitation and so as not to impede their chances of schooling.
12. Greater co-ordination is needed between the NGOs and the representatives of the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family and the Ministry for Social Development who are supposed to actually render repatriated children to their villages. Once they return, parents, peers and community members seem to be unaware of the reasons for migrants' repatriation and tease or humiliate them for coming back empty handed. This necessitates more initiatives aimed at informing parents and community members as to the reason for the child's return and encouraging them to send children who have support in their destination and who are likely to work in acceptable conditions. In addition, there appear to be few economic opportunities offered to repatriated children, motivating the children to leave again as quickly as possible. Children over age 14 should be asked if they want to be repatriated and made aware of the range of opportunities, if any, to them if they return. If they are unwilling to go back it is pointless trying to force them and simply constitutes a waste of resources if they leave again, as many indeed do.
13. Young people felt that existing development activities, such as credit systems or agricultural projects, did not include or target them and, in fact, sometimes actively discriminated against them. It would thus seem appropriate to establish economic interventions, such as credit and agricultural schemes, that directly target adolescent men and women to ensure that they can actively participate in their community's development and reinforce their own financial wellbeing. This may not diminish their

desire to migrate but may give them a sound basis from which to plan their departure and give them a level of financial capital to at least pay for their journey and thus make them less vulnerable en route.

14. The importance of both formal and community schooling as a deterrent to migration cannot be overemphasised. Children's testimonies consistently reiterated that pupils had long-term goals and seemed less susceptible to peer pressure to obtain material items than their uneducated counterparts. Continued investment in education is thus a priority, not just to develop the intellectual capacity of young people, but as a strategy to retain them and so that their skills can be used to strengthen their home communities.

REFERENCES

- Boerma, J.T., M Urassa, S. Nnko, J. Ng'weshemi , R. Isingo (2002) Sociodemographic context of the AIDS epidemic in a rural area in Tanzania with a focus on people's mobility and marriage. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*. Apr;78 Suppl 1:i97-i105.
- Brockerhoff M. (1995) Fertility and family planning in African cities: the impact of female migration. *Journal of Biosocial Science*. 27(3):347-58
- Castle, S (2002) *Knowledge, attitudes and behaviours relating to HIV/AIDS in selected villages of Kolondieba 'Cercle': a qualitative study to inform the development of HIV/AIDS prevention messages within and beyond the community schools*. A report submitted to School Health Programme, Save the Children USA, Bamako, Mali.
- Castle, S.E. (1995) Child fostering and children's nutritional outcomes in rural Mali: the role of female status in directing child transfers. *Social Science and Medicine* 40(5): 679-693
- Castle, S, S. Traore and Cisse L (2002) (Re)defining reproductive health with and for the community: an example of participatory research from Mali. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*. 6(1):20-31.
- Daugherty, H.G. and K.C. Kammeyer (1995) *An Introduction to Population*. 2nd ed. New York, New York: Guilford Press.
- Diallo, V. (2003) *Perceptions of Mali Youth Migration: a Review of Documentary References*. Report to Save the Children US. Bamako, Mali
- Glaser B , Strauss A (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Gulati, L. (1993) *In the Absence of their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women*. Sage Publications: London.
- McDowell, C. and A. de Haan A (1997). *Migration and sustainable livelihoods: a critical review of the literature*. Institute of Development Studies [IDS], 1997 Dec. 29 p. IDS Working Paper 65. Brighton, England: University of Sussex.
- Russell, S.S. (1992). Migrant Remittances and Development. *International Migration* 30(3-4):267-87.
- Sauve, N., A. Dzokoto, B. Opare, E. Kaitoo and N. Khonde (2002)The price of development: HIV infection in a semiurban community of Ghana. *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes*. 20(4):402-8.
- Sodio , P. (2002) Workshop on youth rural migration and Cross-border trafficking. 14-16 March 2002, Bankass. Report to British Embassy Mali.
- Zlotnik, H. (1998). International migration 1965-96: an overview. *Population and Development Review*.24(3):429-68.

Annex – Interview Guide for Children Who Migrated

A, B ou E, F ENTRETIEN APPROFONDI AVEC CEUX QUI ONT ÉMIGRÉ (SANS OU AVEC PROBLEME)

Thème 1: TRAVAUX RENUMERES ET NON-RENUMERES.

1.1 Qu'est-ce que vous faites comme travail non-renumeré en ce moment ? Comment contribuez-vous au bien-être de votre famille ?

Sondez pour voir ce qu'i/elle fait dans le ménage, dans les champs ou ailleurs. Comment est-ce que la famille apprécie son travail ?

1.2 Quelles sont vos ambitions matérielles ? Qu'est-ce que vous voulez posséder que vous n'avez pas actuellement ? Pourquoi avez-vous envie de posséder ces biens?

Sondez pour voir si la personne souhaite avoir un vélo, une mobylette par exemple ou si chez les filles le trousseau est une préoccupation ? Quel est le lien entre ces biens et la possibilité de se marier ?

Thème 2 : LA MIGRATION INTERNE

2.1 Est-ce que vous êtes déjà parti travailler ailleurs à l'intérieur du Mali ? Si oui, quand l'avez-vous fait et dans quelle localité ? Sinon → 2.3

Sondez pour voir si la personne a déjà travaillé en ville ou a déjà gagné de l'argent hors de son village. Quel était l'âge approximatif (ou l'étape de développement) quand il/elle a commencé à faire ce travail pour la première fois ? Combien de fois l'a-t-il fait ?

2.2 La dernière fois que vous avez travaillé à l'intérieur du Mali, où avez-vous travaillé ? Qu'est-ce que vous avez fait ? Comment avez-vous eu ce travail ?

Sondez pour voir s'il y a une tradition dans leur village d'aller dans une certaine localité et de faire un certain métier. Est-ce qu'il y a des intermédiaires qui viennent chercher les gens chez eux pour travailler ailleurs au Mali ?

2.3 Quelles sont les avantages et les inconvénients d'aller en exode à l'intérieur du Mali par rapport à l'extérieur ?

Sondez pour voir quelles sont les avantages et les inconvénients liés à l'exode interne et externe.

Thème 3 : LE TYPE ET CONTEXTE DU TRAVAIL A L'EXTERIEUR

3.1 Où est-ce que vous êtes parti(e) la dernière fois et pour combien de temps ?

Sondez pour voir la localité précise et la durée du séjour.

3.2 Au moment de quitter le village, cette localité était-elle votre destination ? Si oui pourquoi ? Sinon, comment expliquez-vous le fait que vous vous êtes rendu là-bas ?

Sondez pour voir si la destination finale était librement choisi ou si quelqu'un lui a proposé cette destination et pourquoi .

3.3 Qu'est-ce que vous avez fait là-bas (à l'extérieur du pays) ?

Sondez pour voir le type de travail qu'il/elle cherche et pourquoi ce type de travail.

3.4 Comment est-ce que vous vous êtes renseignés sur ce travail ou sur cette localité? Avant de partir, est-ce que quelqu'un est venu vous parler des opportunités là-bas ou est-ce que vous connaissiez quelqu'un qui est déjà parti à cet endroit et/ou qui a fait ce travail ?

Sondez pour voir s'il est déjà parti là-bas ou s'il a un ami qui y est parti. Est-ce qu'un étranger (intermédiaire) est venu lui parler des opportunités avant son départ ? Si oui, qu'est-ce qu'il/elle a dit ?

3.5 Quelle était le niveau d'implication de la famille dans votre départ ?

Sondez pour voir si la famille était au courant. Si non, pourquoi pas et dans ce cas comment a-t-il/elle fait pour partir ? Si oui, comment a-t-elle encouragé le départ et pour quelles raisons?

3.6 Avez-vous quitté le village seul(e) ou avec d'autres enfants ?

Sondez pour voir s'il/elle est parti(e) avec des amis ou avec d'autres personnes du village ou bien avec un intermédiaire.

3.7 Avez-vous bénéficié de l'aide d'une tierce personne pour votre voyage (dès le début jusqu'à la fin) ? Quelle était la nature de cette aide ?

Sondez pour voir si quelqu'un a facilité son voyage et si cette personne a été renuméré pour cette aide.

Thème 4 : L' ITINERAIRE

4.1 Comment etes-vous parti(e) là-bas ? Est-ce que vous pouvez décrire les différentes étapes de votre voyage ? Pourquoi avez-vous choisi cet itinéraire?

Sondez pour voir l'itinéraire emprunté avec les différents moyens de transport. Sondez très bien pour avoir les noms des différentes villes où il a transité ou où il a séjourné quelques moments (nombre de jours, de mois) et pourquoi.

4.2 Comment avez-vous payé le transport pour aller là-bas ?

Sondez pour voir si les parents lui ont donné les frais de transport, si il/elle a payé lui/elle même (et avec quels moyens), s' il a utilisé « l'arrivée-payer », si une tierce personne a payé pour lui/elle.

4.3 Au cours de voyage de votre séjour, quelles pièces d'identité ont été demandés et/ou retirées ? Par qui et pourquoi ?

Sondez pour savoir si ses pièces sont restés avec lui pendant tout son trajet et pendant tout son séjour .

4.4 Comment avez-vous traversé la frontière entre le Mali et votre pays de destination ?

Sondez pour voir s'il a traversé par vélo, moto, moto-taxi, voiture, à pied, par piste etc et pourquoi il/elle a préféré cette route (manque d'argent, manque de pièces etc)

Thème 5 : PERCEPTION DE LA SITUATION A LA DESTINATION

5.1 A votre arrivée, qui vous a accueilli et qu'est-ce que cette personne a fait pour vous?

Sondez pour voir si c'était un parent, une connaissance ou un inconnu et comment la personne l'a orienté ou l'a aidé ?

5.2 Qui a négocié votre salaire ? Avez-vous été associé aux discussions ?

Sondez pour savoir s'il connaissait le montant de son salaire et s'il était associé aux discussions ?

5.3 Quelles étaient les difficultés que vous avez rencontrées là-bas ? Qui vous a aidé à les résoudre ?

Sondez pour voir si il y avait des difficultés et à quoi elles étaient liées. Est-ce qu'il existait un intermédiaire ou un « njaatigui » qui pouvait défendre ses intérêts ? Sinon, comment a-t-il fait ?

5.4 Dans quels conditions étiez-vous logé là-bas ? Comment faisiez-vous pour manger et avec qui ?

Sondez pour voir si l'employeur lui donnait à manger, s'il y avait un « njaatigui », une cantine, une cotisation etc. Comment était le logement ?

5.5 Est-ce que vous étiez libre de vos mouvements ? Pouviez-vous sortir quand vous vouliez ? Est-ce qu'il y avait des moments où il y avait des restrictions ?

Sondez pour savoir s'il était privé de son mouvement et pourquoi ?

5.6 Est-ce que vous avez couru des risques économiques pendant votre séjour à l'extérieur ? Si oui, lesquelles et pourquoi ?

Sondez pour avoir des exemples concrets de non-paiements des salaires, des détournement d'argent, des vols, manque de transport pour retourner au pays.

5.7 Est-ce que sur le plan santé (de la reproduction) vous avez couru des risques ? Si oui, lesquelles et pourquoi ?

Sondez pour savoir s'il y avait des cas de viol, abus sexuel, contamination (IST/VIH/SIDA), prostitution forcée, homosexualité.

5.8 Quel était votre état d'esprit pendant le séjour et pourquoi ?

Sondez pour savoir à quoi il pensait, s'il avait le morale et les idées qu'il avait en tête.

Thème 6 : LE RETOUR

6.1 A quel moment avez-vous décidé de retourner ? Est-ce que vous avez décidé de retourner au village ou est-ce plutôt parce que vous vouliez quitter là où vous étiez ?

Sondez pour voir si c'était la fin de la récolte des plantations, s'il ne pouvait plus supporter son traitement, s'il avait des instances au village etc. Est-ce qu'il a décidé de rentrer au village ou juste de quitter le lieu où il se trouvait ?

6.2 Comment êtes vous parti de là où vous étiez ?

Sondez pour voir si la personne a fui, si on est venu la libérer, si elle a quitté de sa propre volonté, si l'employeur l'a libérée ou l'a chassée.

6.3 Comment êtes- vous rentré(e) au Mali ?

Sondez pour voir l'itinéraire emprunté avec les différents moyens de transport. Sondez très bien pour avoir les noms des différentes villes où il a transité ou où il a séjourné quelques moments (nombre de jours, de mois) et pourquoi.

6.4 Quelles difficultés avez –vous eu pour rentrer. Comment les avez-vous résolues ?

Sondez pour voir s'il lui manquait les moyens, s'il ne connaissait pas la route, etc. Est-ce qu'une tierce personne (par exemple un intermédiaire) l'a aidé ?

6.5 Quel était le rôle des ONGs dans votre rapatriement ?

Sondez pour voir si l'ONG (précisez laquelle) a pris du contact avec lui et qu'est-ce qui a été fait pour l'aider, l'héberger, le transporter, etc. S'il n'y a pas eu de contact avec une ONG, demander pourquoi (pas nécessaire, pas de contact, ignore l'existence etc)

Thème 7: L'IMPACT SOCIAL DE L'EXODE

7.1 Comment étiez-vous apprécié par vos pairs et votre famille a votre retour ? Est-ce que votre statut et votre point de vu avait changé ? Si oui, comment et pourquoi ?

Sondez pour voir s'il était apprécié par les gens du sexe opposé, par son groupe d'âge, par ses parents. Quelles sont les nouvelles idées qu'il a pu rapporter au village.

7.2 Qu'est-ce qui a facilité votre réintégration dans le village ?

Sondez pour voir s'il a été mieux considéré par sa famille est ces pairs et pourquoi. Quels biens matériels a-t-il rapporté ?

7.3 Qu'est-ce qui a rendu votre intégration plus difficile ?

Sondez pour voir s'il se sent différent de ses pairs, s'il n'a pas les moyens/les biens qu'on attendait de lui, s'il n'a plus le goût de la vie du village et pourquoi ?

7.4 Qu'est-ce que vous envisagez comme projet maintenant ?

Sondez pour voir s'il/elle envisage de partir en exode encore (si oui, où ?), s'il/elle envisage de se marier, de rester au village, etc.

7.5 Qu'est-ce qu'il faut réaliser au village pour vous retenir ?

Sondez pour voir ce qu'il faut faire au niveau de l'infrastructure (école, route, centre de santé, approvisionnement d'eau, culture de coton etc).

POUR CEUX QUI ONT FAIT L'ECOLE SEULEMENT – SINON TERMINEZ.

7.6 Pourquoi avez-vous abandonné l'école ? Est-ce que c'est lié aux raisons de l'exode ?

Sondez pour voir si le gain d'argent était une plus grande priorité que la poursuite des études.