

A photograph of a man in a light blue checkered shirt holding a young child in his arms. The man is smiling warmly at the child, who is also smiling. They are outdoors in a rural setting with trees and a thatched roof in the background. The child is wearing a green and brown patterned shirt and brown shorts. The man's hands are visible, holding the child securely.

**INTEGRATING CHILDREN  
ON THE MOVE IN CARE REFORM  
IN EASTERN AND  
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

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## Introduction

There are substantial and growing numbers of children from Eastern and Southern Africa moving within and between countries.<sup>1</sup> Decisions to move are shaped by a range of factors, including violence within the home, poverty, conflict, climate change and disasters. Children have varying degrees of choice around their movement and may move with or without parents or other carers. Children on the move include boys and girls who migrate for work, who have been trafficked, who are refugees or internally displaced, and those who move for education or to live with a different carer. Rarely does a child move for one reason alone.<sup>2</sup> This movement can place children at heightened risk of abuse, exploitation, and violence, and can have long-term consequences for their wellbeing and mental health. Ensuring that these boys and girls are well cared for is a key strategy for diminishing these risks. The care of children on the move also raises fundamental questions about the care of children more generally, including dilemmas about when children should be supported to live independently, and the use of short-term residential care through transit homes or safe houses.

This short paper examines why children on the move need to be included in care reform<sup>3</sup> in the region, how the care needs of these boys and girls can be met, and what lessons can be learned from the care of children on the move to inform the care of children more broadly. It is aimed primarily at UNICEF country office, government, and non-governmental organisation (NGO) staff working to improve the care of children.

## Who are children on the move in Eastern and Southern Africa?

Children on the move may be defined as:

*“Children moving for a variety of reasons, voluntarily or involuntarily, within or between countries, with or without their parents or other primary carers, and whose movement whilst it may open up opportunities might also place them at risk (or at an increased risk) of economic or sexual exploitation, abuse, neglect and violence.”<sup>4</sup>*

Although the focus of policy makers and researchers is often on children’s cross-border movement, evidence from across the region shows that most movement is within countries.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, although attention is often given to riskier movements, such as trafficking or people smuggling, it is far more common for children to move to pursue their aspirations for work, education or to live with an extended family member.<sup>6</sup> Patterns of movement change over time and experiences vary greatly depending on factors such as age, gender, disability, and maturity. Children also do not fit neatly into specific categories, and over the course of their journeys may experience multiple forms of movement, some of which may be riskier than others. For example, a child may begin a journey with a parent, but continue alone, or in the company of peers or others they meet along the way.

## Why do children on the move need to be considered in care reform?

There are three main reasons why children on the move need to be considered in care reform in Eastern and Southern Africa.

**First, there are substantial numbers of children on the move in the region.** In 2018, there were an estimated 18.2 million children on the move across the African continent;<sup>7</sup> this figure is likely to be a massive underestimate since it only includes refugee, internally displaced and asylum-seeking children who have registered with UN agencies. In South Africa alone, there were reportedly 642,000 children who had migrated from other countries in 2017.<sup>8</sup> Similarly striking figures on children’s mobility in the Horn of Africa<sup>9</sup> highlight the enormous scale of boys’ and girls’ movement across in the region.<sup>10</sup>

**Second, children on the move often lack adequate care.** Evidence suggests that there are three main ways in which their care can be compromised:

- **Children on the move are at greater risk of family separation:** UNICEF’s Agenda for Action for Children on the Move in Africa acknowledges that movement heightens the risk of family separation. It calls for maximum efforts to prevent separation amongst refugees and the internally displaced and to enable reunification.<sup>11</sup> Evidence from across the region shows that chaos caused by conflict or natural disasters often leads to unplanned separation as families flee.<sup>12</sup> Refugee or displaced families may also plan for children to move as a means of protecting the child, or they may send the child ahead to scope out a camp or settlement.<sup>13</sup> A loss of support networks

and high levels of poverty may lead to families placing children into alternative care<sup>14</sup> or sending them back to home communities to be cared for by relatives.<sup>15</sup> Insufficient attention is paid to the importance of family unity in government responses to refugee crises.<sup>16</sup>

- **Children on the move are at greater risk of abuse or neglect within families:** For children loving with parents or other caregivers care may be compromised by the stresses associated with movement, an inability to access services, or the loss of wider family and community support networks.<sup>17</sup> Although many children in kinship care are often well cared for, there is evidence that boys and girls who move in order to be cared for by distant relatives or friends of the family are at heightened risk of abuse, exploitation and discrimination.<sup>18</sup>
- **Children on the move lack the care choices of other children:** When boys and girls on the move cannot be cared for by parents or other family members, care options in the region are limited. In general, there is a widespread over-reliance on residential care. This problem can be even greater for some groups of boys and girls on the move, who tend to have less access to foster care, adoption or other forms of family-based alternative care than other children.<sup>19</sup> For example, it can be particularly difficult to find such placements for children on the move who have spent time living or working on the streets. These children are often older and male, and many foster carers prefer younger female children.<sup>20</sup> Care givers also often associate street-connected children with petty crime and may be fearful that they will exhibit challenging behaviours.<sup>21</sup>

**Third, including children on the move in care reform can challenge assumptions and provide important lessons about children’s care more generally.** As demonstrated below, the care of children on the move often involves innovative practice examples which could inform wider care reform strategies (see Box 7 for an example). As also outlined below, the care of children on the move raises important questions about the use of short-term residential care and supervised or supported independent living.

## How should the care needs of children on the move be met?

Meeting the care needs of children on the move requires specific attention to the needs of these groups in national, government-led care reform strategies. This means that:

- Children on the move should be included in policies and guidance on care.
- The social workforce should be strengthened to support the care of children on the move.
- Services and support should be provided that specifically meet the care needs of children on the move.

Many children on the move are in long-standing humanitarian and emergency contexts. Efforts must be made to align responses during conflict and disasters with national care policies and strategies, and to strengthen collaboration between government entities, development, and humanitarian actors. Within a region so prone to emergencies, addressing children on the move within care reform is an opportunity to strengthen countries’ preparedness for emergencies.

## 1. Include reference to children on the move in policies and guidance on care

It is important to consider children on the move in national strategies related to care reform and integrate considerations in legislative frameworks and policies to ensure that their specific needs are recognised and addressed. Likewise, case management guidance should reflect the contexts and circumstances that shape the experiences of street-connected and other children who live without parental care who are on the move. Box 1 shows how Kenya's 10-year National Strategy for Care Reform addresses the care needs of children on the move. Box 6 provides an example of case management guidance specifically targeted at the reintegration of children connected to the streets.

### Box 1: Children on the move in Kenya's National Strategy for Care Reform<sup>22</sup>

Kenya's National Strategy for Care Reform (2021) maps out the changes that are required in legislation, regulation, and policies, and in the delivery and quality of family and community-based services. It makes the following provisions in relation to children on the move.

- Expansion of vulnerability eligibility of cash transfers to include refugee and asylum-seeking families and the families of children connected to the streets.
- Access of refugee and asylum-seeking children and families to Kenyan government services that support family preservation and family and community-based care.
- Support to family tracing and reintegration for all unaccompanied and separated children. This includes support to cross-border reintegration where appropriate.

## 2. Build the capacity of social workers and engage community volunteers to support the needs of children on the move

The social workforce must be mobilised to support the care needs of children on the move. This can include a key role for para-professionals and community volunteers, as illustrated in Box 2. All social workers working with children on the move should understand why children move, the risks faced by children on the move, how experiences vary by factors such as age, gender, disability status, and how trauma, abuse and violence may impact children's behaviours. Capacity building is needed so that they can better support families to care for these children. Explicit efforts to change discriminatory social norms amongst social care professionals may also be necessary as these attitudes can be a major barrier to accessing services.<sup>23</sup>

## 3. Provide services and support to improve the care of children on the move

### Take steps to identify children on the move

Early identification of children on the move is vital to ensure their care and protection. Mechanisms must be established to identify children on the move so that they can be linked to appropriate supports and services, including case management. Communities can play an important role in this regard, as demonstrated in Box 2 below.





### Box 2: The community surveillance of separated children in Ethiopia<sup>24</sup>

In 2016 in Northern Ethiopia, drought pushed many children apart from their families. Children left home in search of work or to live with wealthier extended family members. A community surveillance system was established by the government with the help of the International Organization for Migration, Save the Children, and Columbia University. Twenty-nine volunteers were recruited from across ten villages to identify children in these circumstances and report them to a project coordinator using basic mobile phones. If children were facing problems, the volunteers could text '9999' to the coordinator, who would liaise with the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs to offer services and support. The only cost associated with the project related to initial training and phone credit/charging. Over the initial six-month period, the volunteers identified 48 separated children. The project also enabled government to monitor patterns of separation over time and to respond more quickly to alarming trends.

### Ensure that the care needs of children on the move are carefully assessed

Governments and others engaged in care reform should establish specific guidance and mechanisms for making decisions related to the care and protection of children on the move. This is needed to ensure that the unique experiences and needs of boys and girls in these circumstances are properly acknowledged. Box 3 below uses evidence from across the region to illustrate how the experiences of children on the move should impact on decisions regarding their care.

### Box 3: Examples of factors to take into consideration when making best interests decisions about the care and protection needs of children on the move

- In situations of extreme risk, such as trafficking, it may be necessary to quickly remove a child to protect them from immediate threat of harm.<sup>25</sup> Emergency placements in foster care or short-term small scale residential care are often needed for these children whilst longer-term solutions are sought.
- When a child has been separated from their family or lived outside of adult care for a long period, they may require assistance to make the transition to living in a family environment. This support might include, for example, rebuilding relationships of trust with adults or mental health supports to overcome past traumas.<sup>26</sup> A child in these circumstances also may not want to live in a family and supervised independent living may be appropriate.<sup>27</sup> However, independence gained whilst on the move should not automatically be seen as a hindrance to successful placements within a family. Children's flexibility and capacity to care for themselves can help them to adjust to a new life and reduce some of the burden on care givers.<sup>28</sup>
- Children, like adults, move for a mixture of personal, social, cultural, and economic reasons. It is important to consider the motives for children's original separation and to assess if these drivers have changed over time.<sup>29</sup> For example, if a child has moved because of violence in the family, such abuse must be addressed before the child can return.
- Children's strengths, resilience and own sense of agency need to inform all care-related decisions so that they can be both protected from harm whilst simultaneously being able to experience a sense of wellbeing and connection to others.<sup>30</sup>
- Those working with children on the move have long acknowledged that some movement of children is unavoidable and desirable.<sup>31</sup> For example, it can allow children to flee from conflict, exploitation, violence or abuse. Decisions about which forms of care to provide for children should not automatically presume that stopping movement and returning children to families is in the best interests of the child.
- Global guidance on care also applies to children on the move and should be considered in decision making with this group. For example, the importance of enabling children to remain with or return to families, and the need to use large scale institutions as a last resort only. This guidance stipulates that decisions should be made on a case-by-case basis, considering the best interests of each child, and that children and family members must be involved in decision making.<sup>32</sup>

In some contexts, specific protocols and guidelines have already been established to support better decision making for children on the move. Box 4 below describes the Best Interest Determination guidance for vulnerable child migrants developed by the government of Zambia and the International Organization for Migration. Similar guidance has also been produced for children on the move in South Africa.<sup>33</sup> Box 5 outlines criteria regarding the reunification of children who have lived on the streets in Tanzania, developed by the NGO Railway Children Africa.

#### **Box 4: Guidelines for determining the best interests of vulnerable child migrants in Zambia**

These guidelines were developed to formalise decision making related to the care and protection needs of vulnerable child migrants in Zambia and to enhance consistency and quality of decision making. The Guidelines establish a Best Interests Determination panel authorised to make such decisions and outline the responsibilities and structures of the panel. They cover seven different stages of assistance for vulnerable child migrants, ranging from initial assessment to the development of lasting solutions. The Guidelines link into existing case management procedures for vulnerable children in Zambia. Further details can be found [here](#).<sup>34</sup>

#### **Box 5: Guiding criteria for reunification with families in Tanzania<sup>35</sup>**

Children on the move often spend time living or working on the streets. Railway Children Africa works with children connected to the streets in Tanzania, where it has developed a series of guiding criteria to assess whether a child is ready to leave the streets and enter a Railway Children transit centre, and, later, whether the child and family are ready for the child to return home. For example, for a child to enter the transit centre, they must be willing, understand what they will lose and gain from leaving the streets, and be able to follow rules and instructions to some extent. For a child to go back to their family, they must recognise the importance of family and be willing to return. The family must also want the child to return home and understand what has happened to them and how this may affect their behaviours.

#### **Support children on the move to remain within or return to their families, and strengthen families to provide safe and nurturing care for children**

Family strengthening services for the families of children on the move must be holistic in nature and should, for example, include the following.<sup>36</sup>

- Social protection measures, including cash transfers and livelihoods support.
- Family counselling and mediation, and support with parenting.
- Support to access identity documents and birth registration.
- Access to schooling, early childhood services and other basic services.
- Access to health, mental health, and disability services.
- Support groups and other collectives to increase a sense of community and reduce isolation.

In some cases, strengthening families to care for children on the move requires sharing information about existing services and support, or making this provision more accessible. Migrants may find it particularly hard to identify available services or may be denied access to services.<sup>37</sup> In other cases, new services may need to be established specifically for the families of children on the move. Some families may also need more intensive case management support, with regular assessment and monitoring by social workers.

In humanitarian and emergency settings, particular protocols should be put into place to prevent separation.<sup>38</sup> Laws and policies regarding migrants may also need to be changed to ensure that the principles of family unity are acknowledged.<sup>39</sup>

Box 6 below provides an example of reintegration supports provided to street-connected children across the region.

### **Box 6: Supporting the reintegration and care of children connected to the streets<sup>40</sup>**

The NGO Hope for Justice (formerly RETRAK) works to provide reintegration support for children on the move who are connected to the streets in the region. Their model has been documented in standard operating procedures and involves several steps.

- Outreach work to identify children living alone on the streets.
- Work to build up trust with these children, many of whom have been repeatedly abused and exploited and find it difficult to trust adults.
- Placing children in temporary residential care whilst efforts are made to trace families and make preparations for the child to return.
- Assessing the child and providing counselling and support to prepare them to return to their families. For example, getting children used to rules and routines again after often chaotic lives on the streets.
- Family tracing.
- Assessment of the family, and support to prepare them for the return of the child.
- Reunification.
- Follow-up monitoring and support.

Support to children and families may take several forms, including:

- Care giver support and guidance, for example, to improve parenting skills, and identify and address fears about reintegration.
- Help accessing government schools and health services.
- Household economic strengthening.

Hope for Justice also works closely with local communities to reduce stigma and discrimination and ensure that they can support the reintegrating child and family. Reintegration is not suitable for all children, and in some cases, families cannot be found. In these instances, Hope for Justice finds foster families or supports supervised independent living.

### **Ensure that children on the move have a range of care choices**

Like all children, children on the move who cannot be cared for by parents need a range of care choices so that the most appropriate form of care can be found to meet their needs. As with other children in Eastern and Southern Africa, most children on the move not looked after by parents are cared for by kin.<sup>41</sup> For example, the majority of refugee children separated from parents are taken

in by extended family or close family friends, and lone child migrants are often reintegrated with kin if parental care is not an option (see Box 7). Kinship care givers generally receive only minimal support, despite the fact that many are vulnerable and in need of various forms of material, financial, practical and emotional assistance.<sup>42</sup> Box 7 below illustrates how kinship care givers can be effectively supported in refugee camps.

As noted above, children on the move who cannot be cared for by kin have limited care choices. Families may also lack accessible information about the range of services that are available. Despite this reality, as demonstrated in boxes 7 and 8 below, there are some examples of promising practice in providing foster care and supervised independent living for children on the move in the region. Supervised independent living can be an especially valuable care option for older children.

### **Box 7: Care options for unaccompanied and separated children in Kakuma refugee camp<sup>43</sup>**

Kakuma refugee camp is located in the north-west of Kenya and had a population of approximately 200,000 registered refugees from 19 countries at the end of July 2020,<sup>44</sup> 57 per cent of whom were South Sudanese.<sup>45</sup>

Approximately 8,600 unaccompanied or separated children reside in the two camps that make up Kakuma.<sup>46</sup> The majority of these children are separated from their parents or other primary carers and are now living with other relatives in kinship care. Food rations and cash grants are allocated according to need and the size of the household, and anyone caring for a child automatically receives additional rations and support. Case management support is also available if the child is considered to be at risk of violence.

Unaccompanied children are those who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult.<sup>47</sup> These children are identified during the registration process or by community members, and then assessed using the UNHCR procedures for determining the best interests of the child. Children are placed in short-term residential reception centres whilst assessments are made, and whilst they are being registered as refugees. They are then either placed in foster care or supervised independent living arrangements. Currently, there are around 1,388 in alternative care, of which 765 are in foster care and only five in shelters. The remainder are being supported to live independently.<sup>48</sup> Children in supervised independent living arrangements often live together in child-headed households and are monitored by case workers and supported by community volunteers. All children in alternative care are eligible to receive food rations, cash transfers and help with schooling.

Foster carers are recruited through community child protection committees, which run awareness raising sessions, often involving existing foster carers. Once prospective foster carers have been identified, they are trained using a standardised training manual developed by the Department of Children Services with the support of UNICEF and Changing the Way We Care. Training covers their role and obligations as foster carers, parenting skills, and child rights. Foster carers receive some initial material supports, such as extra blankets or mattresses. If needed, they will also receive help with schooling and cash transfers. UNICEF has established that any support exclusively directed to the child in foster care labels the child as different and can create jealousy. The organisation now advises that all NGO partners budget for supports that can go to other vulnerable children in the family as well. Children in foster care are regularly monitored by social workers, with the frequency of visits determined by an assessment of each individual child's level of risk.

In recent years, special efforts have been made to align the alternative care offered in Kakuma to Kenya's National Guidelines for Alternative Family-based Care. For example, in relation to foster care, NGOs implementing foster care programmes previously approved foster care placements despite the guidance stating that this should be done by government. Work is now underway to ensure that these placement decisions are formalised by government. NGO partners working in Kakuma have also received training on alternative care from the Department of Children Services and UNICEF. These efforts are part of a broader strategy to integrate humanitarian and development responses and to ensure that government takes a lead in emergency contexts.

### **Box 8: Supervised independent living for Burundian refugees in Rwanda<sup>49</sup>**

In 2015, violence and civil unrest in Burundi led 150,000 people to flee to refugee camps in Rwanda, including many separated children who sought refuge in Mahama camp. An assessment of children's care in the camp revealed that spontaneous fostering of unrelated children was not a customary coping mechanism for many Burundian families. Instead, over 1,200 girls and boys were found to be living together in tents, caring for each other and their siblings. Since these independent living arrangements were a form of care that resonated with the camp population, and the Rwandan national context, Plan International Rwanda, UNICEF and UNHCR worked together to include it in a camp-based alternative care system.

In this arrangement, adolescent boys and girls under the age of 18 stayed together in groups of no more than seven people, with an appointed 'household head' above 16 years of age. This was the preferred arrangement for many sibling and friend groups, and treated as an interim option until family tracing and reunification became possible. A group of refugee adults was trained as volunteer para-social workers (PSWs) to provide care and support to children in these households. They cooked meals for them, and ensured that the children maintained good hygiene and health, attended school, and did their homework. They also made sure that the boys and girls were safe in the day and at night and that the children had access to the services they needed. PSWs were assigned to support children who lived in the same area of the camp as they did, so that each could be easily accessible to the children under their care, and could develop relationships of trust over time. Each PSW provided support to approximately ten children. A variety of tools was developed to support PSWs in this work, for example monitoring checklists and guidance on how to communicate with children of different ages. Volunteers were also able to flag any concerns that they had about the children with professional social workers.

In addition to ensuring that separated children were well cared for and actively engaged in school and community activities, a key success of this model was the relationships it fostered between children and PSWs, and, by extension, with the community more generally. Adults not involved with the programme began to change their negative perceptions of separated and unaccompanied children and became more supportive of efforts to assist these and other vulnerable girls and boys.

## Include children on the move in accountability mechanisms

In providing effective care services for children on the move, it is vital to ensure that they and their families can give feedback and that their voices are listened to improve provision.

## What does learning on the care of children on the move tell us about the care of children more broadly?

Lessons learned from caring for children on the move provide valuable insights that have wider relevance for the care of all children. As demonstrated above, providing services for boys and girls on the move can lead to innovative practice that could be adapted and applied more widely. For example, learning from foster care or supervised independent living programmes for refugees (see boxes 7 and 8) or reflections on the role of community volunteers (see Box 2).

The care of children on the move highlights the need for a range of options to meet the specific alternative care needs of certain groups. For boys and girls on the move, these needs may necessitate specialised foster care programmes or more extensive support to kinship carers. They may also involve non-family-based care. For instance, children on the move may need short periods in high quality, small scale residential care whilst they prepare for family placements. Time in such care may be required to help them to rebuild relationships of trust with adults, to repair damaged relationships with family members, and to overcome challenging behaviours.<sup>50</sup> Some children on the move, particularly those who are street-connected, may also have addiction problems or mental health issues. Time in specialised residential care can offer an opportunity to provide supports and identify follow-up services in their home communities.



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## Conclusion

Children on the move must be considered in care reform in Eastern and Southern Africa as they are often separated from families or facing abuse and neglect in their homes. Currently children on the move also do not always have the same range of care choices as other children, making it often difficult to select the best form of care to meet their needs. Considering children on the move in care reform brings evidence of innovative practice and valuable lessons that could also benefit other children. Importantly, working on the care of children on the move links humanitarian responses with national government care reforms.

Integrating children on the move into care reform requires incorporating reference to these children in policies and guidance on care, including national care reform strategies. The social workforce must also be trained to meet their needs, and community volunteers should be mobilised. Ensuring the care needs of children on the move involves developing a range of services and supports, including specific strategies to identify them, mechanisms and guidance for making decisions about their care, family strengthening to prevent separation and facilitate reintegration, and providing them with foster care, supervised independent living and other care options.



## Endnotes

1 International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the African Union Commission (AUC) (2020) *Africa migration report: Challenging the narrative*. Addis Ababa: IOM; <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/themes/child-and-young-migrants>; UNICEF (2020) *An unsettled past, an uncertain future*. Pilot study: Children on the move using the Southern Route in Eastern and Southern Africa. Summary of findings. Nairobi: UNICEF Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office; UNICEF (2016) *Uprooted: The growing crisis for refugee and migrant children*. New York: UNICEF.

2 African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACERWC) (2018) *Mapping children on the move within Africa*. Addis Ababa: African Union; Innocenti research watch on children on the move (no date) <https://www.unicef-irc.org/research-watch/Children-on-the-move/>; Lucas, R. (2015) *Internal migration in developing economies: An overview*. Global Knowledge of Migration and Development Working Paper 6. KNOMAD; Save the Children and the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (2016) *Young and on the move. Children and youth in mixed migration flows within and from the Horn of Africa*. Nairobi: Save the Children and the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat; Mann, G. and Delap, E. (2020) *Kinship care in Sub-Saharan Africa: An asset worth supporting*. London: Family for Every Child; UNICEF (2019) *"No mother wants her child to migrate": Vulnerability of children on the move in the Horn of Africa*. New York: UNICEF.

3 Care reform can be defined as efforts to improve the legal and policy framework, structures, services, supports and resources that determine and deliver alternative care, prevent family separation and support families to care for children well. This definition is adapted from: Better Care Network and the Global Social Service Workforce Alliance (2015) *The role of social service workforce development in care reform*. New York: BCN, p.47.

4 Inter-agency Group on Children on the Move (2013) *The UN high level dialogue on migration and development 2013: Why children matter*. Background paper, April 2013. [https://www.savethechildren.net/sites/default/files/IAAG%20CoM%20Background%20paper%20for%20CoM%20Side%20Event%20Meeting\\_Geneva%20copy.pdf](https://www.savethechildren.net/sites/default/files/IAAG%20CoM%20Background%20paper%20for%20CoM%20Side%20Event%20Meeting_Geneva%20copy.pdf), p.2.

Unless otherwise specified, 'children on the move' encompasses all of the following categories of children affected by migration and displacement: children who are migrating within their own country or across borders; children migrating on their own or with their caretakers; children forcibly displaced within their own country and across borders; children whether they move in an undocumented or documented manner, including those whose movement involved smuggling or trafficking networks, and children affected by migration, such as children 'left behind' by their parents who migrated for work.

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6 Rodet and Razy 2016

7 African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (2018) *Mapping children on the move within Africa*. Addis Ababa: African Union.

8 UNICEF 2019.

9 Save the Children and the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat 2016.

10 Collecting data on children's movements within and across borders is extremely challenging, not least because not all boys and girls or their families want to be counted. Those who move outside of legal and regulatory frameworks may never come to the attention of authorities and are not included in statistics. Despite huge gaps in data and often unreliable statistics, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate how widespread movement is.

11 <https://www.unicef.org/sites/default/files/2019-02/African-Action-Agenda-for-Children-Uprooted.pdf>

12 See, for example, Hovil, L., Gill, M., Genovese, I., Bueno, O., Kaplan, J. and Subrahmanian, R. (2021) *Reimagining migration responses: Learning from children and young people who move in the Horn of Africa*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti.

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14 This fact has been long recognised. See, for example: Tolfree, D. (1995) *Roofs and roots: The care of separated children in the developing world*. London: Arena.

- 15 Hashim, I. and Thorsen, D. (2011) *Child migration in Africa*. London: Zed Books.
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43 Unless otherwise stated, the information provided in this box is from an interview with UNICEF Kenya.

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