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AN EXAMINATION OF THE CAUSES AND EXPERIENCES OF CROSS BORDER MIGRATION AMONG UNACCOMPANIED CHILDREN FROM ZIMBABWE: A FOCUS ON PLUMTREE 2015-2017

BY ADELAIDE NATALIE RUTENDO ZIMUNYA

REG. NUMBER: R122403R

SUPERVISOR: DR. MUDEKA

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APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned people certify that they have read and recommended Midlands State University to accept this thesis titled, "An examination of the causes and experiences of cross border migration among unaccompanied children from Zimbabwe: A case of Plumtree 2015-2017" submitted by Adelaide Natalie Rutendo Zimunya (R122403R) in partial fulfillment of the Master of Arts in Development Studies.

SUPERVISOR………………………..SIGNATURE……………………DATE…./…../2018

CHAIRPERSON………………………SIGNATURE…………………..DATE…./…../2018

DECLARATION

I, Adelaide Natalie Rutendo Zimunya (R122403R) declare that this thesis for a Master of Arts in Development Studies at the Midlands State University is my original work and has never been presented to any university for assessment or the award of any graduate or post graduate qualification.

Student Name…………………………………………………….

Signature……………………………………………………….

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DEDICATION

To my mother, Ms Florence Zimunya, for her unwavering love and support

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ABSTRACT

The number of unaccompanied children who migrate across borders has been on the rise since the turn of the century. These children leave their homes in the absence of their parents and/or guardians to embark on a dangerous journey of migrating to neighboring countries, Botswana as in this case and most times without the required legal travel documents, resulting in children using undesignated crossing points which are dangerous to gain entry into Botswana. Upon deportation, some of the children become repeat migrants using the same dangerous routes. This study sought to examine the causes of children`s migration from Zimbabwe, looking at their preflight conditions visa vie their experiences during the whole migration process. This area has not received significant attention in the past as it has been overshadowed by adult migration, children as part of family migration where their views and experiences are explained from the adults` perspectives of migration. This study makes significant contribution to literature by incorporating the children's voices where their lived unaccompanied migration experiences are concerned. Mixed methods research was employed to highlight these issues and semi structured questionnaires, unstructured and semi structured interviews and document reviews were used as data collection tools to obtain rich descriptions on the lived experiences of these children. On the causes of migration, the study found out that children are migrating largely because of economic hardships although there are other reasons that act as catalysts to prompt the decision to migrate. On the experiences of children, the study found out that children faced a myriad of challenges and negative social effects during the migration journey, in the settlement area and during the deportation process. These include discrimination, assault, arrest and detention, robberies, harassment, trafficking and sexual violence. The study discovered that where the gendered pattern of migration is concerned, both boys' and girls` rights are exploited as children engage in child labour but however girls experience double exploitation as some end up as victims of child sexual exploitation. The findings of this study revealed that there is an existing paradox between legislation and implementation as children`s rights are grossly violated when they are on the move especially when their migration is autonomous.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACRWC   African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

AIDS   Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

CRC   Convention on the Rights of the Child

HIV   Human Immunodeficiency Virus

ILO   International Labour Organisation

IOM   International Organisation for Migration

MoPSLSW   Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare

NGO   Non Governmental Organisation

PRSC   Plumtree Research and Support Centre

UNESCO   United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF   United Nations Children`s Fund

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CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on migration of unaccompanied children in the Southern African country, Zimbabwe and applies the case study of Plumtree on the Zimbabwe-Botswana border to understand this phenomenon. The most visible international migrants globally have been adults; with current statistics of those who live outside their country of birth reaching approximately 257.7 million people worldwide (IOM, 2017). However, children have also constituted part of the migrant stream under the influence of both push and pull factors. Indeed, the migration of children below the age of 18 is not a new phenomenon in the history of migration. This phenomenon dates back to as early as the 19th and early 20th century with countries like Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom acting as the major host countries for child migrants (Peter, 1981). In 21st century Africa, as exemplified by Zimbabwe, the phenomenon of child migration has reached new heights requiring investigation. Considering that migration, even for adults is a very dangerous undertaking, it is puzzling that vulnerable children who should be under the protection of adults are joining the migrant stream on their own account. Within this scheme of things, the researcher is impelled to examine the child migration phenomenon so as to understand why it is rising to the levels it has reached today and also what these unaccompanied children's experiences are. It seeks to unravel the costs and benefits of child migration to the children who enter the migrant stream within Southern Africa. This is done with a view to confirm whether there is need to curtail this undertaking and to find out ways to reduce the rate of child migration.

This chapter serves to introduce the study. It provides the study background, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, significance of the study, conceptual and theoretical frameworks as well as limitations and delimitations of the study among other aspects.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

At global level, the dramatic political, economic, social and demographic changes over the past few decades have been accompanied by rapid urbanization, significant population displacement, and migration. According to UN-ESA (2014), more than half of the population lives in urban areas and 1.5 million people are added to the global urban population every week and this places huge demands on infrastructure, services, job creation, climate and the environment. More so,

improved transport and communication systems, the increased exchange of goods, and the launching of large-scale development projects have prompted millions of young women and men to move within and beyond their countries. UN-ESA (2014) further states that armed conflicts, political instability, economic crises, natural disasters and environmental degradation have forced millions more to flee their homes. It should be noted that during the migration process, children have for a long time been part of the migration journey. As noted above, child migration is not a new phenomenon, it dates back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries where many Aboriginal Australian children were forcibly removed from their families and placed in institutions and foster homes, in what became known as the stolen generations (Read, 1981). In his article, Read postulates that thousands of children were also migrated to Australia under assisted child migration schemes from Great Britain alone, with a small number from Malta. Read (1981) argues that these child migrants were placed within institutions, foster homes and orphanages where they faced neglect and abuse with quite a large proportion being used in slave labour by some churches in Australia. This goes on to show that the problem of child abuse and exploitation has its roots embedded in the history of children`s migration as far back as the 19th century.

In line with the above, child migration can be traced back even earlier, between the 16th and 19th centuries during the slavery era. Slavery has been practiced in many different forms and in many civilizations since antiquity; one of these forms of slavery is called the Atlantic slave trade. According to Weber (2015), the Portuguese were the first to engage in the Atlantic slave trade in the 16th century but soon after that other European countries such as Britain, France, Spain and the Dutch empires followed suit. It was during this era that the Atlantic or transatlantic slave trade was existent which involved the transportation by slave traders of enslaved African people, mainly from Africa to the Americas, and then their sale there (Roger, 1975). According to Mentan (2017), the transatlantic slave trade is unique within the universal history of slave trade for three main reasons which include 1) its duration- approximately four centuries, 2) its victims – black African men, women and children, 3) the intellectual legitimization attempted on its behalf - the development of an anti-black ideology and its legal organization, the notorious *Code noir.* The Atlantic slave trade which had commercial and economic enterprise motives involved several regions and continents: Africa, America, the Caribbean, Europe and the Indian Ocean. In relation to the slave trade that was practiced in Africa, the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean

itself, of the 12 million estimated to have been enslaved, it is said that the transatlantic slave trade is thought to have deported some 15 to 18 million captives (UNESCO, 2004). The inconsistency in these statistics gives testimony to the fact that the initial 12 million is a biased figure and the number was more than that.

Moreover, the UNESCO report (2004) further posits that these millions of African captives sold as slaves in the Americas including children, provided the labour required for the exploitation of mines and plantations of sugar cane, tobacco, coffee and cotton. This was a dangerous system that violated the rights of not only the men and women but children`s rights were also grossly violated. UNESCO (2004) rebukes this deadly system of Atlantic slave trade and argues that many African lives were depleted by it, it is estimated that during this type of slave trade, "for every African captive who reached the Americas alive, five others died during the various phases of raiding, conflict and capture in the villages of the continental hinterland, during the forced march towards the assembly centers and trading posts, and during imprisonment in the barracoons on the African shores and subsequently during the transatlantic crossing." Where children are concerned, it is important to note that they are a vulnerable population due to their age, stature and in the event of harsh treatments such as those depicted during the slave trade era, children were likely to be the first to die under these unbearable conditions. It is for this reason that Bennet (1975) describes the slave trade era as a "totalitarian system for economic, political, social and sexual exploitation, based on force, violence and an ideology of racism". This description is backed up by the fact that humans were exchanged for weapons, gun powder, textiles, pearls and other manufactured goods or even rum which was also in high demand during that time (Mentan, 2017). Apart from bringing back slaves to the Americas, the slave traders brought back mostly agricultural products, produced by the slaves with the main product being sugar, followed by cotton, coffee, tobacco and rice. For Oruno (1992), the slave trade era was "a system of social death to which it was possible to escape only by running away, manumission or death." It is with this in mind that it can be argued that the migration of children can be traced back to the slave trade era where millions of Africans, children alike, were forced to leave their ancestral homes to go to the Americas where they faced neglect, discrimination, racism and abuse whilst having their labour exploited in different industries for the economic development of the North.

Furthermore, in line with the phenomenon of unaccompanied children`s migration, the phenomenon unraveled itself continuously, taking different forms and patterns as dictated by different periods in time. One can note that unaccompanied child migration can take place in the event of disasters such as war, famine, natural disasters and persecution. This is articulated by (Steinbock, 1989) who states that children were admitted into other countries to escape these disasters. Since time memorial, the world has been plagued with crises such as wars, civil strife and natural disasters which have all in part endangered the lives of children. Steinbock posits that Since World War II, the United States has admitted thousands of children by themselves from crisis areas and refugee camps under two typical situations, firstly the evacuation of children from their own countries, in times of physical danger or persecution, separating them from their parents and secondly the acceptance of those already separated from parents, guardians, or other persons responsible for them. Steinbock in his article states that in the history of the admission of unaccompanied children into the United States from the Second World War up to 1980, the United States had admitted approximately 33 000 children from abroad through different programs. These programs according to Steinbock include:

1. Wagner-Rogers Children's Bill (1939)
2. Evacuation of British children (1940)
3. Child Refugees and the continent (1942)
4. Truman Doctrine of 1945 (1945-1948)
5. Displaced Persons Act of 1948 (1948-1952)
6. Refugee Relief Act of 1953 (1953-1956)
7. Hungarian Refugee Program (1956-1957)
8. Cuban Refugee program (1960-1967)
9. Operation Babylift (1975)
10. Indochinese Refugee Program (1975)

The above listed programs permitted the admission of unaccompanied children from the United Kingdom, China, Indonesia, Hungary among others in a bid to protect them from the crises that they were facing in their respective countries. However, the world is not stationary,

it is ever changing. The reasons for and patterns of child migration then might not necessarily be the same reasons and patterns of child migration now.

It should be noted that the migration of unaccompanied children across borders has increased in recent times and the migration routes, patterns and processes have changed over time. According to Hernandez and Touzenis (2009), the planned, forced or spontaneous decision to abandon the household and country of origin takes on a new dimension when the people involved in a long and often dangerous migration adventure are sometimes just in their early teens. Since the early 1990`s, these young migrants have made European countries both transit points and their countries of destination. According to statistics provided in a report by IOM (2016), as of September 2016, an estimated 256,000 migrants have been identified in Libya, of which 28,031 are women (11 per cent) and 23,102 are children (9 per cent), with a third of this group including unaccompanied children. IOM however states that the real figures considering the extensity of the phenomenon are believed to be at least three times higher. Many people who migrate from West and Central Africa use Libya as a transit point to get to Europe. UNCF (2017) estimates that, "of the 181,436 arrivals in Italy in 2016 via the Central Mediterranean Route, 28,223 or nearly 16 per cent were children." The statistics in IOM report further state that nine out of ten children who crossed the Mediterranean in 2015 were unaccompanied and of the estimated, 4,579 people died crossing the Mediterranean between Libya and Italy last year alone, of which over 700 were children. This goes on to buttress the aforementioned fact that children are vulnerable and their rate of vulnerability increases when they undertake such perilous journeys independent of their parents or guardians. Unfortunately whereas in earlier years it was permissible to have programmes that removed children from crises areas, recent times have seen a growing restrictionism in the North for refugees and asylum seekers (e.g in America, Italy and Spain); refugees have also presented conflict within international politics with the question of *realpolitik* represented by the tensions which refugees create among and between states and other international actors (Harrell-Bond, 1995). This growing number of refugees and asylum seekers children included, can be attributed to the wars, famine, persecution, natural disasters and persecution that have plagued most countries of the South.

More so, these children from Africa and the Middle East flee from war, violence and poverty (conflict in Nigeria, DRC, Sudan, Syria) and these conflicts have resulted in the 'destruction of

lives and property, the internal displacement of people, a region-wide refugee crisis, poverty and disease, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, human and drug trafficking, illegal exploitation of natural resources and banditry' (Afolabi 2009). Thus, the children are desperate and have no option but to put their hands into the hands of smugglers to reach Italy (UNICEF, 2017). What is interesting to note is that during the period stated by Steinbock (1989) where it was legal for children to be admitted into the Americas due to their vulnerability in times of war and conflict, in the period 1990 onwards the extensity of the unaccompanied child migration phenomena has resulted in what Kanics and Henarndez (2010) refers to as toleration rather than protection of migrant children in Europe in terms of their unfriendly models of reception and regularization of unaccompanied children citing Spain and Italy as examples of bad practice in the specialized reception of migrant children.

In line with the above, child migration occurs all over the world and each region has its own patterns and context and globally, children today make up nearly a third of all international migrants (UNICEF Report, 2009). In many countries of the world, Zimbabwe included, the number of children on the move has skyrocketed. According to a UNICEF report (2017) on children on the move, "on the dangerous Central Mediterranean Sea passage from North Africa to Europe, 92 per cent of children who arrived in Italy in 2016 and the first two months of 2017 were unaccompanied, up from 75 per cent in 2015." The major reason for the migration in this case can be attributed to the wars that have devastated the economy and the environment of some countries in the north of Africa for example Libya and Egypt. The issue of poverty in Africa has also enabled the continent to be a readily available source of child labour, child trafficking and what Castles and Miller (2003) describe as specific forms of migration targeting young girls, among them the commercialized migration of domestic workers, the migration and trafficking of children in the sex industry (as in the case in Bosnia's notorious "Arizona Market" which sells every possible commodity, including women (STV, ed. 2000)), and the organized migration of girls for marriage (sometimes labeled 'mail-order brides'). This goes on to show the vulnerability of unaccompanied children especially girls during the migration journey as they are bound to be trafficked or sold into prostitution.

In Southern Africa, the issue of child migration is rapidly becoming a growing concern among states, child centered organizations, policymakers and law enforcement authorities. Southern

Africa has a long history and tradition of labour migration and population movements which have in turn been impacted by the civil unrest and further exacerbated by the worldwide economic downturn (UNICEF Report, 2009). This is propounded by Crush et. al (1991) who notes that during the colonial period, population movements in the region were dominated by unskilled labour migration, with migrant workers being drawn from relatively poor southern African countries such as Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia towards the more prosperous ones such as South Africa and Zimbabwe to be employed in low paying jobs in the agricultural and mining sector. It should be noted however that opportunities have substantially declined in these sectors during the post colonial period and consequently this had had an impact on the migration trends and patterns as intercontinental migration termed as "the great exodus" by Pasura (2011) which has witnessed the migration of people from Southern Africa migrating to Europe and America. Aspects to consider as possibly triggering the great exodus may include parental job losses, strained emotional bonds between parents and general economic hardships that have unfortunately left children depressed and bearing the brunt of many of the socio-economic problems bedeviling most developing countries, sub-Saharan African countries included. This may very well be worsened by lack of supportive structures at household, community and national level. The child migration theme is of paramount importance not only to development studies but the study context in general where demographic, economic and indeed pathological factors, and widespread hostilities and violence against children are concerned and this provides justified and pragmatic reason to engage children in decision making processes as they are greatly affected by migration as ascertained by Bourdillon (2008). The importance of the child migration theme presents a platform for working `with` children in research rather than working `on` children. More so, children are a vulnerable population; they are `not little adults` (Landrigan, 2004). Children have developmentally determined susceptibilities that increase their risk of abuse following exposure to hazardous experiences in this case, crossing borders illegally in the absence of their parents or guardians.

It is important to ascertain the root causes of child migration, understand the children`s experiences from their standpoint and especially ensure children`s participation in decision making processes because anything for the children without the children is against the children. It is development in reverse. In Africa, unlike in the developed world, the child population is high, for instance, "children account for almost half (47 per cent) of all inhabitants…child

population currently stands at an estimated 580 million: four times larger than Europe's child population, and accounting for about 25 per cent of the world's children," (UNICEF, 2017). Statistics from 2014 reveal that over half of the world`s out-of-school children (33 million) live in Africa and with the burgeoning of the child population in Africa, it is estimated that between 2010 and 2025, the child population of sub-Saharan Africa will rise by 130 million. From around 2030, sub-Saharan Africa will be the single region with the greatest number of children under 18 (UNICEF, 2014). In Zimbabwe alone there are over one million orphans due to HIV/AIDS (Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare MoPSLSW, 2008). With such huge statistics and estimates on child population considering children`s vulnerable status, children`s problems will continue to be overlooked and neglected if children themselves are not engaged in participatory processes for their voices to be heard.

It is with this in mind that the study seeks to trace the phenomenon of child migration from the perspective of the children themselves. It focuses on Plumtree area of Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, child migration has indeed been a growing phenomenon since the turn of the century (Hanke and Kwok, 2009). There is a growing concern of children crossing borders (UNICEF, 2017) especially through restricted entry points at Zimbabwe`s borders thus making them irregular migrants or what is largely known as "border jumpers". These children employ the services of *omalayitshas*` where for example in Beitbridge in some cases both the children and adult border jumpers use the Limpopo River as a crossing point whilst exposing themselves to the possibility of drowning, crocodile attacks or being mauled by hippopotamus`(DailyNews live, 2017). Plumtree border post has not been spared in the issue of border jumpers especially where children are concerned. Thus, for intervention agencies it is critical to establish the factors that cause children to engage in irregular migration and at the same time establish the necessary and much needed support mechanisms that should be availed to assist children if adequate and appropriate strategies are to be adopted and implemented successfully.

In the border towns of Zimbabwe, especially Beitbridge and Plumtree, the migration of unaccompanied children has become the `norm` as children illegally cross borders and at the same time other children are being deported from the host countries which are South Africa and Botswana respectively (Save the Children, 2011). As aforementioned, children are a vulnerable population and as they migrate in the absence of parents or guardians to protect them, this might

place them at a high risk of having their rights violated. It is essential to note that all children have universal rights and in such instances, their universal rights may end up being neglected especially principle 2 and 9 of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959).

According to the Declaration's Principle 2:

> *The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose, the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.*

Principle 9 stresses that:

> *The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form…*

It is of paramount importance to note that in everything, regardless of environment, context or whatever conditions, the best interest of the child should be the standard guiding principle. In most cases the legislation or statutory instruments that are aimed at protecting children and their rights in the society exist only on paper by the problem is they are not effectively and efficiently practiced by duty bearers and thereby children`s rights are continuously violated at their expense. Children are children first and not little adults and thus they ought to be protected.

It is against this background that this study focuses on examining the causes and experiences of cross border migration of unaccompanied children from Zimbabwe using Plumtree border post to get into Botswana.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The protection of children and their rights has received attention at both global and regional levels. The existence of regional and global level regulations for the protection of children, for instance, the African Charter on the Rights of Child and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child show undisputed commitment to the maintenance of children's rights. The declaration, specifically principle 2 stress this concern thus, "*The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in*

conditions of freedom and dignity... the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.” This is supported by principle 9 thus, *“The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form...”* Despite the existence of such legislation that is aimed at child protection and safeguarding of children`s rights, Zimbabwe witnesses the migration of unaccompanied children across the borders especially crossing into South Africa and Botswana respectively. The children are of school going age and should be in school and under the care and protection of their families and yet they are taking this opportunity to leave their homes and the country for reasons to be identified. Thus, with the phenomenal rise in the migration of unaccompanied children, it is important to examine whether such right based principles can be maintained for such children. Most research on migration has favoured migration of adults, with children's migration excluded or unsatisfactorily subsumed within family migration (McKendrick, 1999) and much remains to be done in the case of migration from a child`s perspective, especially unaccompanied children. Documented research that exists on child migration tends to use the voice of the adults or explain this phenomenon from an adults`s perspective, there is much to be done to position children as social actors creating their own unique geographies (Aitken, 2001; Holloway and Valentine, 2000a).

More so, while some researchers have examined child trafficking for sexual and labor exploitation, much remains to be done on the lived experiences of such children in the face of "employers" and the authorities in host countries; the survival strategies that they employ among others. In addition, where many scholars focus on children who involuntarily cross the borders, this research seeks to investigate the migration experiences of unaccompanied voluntary and involuntary migrant children from Zimbabwe crossing into Botswana, the costs and benefits of such migration and their survival strategies in the face of challenges.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.3.1. MAIN OBJECTIVE
- ➢ To examine the migration experiences among unaccompanied children in Zimbabwe.

1.3.2. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES
The specific objectives of the study are to;

- Identify the causes of migration into neighboring countries among unaccompanied children, focusing on Plumtree in Zimbabwe.
- To examine the social effects of unaccompanied children's migration from Plumtree into Botswana.
- To trace the challenges encountered by unaccompanied child cross border migrants in the migration, settlement and return process.
- To explore the survival strategies adopted by unaccompanied child migrants in the face of the various challenges encountered.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.4.1 GENERAL QUESTION
- What are the cross border migration experiences of unaccompanied children from Zimbabwe?

1.4.2. SPECIFIC QUESTIONS
- What are the causes of cross-border migration among unaccompanied children from Plumtree to Botswana?
- What are the socio-economic effects of unaccompanied children's cross border migration from Plumtree into Botswana?
- What challenges are encountered by unaccompanied child cross border migrants in the migration, settlement and return processes?
- What are the survival strategies adopted by unaccompanied child cross border migrants in the face of the various challenges encountered?

1.5 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study examines the experiences of unaccompanied minors who migrate across the Plumtree border post of Matabeleland South Province in Bulilima District. The border post is defined by the Ramokgwebana River, which is named after a village located on the Botswana side. By virtue of its proximity to the border, Bulilima District is characterized by a high rate of migration into Botswana among unaccompanied children from across Zimbabwe who travel to Plumtree in Bulilima to gain entry into Botswana. Despite its very unique position where unaccompanied children's migration is concerned, Plumtree border post seems not to have received the attention

it deserves as compared to Beitbridge border post, for instance. The study thus focuses on this unique study site to capture the unordinary experiences of children who have increasingly entered the migrant stream in the 21st century.

1.6 Limitations of the study

1.6.1 Locating informants: Preliminary investigations suggest that Plumtree border post is the second busiest border in Zimbabwe, the first being Beitbridge. Since the researcher sought to capture the experiences of children who travel on their own account through the Plumtree border post to Botswana, the researcher thus planned accordingly. The researcher faced the challenge of obtaining interviews from the children in villages of Plumtree and had to make use of the Plumtree Child Reception Centre which provides interim care and protection to deported unaccompanied children from Botswana to identify and observe such children and interview officials.

1.6.2 Language barriers: The fact that Plumtree border post is located in Bulilima District means that most people who reside there are of Ndebele speaking origin. The researcher was faced with a language barrier since she is a Shona speaker who had to interact with Ndebele speaking respondents. The researcher dealt with this by seeking the services of an interpreter who operates at the border post and also using English when interviewing officials. In addition, not all children who migrate through Plumtree border post to gain entry into Botswana are from Bulilima, but they come from different parts of Zimbabwe to converge in the District.

1.6.3 Financial Constraints: the researcher was faced with some financial constraints during this study. The researcher was based in Harare and had to travel to Plumtree to collect data needed for this research. The researcher had to find accommodation for the days that she spent in Plumtree collecting the data. In trying to minimize the costs for transport and accommodation the researcher took advantage of the project that was being implemented and monitored by the organisation she worked for in Plumtree. Thus for transport and accommodation she was covered by the organisation she is employed with as there was a project that was already running in Plumtree which she was part of.

1.6.4 Time Constraints: the researcher was faced with the problem of balancing her time between work and carrying out the research. This problem was overcame by seeking permission

from her work supervisor to work half days for the duration of the time she was in Plumtree working on both the research and fulfilling her work duties in the organisation of employment. Thus the researcher had to attend report for work from 8am till 1pm and carry out the interviews and administer questionnaires after lunch hour.

1.7 Ethical considerations:- Below are the ethical standards that were involved with this research, by highlighting them to respondents the researcher demonstrated a commitment to minimize as much as possible the psychological, social and physical risks associated with the research.

1.7.1 Access to children – this is usually a bureaucratic process where children are concerned; the researcher had to utilize personal contacts within the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare which operates at the Plumtree Reception and Support Centre. Permission was thereby granted by the Child Welfare department as they are the gatekeepers to children at the centre.

1.7.2 Full informed consent – this was obtained from the participants prior to the study. The participants in this research agreed to be part of this research of their own free will and were not forced or coerced into doing so.

1.7.3 Confidentiality - the researcher provided sufficient information and assurances that the information provided was confidential and at no point was the information going to be discussed with their parents, guardians, friends or anyone else without their consent. This enabled the respondents to speak freely without restrictions or fear.

1.7.4 Protection of privacy – the researcher ensured that the respondents` right to privacy was protected by maintaining anonymity of individuals. The researcher removed all personal identifiers and used pseudonyms instead of the respondents` real names in order to protect their identity.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

To propel the review of existing knowledge and widening the sphere of dialogue on the matter the study assumes a structuration theoretical leaning to explore the thematic tenets of the subject in discussion. This study is informed by the theory of structuration by Antony Giddens, a British sociologist in 1984. The structuration theory is applicable to this study because it has several

unique tenets to explain the relationships that the human "agency" has with institutions or rather the "structure" itself (Lamsal, 2012). The basis of the theory of structuration involves the identification of the relationship between the individuals and the social forces that act upon us. Giddens in his theory tries to prove that there is an existing duality between "structure" and "agency"; he specifies that structure and agency are inseparable, that they are connected to one another in what Giddens termed the "duality of structure" (Giddens, 1984). The structure is the social fabric that individuals/humans find themselves in, for example the political, economic and social state of any given society whilst the actors are the humans (Lamsal, 2012). Giddens defines agency as the basic human acts and resulting activities which can be stimulated by the individual who wants to investigate what he/she is doing; the self examination process is referred to as reflexive monitoring, rationalization and motivation of action (Giddens, 1984). Giddens in his theory proposes that, people do not have entire preference of their actions and their knowledge is restricted; nonetheless, they are the elements that recreate the social structure and produces social change (Craib, 1992). Children (agents) in this case act as knowledgeable individuals in choosing to make an independent decision to migrate (agency) to other countries seeking "greener pastures" in a bid to recreate the social structure back at home, as is the basis of the structuration theory. Reflexive monitoring is the first stimuli that prompt children in this case to take decisive action to consciously reconstitute their position in the social structure. To support this, Sandin (2011) points out that children are active agents, who are capable, and are actively trying to change or renegotiate the structure of their lives which in most cases is dictated by the adults' norms and values, traditions, laws, religious beliefs among many other structures. Children have agency, and they are very well capable of making their own decisions that concern their ability to change the unfavourable social fabric that no longer suits their needs and wants.

In line with the above, in the developing countries, Zimbabwe included, the social structure has been dilapidated due to political crises, economic meltdowns and health epidemics that include AIDS and cholera. Zimbabwe is no stranger to political and economic crises, "at the turn of the century, Zimbabwe was grappling with deep political and economic crises which were, amongst other things, a result of the failed structural adjustment programmes implemented in 1990, corruption, attempts to impose a one party-state, involvement in a regional war in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1998, democratic deficits and rising poverty among the working class, student and workers' strikes and civil society organisations calling for constitutional reforms

(Saunders, 2000; Hammar & Raftopoulos, 2003). Zimbabwe has never fully recovered from the effects of these crises although it showed signs of abating during the period of the Government of National Unity between 2009 and 2013.

 More so, in regards to health epidemics especially cholera, a journal published by *The Lancet* in 2009 reports that "the toll stood at 4011 on March 9, 2008, according to WHO, 89 018 Zimbabweans had contracted the disease, the largest number of infections ever recorded in a single outbreak on the continent." The discussed political, economic and health crises above are part of the structural conditions that have in part prompted reflexive monitoring on the majority of Zimbabweans as indicated by Pasura (2011) who terms the period from 1999 to date as 'the great exodus" which has seen Zimbabweans migrating to countries such as Australia, Canada, Britain, New Zealand, United States of America, Botswana and South Africa. In the detailing of this great exodus, children`s participation has been confined to the background and yet in recent years states have been struggling with the irregular migration of unaccompanied minors at borders. For this reason, the study seeks to incorporate the children`s voices and experiences during their exodus to Botswana. Children have been affected by the rotting political, economic and social structure in Zimbabwe and this has encouraged actions such as cross border migration in a bid to shape their own lives against these structural constraints. For Giddens, this interaction between agent and structure, as a system of norms, is what he refers to as "structuration".

1.8.1 Lees`s Push and Pull theory (1966)

Theoretically, there are about twenty migration theories (Bijak, 2006). These theories coexist and explain the migration phenomenon in some places and not in others, in one nature and not in the other and during some periods and not in other periods (Djelti, 2017), thus it can be difficult to find one theory that sufficiently leads to a complete and thorough explanation of the migration phenomenon. This is why it is important to put forward some migration theories from other scholars and critique them where necessary.

One migration theory that goes a long way in corroborating with the structuration theory is the push and pull factors theory of migration, initially developed by Lee (1966). It provides a large forecast for analyzing the reasons for migration, it looks at the rationalization and motivation of action as Giddens would put it across in his explanation of "structure". Lumpkin and Barman

(2015) describe a push factor as something that is unfavorable about the area that someone lives in and is a reason for them to leave whilst a pull factor is a factor that attracts someone into an area, the factor could be economic, cultural, or environmental. Push factors exist at the point of origin and act to trigger emigration; these include the lack of economic opportunities, religious or political persecution, hazardous environmental conditions, and so on. Pull factors exist at the destination and include the availability of jobs, religious or political freedom, and the perception of a relatively benign environment. In this case, the relationship between the origin and destination are affected by these push and pull factors which are complementary. The push factors in this case become the structure that children need to change by making the decision to migrate to Botswana in a bid to find better economic and social opportunities. In contrast to the structuration theory that has been employed by this study, Lees`s push and full factors theory of migration does not detail children`s decision making process of migrating without their parents or guardians, it does however compliment the structuration theory in that it acknowledges the dilapidating political, social and economic environment which according to Giddens is the structure that migrants seek to change by migrating to other countries. Thus, this study as will be guided by Gidden`s structuration theory at the same time borrowing from Lee`s push and pull factors as these two complement each other in trying to understand the relationship between children and their independent migration process and the reasons for the unaccompanied children cross border phenomenon.

1.9 Significance of the study

1.9.1 Academic benefits: The area of child migration has received a lot of academic attention (IOM, 2010). Most research has mainly focused on first time migrants, documenting their experiences when illegally crossing the borders. While this is true for various countries of the world, in the case of Zimbabwe, child migration research and literature has paid less attention on unaccompanied children who leave the country into other territories of Southern Africa. This research seeks to compliment the body of knowledge that exists in the area of child migration by examining the root causes of unaccompanied children`s migration from Zimbabwe to Botswana, their experiences and the challenges they face when illegally crossing Plumtree border post. It goes further to trace the benefits they obtain from migration, if any and how such children survive whilst in the host country without legal documents and their experiences of the

deportation process. The study goes on to explore the alternative courses of action that children take upon deportation.

This study is critical for intervention agencies to establish the factors that cause children to engage in illegal migration and establish the support mechanisms necessary to assist children and focus on successful implementation of relevant policies, provision and adoption of adequate and appropriate strategies that effectively ensure the safeguarding of children`s rights and their protection from abuse and exploitation.

1.9.2 Government of Zimbabwe

The central government of Zimbabwe is the major custodian of human rights and also children`s rights in the country. The government is the one that has the mandate to ratify conventions and laws that are pertinent to children and thus they stand to benefit with this research as it details the abuse and exploitation that Zimbabwean children face during their migration journey to Botswana. Since the government is responsible for fulfilling children`s rights, this research is a child centered approach that inevitably requires the strengthening of laws and social systems for the care and well being of migrating children. It is hoped that the study will ensure accountability within the government in developing infrastructure, technical expertise, resources, training and enabling competent and effective policy that works in the best interest of the migrating children. This study will benefit the government in identifying the policy gaps that exist where unaccompanied children`s migration is concerned so as to develop laws that are efficiently practiced to ensure sustainable human development.

1.9.3 Government of Botswana

The unaccompanied child migration phenomenon not only affects the sending countries but the receiving countries as well. Firstly, the Government of Botswana will benefit from this study through reduction in the number of illegal and unaccompanied minors in its country if the government of Zimbabwe takes the necessary steps to address this problem. Secondly, the government of Botswana might be able to also address the policy gaps that exist in its laws pertaining especially to child labour and child prostitution or sexual exploitation. The alignment of such laws is of paramount importance where children are concerned and for the mutual cooperation between the government of Zimbabwe and that of Botswana.

1.9.4 Social Welfare Department

This is a department under the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare which deals directly with issues pertaining to the well being of children in Zimbabwe thus making it one of the major beneficiaries for this research. The social welfare department stands to benefit as it is the one directly involved in receiving deported children from Botswana at the Plumtree Reception and Support Centre. It is hoped that with the findings of this research, as a line ministry of the government, the department of social welfare under the instruction of the ministry will work in sync with the government in developing programmes that cater to the care, protection and general well being of migrant children. These programmes might include the training of counselors, needs assessments and so forth. This is of paramount importance in the welfare of children because if the youngest and most vulnerable are left to find their way alone, a country violates the rights of its people and sabotages its future where sustainable development is concerned.

1.9.5 Ministry of Health and Child Care

In the study of unaccompanied children, issues pertaining to healthcare arose and this can benefit the Ministry of Health. Children`s rights include access to quality health and healthcare services and this is important when working with children especially as they are susceptible to abuse and exploitation during the migration journey. In this age of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases such as cholera, malaria and typhoid, the ministry can benefit through the findings of this study and make informed decisions when designing health programmes that are child friendly. This is of paramount importance curb the transmission of these diseases especially where HIV/AIDS is concerned; in order to achieve the ambitious 90-90-90 treatment target that was set by UNAIDS. The target states that by 2020, 90% of all people living with HIV will know their HIV status, 90% of all people with diagnosed HIV infection will receive sustained antiretroviral therapy, and 90% of all people receiving antiretroviral therapy will have viral suppression (UNAIDS, 2017).

1.9.6 Child Centered NGO`s

NGO`s are there to compliment the government`s efforts in achieving sustainable development and thus where child migration is concerned, the relevant child centered NGO`s in Zimbabwe

such as Zimbabwe National Council for the Welfare of Children, Save the children, SOS children`s villages and Childline stand to benefit from the findings of this research. Firstly by identifying the causes for migration, the NGOS`s stand to benefit in that they can devise programmes and relevant projects that address the root causes of migration so as to minimize the problem of unaccompanied children itself. Secondly, upon the examination of the experiences that the children go through during migration, the organizations can further devise programmes that can assist in the reunification and re integration of children into the society. These are children that have gone through challenges in their migration journey and thus need support systems in their respective communities. Furthermore, the NGO`s can collaborate with the Child Welfare department and the Ministry of Health by developing systems of cooperation, support and management in communities to ensure child-care, child protection and the overall children's development.

1.9.7 Local authorities in Plumtree

Local authorities stand to benefit from this research as they are the ones that usually play hide and seek with unaccompanied children especially where irregular migration is concerned. It is hoped that the findings of this research might be able assist local authorities such as border officials on how to handle cases involving unaccompanied children without violating their rights and also devise ways to curb the irregular migration of children and referral cases where it is necessary. The study makes continuous reference to the best interest of the child and this should also be effectively practiced by local authorities in order for children`s right to be protected.

1.9.8 Children

Children stand to benefit from this research, as it is hoped that the findings can encourage collaborated efforts from all stakeholders in coming up with a holistic approach in terms of child protection, safeguarding and well being of migrating children. By incorporating children`s voices in this research, children give their own account of their experiences during migration and this works best in shaping the programmes and projects that might be developed by the government and relevant stakeholders as a result of this research. To achieve sustainable human development, engagement of children is of utmost importance because development initiatives

must meet the children`s problems as they perceive them, not as distant policy makers imagine them.

1.9.9 Communities at large

Communities stand to benefit from this research as they are the ones also affected by the child migration phenomena. Firstly, siblings and other children that have been left behind by the migrating children can learn from the challenges that have been faced by the deported children. Secondly, it is hoped that combined efforts from the government and NGO`s can devise a needs assessment so as to identify ways to curb the numbers of children that are migrating to Botswana. Moreover, it is hoped that the findings of this research can sensitize parents of the migrating children on the dangers that are associated with the unaccompanied migration of their children as parents and guardians are the first teachers, doctors and nurses to a child and hence the knowledge gained from this research can be of utmost importance to the well being of their children. This research identifies the sending communities and the reasons for children`s migration and the data collected is hoped to work in favor of the sending communities so as to initiate the development process through different relative projects.

1.10 Future researchers

It is hoped that the findings from this research will enable future researchers in the migration area especially where children are concerned to find possible areas for future research and thereby complimenting the body of knowledge that already exists. For example it might be important for future researchers to examine the reunification and reintergration process of deported children back into their communities and how children and the community itself is dealing with the issues of deported children. More so, it might be important to also focus on the challenges that the authorities have in achieving the reunification and reintergration process of returned children.

Thus, it is with this in mind that the compelling motive of the study is to extensively expose the experiences of children who migrate without adult supervision and are thus most vulnerable to abuses and exploitation during the process of migration, their stay in the host country and final return either as deportees or voluntary returnees. As discussed above through the identification of different stakeholders, this will attract the attention of policy makers, responsible ministries such

as Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, child centered NGO`s and future researchers. The initiative is buttressed by the hope that policy makers and responsible line ministries will address the existing policy gaps in terms of migration laws and policies so as to safeguard and protect children`s rights during the migration process.

1.11 Definition of terms

> **Child-** For the purposes of this study, the definition of a child that will be used is that provided by the CRC. A child is any person below the age of 18 according to the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) Article (1), ratified by Zimbabwe in 1992.

> **Independent or Unaccompanied children/minors -** According to Yaqub (2009) independent or unaccompanied children are those living or travelling across borders without either a parent or legal / customary adult guardian. Independence can be during travel or/and upon reaching the place of destination.

> **Migration-**According to SAMP (2006) this is about people (children in this case) moving from their communities of usual residence to another community (internal migration) or across the border (international migration), for whatever length of time or causes. International migration which is the focus of this study is a change in usual residence from one country to another.

> **Irregular migration-** Movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. There is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration. From the perspective of destination countries it is entry, stay or work in a country without the necessary authorization or documents required under immigration regulations. From the perspective of the sending country, the irregularity is for example seen in cases in which a person crosses an international boundary without a valid passport or travel document or does not fulfill the administrative requirements for leaving the country. There is, however, a tendency to restrict the use of the term "illegal migration" to cases of smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons (IOM, 2011).

1.12 Organization of the Study

The study is organized in the following chapters;

Chapter 1: Background – this is the introductory chapter and it gives the background to the study at hand, which is the unaccompanied cross border migration of children from Zimbabwe to Botswana, the causes and the experiences of these children. It gives a history of migration itself, then compares the migration patterns in different periods to the millennial, discusses the conceptual framework that guides this study and gives an outline of the objectives and significance of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review - it gives the relevant literature on the causes and experiences of unaccompanied children`s cross border migration in different parts of the world. This chapter gives cites, compares, contrasts, and critiques the available literature, various arguments, theories and themes that exist in the phenomenon of unaccompanied children. It finally synthesizes the existing literature by discussing the contributions of this study to the existing body of knowledge.Chapter 3: Research Methodology and Methods – it gives the methodology used in collecting data of this research and the justification for doing so, materials and methods used to collect and analyze data in order to fulfill the objectives of this study.

Chapter 4: Presentation and Discussion of Findings - this chapter presents the results and findings of the study. It discusses the findings in line with the specific objectives of the study.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations– this last chapter gives the summary conclusions and recommendations to the pertinent study.

1.13 Chapter Summary

This chapter was has looked at the research topic, the problem and the setting of the study. It gave a well detailed background to the research study, statement of the problem, outlined the research objectives and research questions, significance of the study, limitations and gave a full detailed definition of the key terms used in this study. The next chapter shall present literature review in relation to the causes and experiences of cross border migration of unaccompanied children.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

"No level of border security, no wall, doubling the size of border patrol, all these things will not stop the illegal migration from countries as long as a 7 year old is desperate enough to flee on her own…because of the poverty and violence in her country."
Jeh Johnson, America`s Homeland Security Secretary (2016)

2.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to locate the subject under study in the context of the contemporary academic debate particularly from scholars who have dominantly influenced thought around issues to do with the irregular migration of unaccompanied children. The chapter also catechizes in detail the causes and experiences of children in this unorthodox form of migration. The central premise of the chapter is to critique the existing knowledge and ideas on irregular migration of unaccompanied children. In the process, this chapter raises the need to assess the gaps in the obtainable body of knowledge. Apart from discussing the existing literature from scholars, new concepts and arguments are developed and discussed in the interest of widening the sphere of thought on this knowledge terrain.

2.1 Migration Patterns

In order to examine the causes and experiences of unaccompanied children`s migration to other countries there is need to understand the migration patterns. Flahaux and De Haas (2016) posit that the bulk of African migration is contained within the continent and, more specifically, occurs between neighbouring countries. This is particularly true for example in West Africa, with Nigeria's new oil wealth after 1973, millions of Ghanaians and other West Africans sought work there, although they were eventually deported between 1983-1985 as a result of corruption and misguided economic policies that precipitated a crisis (Van Hear, 1998). In Southern Africa, Zimbabwe has witnessed large numbers of people migrating to its neighbouring countries such as Botswana, South Africa, and Zambia (Pasura, 2011). It is difficult to estimate the exact numbers of Zimbabweans who have left the country especially since the period of political and economic turmoil between 2008 and 2013, so broad are the estimates that the number ranges from 500 000 to four million Zimbabweans living abroad (IOM, 2013). The Mail & Guardian (2013) reports, "despite the availability of reliable statistics, South Africa is estimated to have the

bulk of Zimbabwe's diaspora community, with an estimated two million to three million Zimbabwean nationals living in that country." Looking at Botswana, the then Deputy Minister of Agriculture Paddy Zhanda in 2016 was quoted in The Chronicle saying "There are 502 Zimbabweans serving in Botswana jails and yet we have only four Botswana citizens in Zimbabwean jails. There is need for us to be disciplined as a nation and in so doing; we should also respect the laws of our neighbouring countries." The high numbers of Zimbabweans serving in Botswana`s jails goes on to show that Botswana has intercepted more Zimbabweans than Zimbabwe has intercepted the Tswana people. These statistics buttress Flahaux and De Haas`(2016) claim that the bulk of African migration is contained within the continent, although in this case there is quite a large number of Zimbabweans migrating to neighbouring countries than Zimbabwe has foreign nationals from the same neighbouring countries migrating to her. This is mainly attributed to the fact that Zimbabwe witnessed a political and incumbent economic downturn during the period 2008 going onwards and this has forced Zimbabweans to seek "better" livelihoods and sanctuary in its neighbouring countries. It is however interesting to note that where the issue of Zimbabweans committing crimes upon migration in the receiving countries, not much has been said where juvenile delinquency is involved. There are statistics concerning Zimbabweans in Botswana`s prisons and nothing has been reported where the illegal involvement of children is concerned.

Furthermore, the extent of unaccompanied child migration is best explained by some of Ravenstein`s laws on migration. According to Ravenstein (1885), the great body of migrants only proceed a short distance. This notion was true particularly in the pre millennial Zimbabwe where migration was largely internal; with individuals moving from rural areas to big cities such as Harare and Bulawayo in search of employment. However, the scale of migration has increased in recent years with modern transportation and communication systems; it is now possible for people to migrate to distant lands as evidenced by the rate of international migration. Technically speaking, where Raveinsten`s law of distance decay is concerned, emigration of Zimbabweans to its neighboring countries such as South Africa, Botswana and Zambia is considered as a relatively short distance than inter-continental migration for example migration from Zimbabwe to the UK or to the USA. This can be attributed to the fact that African states are often said to have very porous borders (Flahaux and DeHaas, 2016) as evidenced by the alarming numbers of undocumented/illegal migrants in South Africa and Botswana respectively. More so, the bulk of

Zimbabwean migrant population opt for intra continental migration as it is difficult to meet the financial demands, escape the frustrating visa application process that comes with inter-continental migration.

According to Ravenstein`s `laws` of migration (1985), the 7th law states that most migrants are adults and this is not particularly true considering that recent literature and data that has been provided by UNICEF and Save the Children reports (UNICEF, 2017; Save the Children, 2011) indicate that there are increasingly alarming numbers of children who are migrating not only short distances as Ravenstein puts it across but cross border migration of unaccompanied children. More so, the fact that children are willing to cross international borders during the migration process indicates that Ravenstein was not precisely accurate in positing that most migration occurs over short distances. The number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000 (International Migration Report, 2017). The increase can be attributed to forces such as globalization both from above and below that has seen inter regional migration and at the same time emigration mostly from Africa to Europe as a result of push factors that mostly force people to move such as terrorism in Nigeria and Somalia, the civil war in Sudan that lasted twenty-two years and the economic meltdown in Africa that feeds into loss of jobs, high unemployment rates, increased infant and maternal mortality among others. Ravenstein`s laws of migration might have been of relevance back in the 1980`s but indeed most of these laws are no longer applicable to the 21st Century, the world is not static but rather dynamic, many changes have taken place between the 1980`s and to date, this is why as previously mentioned, migration theories are difficult to find one that is exhaustive of the migration phenomenon as evidenced in this case, they explain the migration phenomenon in some periods and not in others.

Thus, looking at Raveinsten`s laws of migration, it should be noted that this reinforces the fact that one theory is not suffice to explain migration trends and patterns as the world is not static and external forces such as slavery, globalization, wars natural and human made disasters act as influencers to the nature of migration. More so, where children are concerned, especially vulnerable children without possession of the required travel documents, the porous borders of Beitbridge and Plumtree become an escape route from Zimbabwe to "greener pastures".

2.1.2 Gendered pattern of migration

Focus has also been drawn to the migration of women and thus resulting in limited focus on children`s migration. Fry (2006), one of the key proponents in this area argues that "women around the world have been migrating more in recent decades and as a result have constituted an increasing share of migrant populations almost everywhere." The reason why it is only in recent years that women have been documented in the migration discourse is that most literature before the turn of the millennium has "typically imagined women as merely tagging along behind the `primary` male migrant" (O`Connell Davidson & Farrow, 2007). Most scholars argue that it is only in recent years that it is widely appreciated that the reasons for and experiences of migration differ for women as compared to men (Elmhirst 2002; McKay 2005; Muzvidziwa, 2001). Save the Children however refutes the claim by Fry by positing that, "whilst there are several factors which could be hiding the real extent of girls' migration to South Africa, it appears that there is a gendered pattern of migration to South Africa, with boys more likely to migrate alone than girls and this gendered pattern of migration was most striking among children living on the border areas (Save the Children UK Report, 2007). It is from this point of view that it should be noted that in as much as children are considered a vulnerable population and require the highest level of protection, girls however are much more vulnerable than boys as they are more susceptible to abuse in the event that they migrate alone rather than in groups.

In line with the above, from June 2006 to June 2010 the Beitbridge Child Reception Centre assisted 8,408 children, of whom 86% were boys, (Save the Children Report, 2010). Hashim and Thorsen (2011) explain that one of the reasons for girls having fewer opportunities for migrating than boys is that parents are generally reluctant to allow adolescent girls to migrate independently of relatives. Girls are more confined to the private sphere undertaking domestic work whilst their adolescent male counterparts are normally seen as "*varume vakuru*" (grown men) who can contribute to the household income whenever opportunities arise, in this case migration. Migration in itself is a diversification strategy (Cordell et al. 1996; Hoddinott, 1992); this is because migration expands potential sources of income (remittances). Thus, where the feminization of migration is concerned, it can be argued that girls are likely to migrate in their late stages of adolescence as compared to boys who have an early start to migration with their parents` blessings. Moreover, the unaccompanied migration of girls is less common as they tend to migrate in most cases in the company of a relative or guardian. This is done all in a bid to

minimize the heightened risk of vulnerability and abuse of the girl child during the migration process.

However, looking at Ravenstein`s laws of migration that points out that females are more migratory than boys, it should be noted that although it is not particularly true just basing on the available statistics given above, a critical analysis of the gendered pattern of migration suggests that Ravenstein might have been correct in his findings after all. If girls are confined to the private sphere back home, when they migrate they are likely to be employed in the private sphere and this is in contrast to boys who are visible in the public sphere working in professions such as construction industry, transport industry and farming that expose them to the police who then take the opportunity to arrest them. For girls however, they migrate into domestic work, sex work and other hidden professions making them more difficult to access (IOM Report, 2007). It is clear that gender and age characteristics play an influential role in determining who migrates, how and to where (Birchall, 2016). The family also comes into play as it might sponsor and support an adolescent boy`s migration as compared to a girl`s migration. From this perspective, it should be noted that due to the extensity of unaccompanied children`s migration, it is difficult to get actual statistics in relation to the number of boys and girls involved in the migration process especially if it is irregular migration.

2.2 Preflight conditions for migration

Children`s reasons and motivators for migrating vary according to geographical location, the period under study, gender and age. Especially where age is concerned, there have been various debates among child migration scholars about age, childhood and its constituting concepts. The ACRWC which was enacted into law in 1999 defines a child as "every human being below the age of 18 years" (article 2, ACRWC). The ACRWC serves as a sequel of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child which has a universal resonation with municipal law within the entire global context. The United Nations Convention also defines a child as "every human being below the age of eighteen years" (article 1, CRC). Basing on the two multilateral legal posits to the question at hand, the study focuses on the independent migration of children, (herein referred to as persons below the age of eighteen) who migrate on their own accord or separate from their parents without being hoodwinked or coerced into migrating by a third person.

On the other hand, Hashim and Thorsen (2011) argue that even though the above mentioned legal instruments have given their definitions of what a child is, the definition incorporates a number of concepts and ideas that require some scrutinizing. Their argument is that there are questions which arise regarding when children are 'children' and when they are 'youth' and how appropriate is labelling children in legal definitions especially for rural peoples whose conceptualization of age is embedded in social relations and generational hierarchies. For Hashim and Thorsen, the period from sixteen to eighteen years a child is rather referred to as a "young youth" rather than a child. Hashim and Thorsen argue that to universalize ideals of childhood is to be myopic on its own because in actuality it is a category made of a bundle of concepts that far from being static are subject to negotiation and change. In commensuration with Hashim and Thorsen on children and youth, Klaasen`s and Harttgen`s work (2008) has noted that many different definitions of children and youth exist, they give the following examples, the United Nations defines children as individuals aged between 5 and 15 and youth as individuals aged between 16 and 24, the Convention on the Rights of the Child defines children as individuals under the age of 18, in the World Development Report 2007, 'young people' are defined as persons aged between 12 and 24, the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) distinguish between infant (0), children (1-14) and youth (15-24). Thus, with the different meanings and understanding of what constitutes as a child and a youth this has sparked a debate in trying to define a child and a youth as shown by the different substantiated scholars, organizations and statutory instruments.

In line with the above, the issue of unaccompanied children`s migration cannot be studied in isolation of the age factor. Save the Children UK Report (2007) observed that all of those that were irregular movers were over the age of 15 years which may indicate that older children had more responsibility for maintaining family in their country of origin as compared to the younger ones who are more dependent on their parents and older siblings. This is probably the reason why some scholars such as Hashim and Thorsen have labeled older children between the ages of 16 and 18 as "young youth", due to the fact that they are likely to reflect their agency by migrating in order to contribute to the household needs and change their social status. According to IOM (2007), the mean age of children migrating unaccompanied is 14 years although some children as young as seven are migrating alone. UNICEF (2016), elucidates that children have been migrating alone in large numbers from as young as seven years old without being

accompanied by family due to the fact that the sending countries are war ravaged and because most of their family members have succumbed to war the children are "forced" to migrate alone. Looking at Zimbabwe however, the absence of war has not deterred children from migrating; there are other reasons apart from war as in countries such as Syria and Iraq that has seen the unaccompanied migration of children from Zimbabwe to its neighboring countries, in this case, Botswana. However, given the mean age provided by IOM above, this suggests that the likelihood for independent migration increases with the onset of adolescence especially where fleeing from war and political conflict is not concerned.

However, in as much as the scholars try to substantiate their argument, it would be very problematic to deviate from the universal definition of childhood as outlined by the ACRWC and the CRC on the mere basis of culture and social upbringing. The problem of the logic by Hashim and Thorsen (2011) is its susceptibility to manipulation to sanitize vices such as early/child marriages simply because it is within the societal scope or within the African culture to define children as adults. Therefore, the research finds its grounding in the legal framework of the United Nations and the parameters pronounced in the African Charter. Where children are concerned there should be no negotiation, children are not little adults, children on the move are children, first and foremost - they need protection (UNICEF, 2011). Therefore, it is the import of this submission that children need protection. As part of initiating the social and institutional protection of children it is imperative for a defined category of age parameters to be established as is the case in the context of this study. There must be a clear-cut distinction between youth and children. In the process, societal and parental duties should then be established to ground the protection that children deserve against social insecurities that promote irregular migration.

Moreso, when looking at the preflight conditions for migration, there has been a debate considering the issue of voluntary migration. There is a raging debate amongst scholars on the issue of voluntary migration of children. Contrary to popular perceptions that children only move with their families, Khair (2005) asserts that there is actually growing evidence of autonomous migration by children. Khair (2005) defines autonomous migration as movement of children from one country to another unaccompanied by their immediate families in the form of parents or guardians. Hashim and Thorsen (2011) agree that in as much as the notion of "voluntary" migration foregrounds children`s agency, this however poses the question, "to what extent can

they choose to migrate or not – especially if parents in the larger sense take charge of their journey or ask them to come?" What the two scholars are implying is that if parents or guardians are the ones sponsoring the move or if children are migrating in the hope of re - uniting with parents or guardians who are across the borders then in all essence this could not really be termed voluntary migration.

In line with the above, Harttgen and Klasen (2008) posit that an individual`s decision depends on the characteristics or action of those around them. Harttgen and Klasen borrowed this notion from Mincer (1978) who was one of the first researchers to acknowledge the importance of family ties in the migration process. Mincer (1978) suggests that the migration process is not an individual decision but the family`s influence comes into play, "net `family' gains motivate migration of households more than 'personal' gains." This could be particularly true in some cases especially when it comes to rural based families that struggle with poverty, the family can make a decision to send a child across the border in the hope of alleviating household poverty through remittances.

More so, as posited by the structuration theory that children exhibit their agency through making an autonomous decision to migrate in a bit to change the political, social and economic structure that no longer serves their needs and wants, this poses the question whether children are in all earnest voluntarily migrating or if it is rather the unfavourable environment that "forces" them to move. The hostile environment around children act as stimuli for migration, it is difficult to talk of liberties in the existence of such a harmful environment to these children. However, for the benefit of this study, it should be noted that in as much as in some cases migration of children is influenced by the family`s decision and the dilapidating social fabric, the mere fact that a child leaves home, without the necessary documents and identification (e.g passport), in the absence of a parent or guardian to cross borders illegally, this on its own proves the agency of unaccompanied children during the migration process; children who show up in the absence of adults at the border will be referred to as unaccompanied minors.

Furthermore, the absence of necessary travel documents and identification heightens the vulnerability of children during the migration process. According to a report by Lawyers for Human Rights (2013), a number of orphans, abandoned and unaccompanied foreign minors who come to South Africa most often do not have a birth certificate and yet this is the primary

enabling document towards nationality. Without a birth certificate, a child cannot obtain a national identity card, without an ID then one cannot obtain a passport which is travel document required by immigration officers at the border; resultantly, children end up crossing borders through unorthodox means whilst risking their lives. Lack of identification and birth registration becomes a cycle that is difficult to break as these children grow up to be adults and produce their own offspring with no birth certificates and the cycle goes on and on. It is difficult for both children and adults with no birth registration and identification to access for example education and health services and worse in a foreign country. In the worst case scenario if an immigrant child with no identification dies then it would be a cumbersome process to identify this child or even contact the deceased child`s parents or relatives, in the end, these children will be obliterated from the face of the earth without a trace which would be tragic.

Furthermore, in examining the preflight conditions for migration, there has been a debate of culture versus rights. According to de Waal (2002), many of the articles in the ACRWC are almost identical with the CRC except for only one aspect which is the responsibilities section in the ACRWC. The slight difference between the CRC and the ACRWC is that the charter outlines the responsibilities that the child has towards his or her family. The issue of responsibilities is the Achilles' heel that has resulted in the undermining of children`s rights. Article 31 of the ACRWC stresses that the child shall have the duty to, "work for the cohesion of the family, to respect his parents, superiors and elders at all times and to assist them in case of need…" The research proved that older children especially those out of school are expected to help out financially or at least contribute to putting food on the table. The fact that African leaders felt the need to formulate an African model for children's rights illustrates the diversity of understandings of childhood (Boyden, 2001), and yet this brings about a clash between African children`s rights and responsibilities and what is considered abuse of these rights by the CRC. Such ethnocentric attitudes have definitely caused misunderstandings concerning children`s motivations and justifications for migrating across borders. In Zimbabwe, the dilapidation of the economy has resulted in extreme cases of poverty with areas such as Nkayi in Matabeleland having a shocking poverty prevalence of 96% (Zimbabwe Poverty Atlas, 2015). The situation has been exacerbated by recurrent drought patterns in Zimbabwe, a country where agriculture is the "much vaunted backbone of the economy" (Sachikonye, 1992). From the period 2000 –

2008, the agricultural sector heavily underperformed, shrinking by an annual percentage of -7.1% (Biti, 2009). Moreover, UNICEF (2016) reported that due to the El Niño OF 2015-2016 in Zimbabwe, which devastated crops and decimated livestock in Zimbabwe, parents migrated to neighbouring countries in search of livelihoods, leaving their children in the care of the oldest sibling or their grandparents. It is these children left back in Zimbabwe who make part of the irregular and unaccompanied children`s migration population at Zimbabwe`s Beitbridge and Plumtree border posts. Some older children have had to migrate across borders to South Africa and Botswana in a bid to improve their social and economic status or simply be reunited to their parents.

In line with the above, older children in the African cultural context are expected to assist in providing for the family, just as outlined in the responsibilities section in the charter. This then raises the question of cultural relativism where children`s welfare is concerned. Questions related to whether we should seek universal measure of quality of life for all or defer instead to the many different norms that traditional cultures have selected, have arisen (Nussbaum and Glover 1995, cited in Jackson, 1997). This continues to be a bone of contention as indeed the responsibilities outline the need for children to assist in providing for the family whilst on the other end the unaccompanied migration of children to Botswana and South Africa can be argued to be a means to an end.

It is useful to make such comparisons in order to illustrate the very important point that the economic, political, environmental and social dynamics of a place make possible girls' and boys' mobility in diverse ways, such that children's migratory paths and trajectories cannot be assumed but rather established. This research resonates well with Yaqub`s research on unaccompanied child migrants, in terms of trying to examine the push factors for migrating and why children migrate as individuals as well as situations of children in the host nations (Yaqub 2009). The contrast from Yaqub`s work and this research is that while Yaqub only focused on first time migrants and their experience in the host countries, this research goes on further to make a follow up on the children`s experiences during the deportation process and tries to address the `then what?` question upon deportation of the illegal child migrants.

According to Young and Ansell (2003), in the Zimbabwean society, young migrants leave their households for four main reasons which include AIDS related deaths, caring for sick relatives, the death of one or both parents and increased poverty due to illness and death in the family. They further state that in the case of increased poverty, children were sent to work in other areas so that the family can receive remittances. Moreover, building on the findings of Young and Ansell, Orgocka (2012) explains that the phenomenon of independent child migration varies and is best explained in the terms of push and pull factors which she classes as "poverty, natural and human-made disasters, most notably conflict and war, family reunification, and search for better life opportunities." By employing the push and pull factors theory Orgocka complies to the fact that push factors vary in accordance for example of sending areas, push factors for a remote rural area might not necessarily be the same push factors for an urban city. Ravenstein (1889) also gives an insight into the push and pull factors philosophy by concluding in his theory that migration is governed by a "push and pull" process; that is, unfavorable conditions in one place (oppressive laws, heavy taxation) "push" people out, and favorable conditions in an external location "pull" them out. Other scholars have added to the above list of push factors for migration adding poverty, maltreatment at home, escaping abusive home environments, and family breakdown (Hashim and Thorsen 2011). The push factors create an uncomfortable environment for children where their rights are not fulfilled and children are constantly exposed to abuse, resultantly the push factors "force" children to move or migrate to other countries in a bid to transform their social and economic status. Thus, it is important to give a thorough critique on the causes of unaccompanied child migration so as to interrogate the sendentary bias to social life that often lead to the assumptions that children`s migration often results from family rupture and social breakdown.

2.2.1 Economic hardships

Zimbabwe`s economic instability is a sore subject for many and this is justifiably so considering the experiences of the period 2007 to early 2009 when they lost their savings of years through the bearer's cheques, hyperinflation, and raids of people's money in foreign currency accounts by RBZ among other ugly historical developments in Zimbabwe (ZIMCODD, 2017). Other scholars ((Munangagwa, 2011) have argued that the demise of Zimbabwe`s economy dates back to as early as 1997 with the crash of the stock market on November 14, 1997, strikes, once- off gratuity and pensions for war veterans and price hikes (Kanyenze, 2004). In February 2007,

Zimbabwe's inflation rate topped 50% per month, the minimum rate required to qualify as a hyperinflation (50% per month is equal to a 12,875% per year), between the period 2007 to 2008, Zimbabwe`s inflation rate soared and as of 14 November 2008, Zimbabwe's annual inflation rate was 89.7 sextillion (ZIMCODD, 2017). A decade later, Zimbabwe`s economy has not yet recovered from the hyperinflationary environment and the economic downturn that it witnessed between the 2007 and 2008 era as witnessed by the regular strikes of civil servants, cash crisis and majority of Zimbabweans living under the poverty datum line (UNOCHA, 2016). A lot of literature (Besada & Moyo, 2008; Bond, 1999) surrounding Zimbabwe`s economy has blamed the Mugabe regime and its macro- economic policies that had subsequent trifling effects on the economy of the country, it is argued that the economic problems faced by Zimbabwe are intrinsically linked to the political economy in the country; the economic crisis is above all a political problem, that is exacerbated by failed policies (see Munangagwa, 2011). At this point in time, the future of Zimbabwe`s economy is yet to be determined, with the fall of Mugabe and the subsequent rise of the new president E.D Munangagwa`s new dispensation that preaches the gospel of maximum growth of Zimbabwe`s economy, migration trends are yet to be determined.

In line with the above, with a specific focus on the economic hardships experienced in Zimbabwe from the period 2007 to present, this has had major impacts on migration trends and patterns in the country. The unsustainable political, socio and economic conditions have forced 37.8% of the population to migrate internationally (IOM, 2008). The cross border movements of Zimbabwean citizens to its neighbouring countries has not only seen adults crossing borders whether illegally or legally but children also embarking on this cross border migration journey independent of any adult/s or guardian/s. According to UNICEF and IOM (2009), in recent years, there has been an increase in the cross border migration population and children have constituted to a considerable number of the migrant population with estimates on children participating in irregular migration hovering around 25 000 annually. This can be attributed to the acute economic pressure exerted on the already poor families struggling to make ends meet in the degraded socio economic environment in Zimbabwe where resilience to poverty is already low. Children in a bid to change their socio and economic "structure", they exhibit their "agency" by making the decision to independently migrate to neighbouring countries in the hope of sending remittances home whenever they can. Children`s autonomous migration has challenged the traditional norms where children are "construed as powerless entities, the

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transitions in the socio-economic context have lent them greater visibility and independence whereby they can now negotiate their role from that of passive dependants to active decision makers" (Khair, 2005). However, in as much as children have demonstrated their agency in migration, it is critical to document their unaccompanied migration journey as it places them at a greater risk of abuse and exploitation because "in all studies in Southern Africa, children reported their migration as a negative experience as a result of a combination of poor educational opportunities, poverty and HIV/AIDS (Save the Children UK Report, 2007). In as much as some might view the migration of children as a means to an end, it then becomes an issue of "matter" over "agency", as aforementioned, children are children first, they need collective and coherent child protection and safeguarding strategies and policies to ensure that their rights are upheld and their future secured.

2.2.2 Child labour migration

The literature on migration frequently presents the movement of individuals away from a household as a means of reducing demand on scant resources and/or of diversifying potential sources of income through remittances (Cordell et al. 1996; de Haan, 1999), whether it is internal migration where migrants move from rural areas to big cities or international migration, migrants usually have one thing in common and that it seeking bigger and better employment opportunities in the hope of improving their families livelihoods through remittances. Tracing the history of child labour, legislation against child labour was instituted in 1919 with the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Convention on Minimum Age in Industry (No. 5) (ILO 1996). It was only after there were protests on the atrocities of child labour that legislation against children`s employment in Britain was mirrored in other industrialized countries (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011) and subsequently, between 1919 and 1998 a further ten conventions on or related to child labour were adopted by the ILO. In regards to child labour, ILO in 1999 saw it fit to adopt the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) due to the rise in child trafficking especially for sexual exploitation of children. Article 3 of the convention classifies the worst forms of child labour as:

➢ 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;

- the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;

- 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;

- 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.

However, despite the existence of such legislation, the child labour phenomenon is still persistent especially in Africa which has the highest incidences of children working, with one in four children engaged in child labour (ILO, 2010).

Furthermore, within the history of child labour, there is a debate that existed around the 1970`s to the 1990`s. In Europe, child labour legislation witnessed some resistance due to the industrialization period (Hasnat, 1995), "it was only after the liberalization process of trade began that their hearts started bleeding for the poor children of the south" (Panicker, 1998). It is partly because of this reason that today practically all nations of the south are caught up in the web of globalization from above. Myers (1999) elucidates that much attention is now directed at the worst forms of child labour, such as prostitution, child 'trafficking' and children's involvement in armed conflict (e.g child soldiers during the Sudanese civil war), since there is consensus that these are patently harmful and exploitative.

In line with the above, in child migration literature, the works of Arhin (2012) can be applauded for its efforts in detailing the issue of child trafficking for the purposes of child labour and sexual exploitation to some extent, however, her work left a gap in detailing the children`s abuse, exploitation and the resilient strategies employed in dealing with animosities that arise between authorities and child irregular migrants. Arhin`s research mainly focuses on children that are coerced into crossing borders for purposes of child labour, whereas this research focuses both on children coerced and those that cross borders of their own accord, as long as they are unaccompanied minors.

Moreover, looking at the African culture, older children who are at the adolescent stage are expected to contribute to the family`s livelihood through undertaking activities such as farming, rearing of livestock and off farm activities (petty trading and artisan production). Hashim and

Thorsen (2011) bring in the notion of cultural relativism when they argue that it is wrong to universalize childhood and its concepts as what is ideal for a child in the European culture may not be ideal for a child in the African setting. This is particularly true in the sense that the problems that are faced in Europe are not necessarily the problems that are faced in Africa; take for example when it comes to resilience to poverty, people in Africa are at a greater risk of failing to cope where poverty reduction strategies are concerned as compared to those in Europe. African families end up exposing their children to child labour as a means to an end; they work in the informal economy of urban areas as hawkers, shoe shiners and porters (Agarwal et al. 1997), as domestic workers (Jacquemin, 2004) and in the commercial sex industry (O`Connell Davidson, 2005). This phenomenon is particularly true in Zimbabwe as the child hawkers, child beggars and child sexual workers in the streets of the urban cities particularly Harare bear witness to this.

Furthermore, when it comes to international migration, the search for gainful employment has been cited as one of the major reasons for child migration in most parts of the world, especially migration from low income countries to high income countries (Yinger, 2000). For a long time child migration has often been documented as short distance migration from rural areas to urban areas, recent studies indicate that cross border migration of children especially unaccompanied children has not been adequately documented in literature. Child labour on its own is not a recent phenomenon, as Huijsmans (2008) posits that a profusion of academic work has shown that children have been for a long time involved in the child labour market although very little research has elaborated on how these children end up being employed or their experiences within those centers of employment. Various studies further indicate that where child labour is concerned, the work can be paid or unpaid; children can work for their self-betterment or for their families all at the same time exposing them to a wide range and varying degrees of hazard (Hashim 2008). More so, there has been a debate regarding what constitutes as child labour when it comes to domestic work. For example, for those children that cross borders to live in an extended family`s household, their work has been considered as merely "helping out" and not genuine work (ILO, 1997) and consequently it becomes difficult for child domestic work to be adequately documented in literature. Where the domestic arena is concerned, children end up working as unremunerated members of their families` labour force. Child labour in itself is a pathology when associated with childhood (White 1999), as Boyden (1997) points out that

families and the school are the "chief legitimate agents for the socialization of children," not work. As aforementioned, in as much as children demonstrate their agency in making a decision of migration over immobility, the process is hazardous and exposes children to exploitation and abuse thereby prompting the protection and safeguarding of children and their rights.

Moreover, a project undertaken by The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP 2006) talks of how children are migrating from Zimbabwe to Mozambique, from Mozambique to South Africa, and from Angola to Namibia to escape poverty from home. The SAMP project is quite articulate in bringing out some of the reasons why children leave their homes to move to other countries. Poverty is cited as the major reason why children from the above mentioned countries are migrating. The study goes on to show that when children migrate, they get into demeaning professions such as prostitution especially young girls, while young boys become farm laborers among others. However, the shortfall in this study by SAMP is that it does not investigate some of the social reasons, such as emotional or physical abuse by guardians, as reasons why some children migrate. Additionally, the study does not acknowledge the agency that these children have in dealing with the challenges that they face during the migration process.

However, the majority of child migration studies have focused on economic factors and thereby concluding that a vast number of children who cross borders do so based on economic grounds, with World Bank (2010) positing that 9 out of 10 international migrants move for economic reasons. Whilst these studies have had their fair share of contribution to the migration body of knowledge, they have neglected other causes of the cross border migration of children and children`s agency in their economic activities as part of their migration experience which this study focuses on.

2.2.3 Migration for socially related reasons

Social reasons have been cited as one reason why children are migrating. A study carried out in Dhaka, Bangladesh by Hossain (2010) cited social reasons such as social networks and kinship ties that propelled families to migrate from rural parts of Bangladesh to its capital city. This is because it is easier for one or families to migrate when there are relatives or friends that have already settled in the place of destination. In Whitehead`s (2002) study in Zimbabwe, children mostly migrate to neighbouring countries with their parent or by themselves in search of wealth, job opportunities, education or medical attention. In such cases, migration takes place where the

migrants themselves have relatives or friends who are already in the country they wish to migrate to so that "*vanowana kwekusvikira*" which means that they have a place to stay upon arrival. While these studies document some of the social reasons for children`s migration, the differences with this study are that the studies did not focus on the experiences of the migrant children, whether these children are regular or irregular migrants and in the face of challenges how they deal with those challenges.

2.2.4 Child headed households

In Zimbabwe one of the major motivating factors for Zimbabwean children to migrate was family reunification or familial breakdown and the inability of the family to provide for the well-being of the child (IOM Report, 2009). Oftentimes children are left to fend for themselves or in the company of relatives or guardians as the parents leave for another country in pursuit of greener pastures, this often leads children to embark on a journey to the destination countries their parents or guardians would have left for to be re-united with those family members. It is often when the circumstances at home become unbearable to the child or young person that the prospect of finding their parent or guardian becomes so attractive. According to the findings presented in the IOM report (2009), where the family has completely disintegrated, there was the added responsibility of caring and providing for siblings; sisters and brothers were often the only family they had left; in such a situation, children are at the centre as active members of society with an understanding of the culture of their society, their own social lives as being 'not just the passive subjects of social structures and processes' (Prout and James, 1997). Lansdown (2005) notes that the UNCRC recognizes varying environments, circumstances and cultures being experienced by children in dictating what children are able to do according to children's evolving capacities.

The view of children as 'persons in their own right' has changed the perception of children's participation (Prout, 2000). This has been evidenced by the high prevalence of many child headed households which has given children autonomy, in this case, making an independent decision to migrate. Power dynamics are entrenched in children's participation when autonomy is upheld radically as a protest by a powerless group (children) defending themselves against violent expression and abuse of power by adults (Alderson, 2010). The child headed household phenomenon is evidence of children's autonomy though the autonomy is by default rather than

by design .In such an instance irregular migration becomes a means of survival as some children bring remittances back home.

Moreover, the problem of child headed households has been exacerbated by epidemics such as HIV/AIDS. Foster et al (1997) denotes that the number of children being orphaned was rapidly increasing in communities with high rates of HIV infection; by mid-1996, it was estimated that nine million children had lost their mother to AIDS, with over 90 per cent of affected children living in sub-Saharan African countries. By decreasing the proportion of adults in the population, the epidemic effects are also witnessed in the reduction of incomes of affected households (Gregson et al, 1994). It should be noted that children who have been orphaned by AIDS and are left to fend for themselves or in the company of the elderly seek to migrate as a means to improve their livelihoods and that of their families, in this case the younger siblings that they need to take care of by sending remittances home upon migrating to another country for employment opportunities.

In addition to the above, (De Winter, 1997 cited in Roche, 1999), notes that "in practice children and youngsters are to be regarded as fellow citizens whose views in society are appreciated and encouraged valuing the constructive contribution they are able to accomplish now." This model for active citizenship which includes children is clearly expressed in Article 12 of the UNCRC (Roche, 1999). This also explains the responsibilities that children now have as the child headed households is a phenomenon that continues to spread. Resultantly, children are forced by circumstances to cross international borders most times illegally and in the absence of parents or guardians as they seek employment so as to cater for their younger siblings back home.

2.3 Socio-economic effects of migration

Migration is a decision that impacts the welfare of the household, the home community, and in the end, the whole economy in various ways (Azam and Gubert 2006). According to World Bank (2010), the implications of migration especially for the origin country are most often, although not always positive. This is because the main reason people migrate is for economic purposes and the hope that they can support those left behind through remittances. While migration has economic, social, and cultural implications, remittances the migrants send home are perhaps the most tangible and least controversial link between migration and development (Ratha 2007). Evidence from Latin America, Africa, South Asia and other regions suggests that remittances

reduce the depth and severity of poverty, as well as indirectly stimulate economic activity (Adams 1991, Lachaud 1999, Fajnzylber & Lopez 2007). The issue of remittances needs careful analysis however as it is mostly applicable to those high skilled migrants that have settled in the developed world with high income earnings. Studies that were undertaken across Africa show the migrant who has moved to a developed country becomes an insurer for the whole household, for example in Ghana, remittances were found to help households to minimize the effects of economic shocks on household welfare (Quartey 2006) and in Ethiopia, remittance-receiving households used their cash reserves and thus avoided having to sell their livestock to cope with drought (Mohapatra et al. 2009). However, where children are concerned, it should be noted that they migrate to South Africa and Botswana in the hope of working at whatever job they can get and whatever income they can get as they are low skilled and are not in possession of work permits. Resultantly, the exploitation of migrant workers by unscrupulous recruiters or employers (World Bank, 2010) makes it difficult for migrants to save enough money to send back home.

More so, one positive effect of migration is the fact that there is a possibility of self growth and accumulation of assets (Giuliano and Ruiz-Arranz 2005). It is argued that through savings from the earnings acquired by the migrant worker, there are prospects of self growth on the migrant`s self and accumulation of personal assets. This supposition however corroborates with the above given argument that where low skilled workers are concerned, in this case children from Zimbabwe who migrate to Botswana, the self growth and accumulation of assets can be a frustratingly slow process as earnings could be low due to lack of skills.

At most times, migration seems a liberating and rewarding experience especially on the part of the migrant but it however comes with social implications. In most cases, moving to another country and being separated from one's immediate family takes place at considerable emotional cost (D'Emilio et al., 2007). This is particularly true especially of children who have been dependant on their parents or guardians for a long time and an abrupt change where they are now in a foreign country on their own can result in depression, stress and emotional instability. As described by D'Emilio et al. (2007), the longer the separation between the child and the parents then the more the relationship between the migrant and those left behind is constrained. In the case of the migrating child, it is a demonstration that parents can lose their authority with the

child and their role as the primary role provider of love and material care can diminish if not become distorted. Kahn et al. (2003) supports this view as he ascertains that migration increases the risk for family breakdown, fragmentation of social networks and psychosocial stress which are the social costs of migration.

Furthermore, Crush (2000) denotes that immigrants even from neighboring countries are treated as unwanted foreigners even though cross border migration is widely accepted. This inability to control migration and to integrate the newcomers has at times led to dramatic actions and great human suffering. When the economy is already under pressure, the arrival of immigrants can exert more pressure on that economy and result in expulsion of migrants for example, the United States deported more than 350,000 immigrants and South Africa 300,000 in 2008 alone (UNDP 2009). Issues of xenophobic attacks have been rampant in South Africa with foreigners facing discrimination and violence being perpetrated against foreigners by some South African citizens; some foreign governments went to the extent of repatriating their citizens in 2015 after a nationwide spike in xenophobic attacks against immigrants (Los Angeles Times, 2015). It is from this point of view that one can denote that feelings of hatred by locals can result in acts of discrimination and violence perpetrated on immigrants and where children are concerned, their rights are grossly violated.

2.4 Challenges faced by children during the migration process

Although unaccompanied minors have participated in migratory flows in other historical periods, the current contexts of migration due to technology and porous borders in Africa, there are collaboration between different actors in facilitating migration especially that of undocumented children. These contexts unfortunately create new challenges and forms of vulnerability for these minors today (Menjivar & Perreira, 2017). The number of unaccompanied Zimbabwean children who are illegally crossing borders into Botswana and South Africa is a cause for concern and this has many implications on their health and psychosocial welfare; and in some cases, the illnesses and deaths that are associated with migration are exacerbated by a lack of policies needed to make migration a healthy and socially productive process (Carballo and Nerukar, 2001). Unaccompanied children face quite a number of challenges in the migration journey, settling in the host countries and during the deportation process, these challenges invariably puts children at risk and their rights end up being violated.

2.4.1 Sexual violence

In a research carried out by Menjivar and Perreira (2017) of the challenges faced by undocumented and unaccompanied children who come from the Global South, countries like Afghan, Iraq, Somalia and Eritrea to Europe and America, they cited sexual violence as one major challenge that unaccompanied children faced in the transit country waiting for smugglers to find the right time and conditions to continue the journey. The journey through Mexico is particularly dangerous for women and girls. "According to Amnesty International, 6 out of 10 Central American women and girls are victims of sexual violence during their journey through Mexico" (Pereira, 2010). Parish (2017) reinforces the issue of sexual violence stating that during the journey, gender is central in shaping these minors' experiences, as girl migrants have a higher likelihood to be exposed to rape and sexual violence, by smugglers, authorities, and criminals alike. More so, coming closer to home in Southern Africa where children are migrating from their respective countries to neighbouring African countries, IOM report (2009) noted that migrants from Zimbabwe seeking to gain illicit entry into South Africa through the Limpopo river faced gender based violence from thieves locally known as *magumaguma* operating in that area. It is reported that in the "absence of valuables and money, there were reports of gender based violence and physical assault committed against those who could not pay" (IOM Report, 2009). In regards to the incidences mentioned above, the IOM report does little justice in explaining how children deal with sexual violence during the migration process and in the settlement areas once they cross the border. In corroboration with the issue of sexual violence on migrants, this study sought to examine this issue with an interest to unaccompanied children who cross the Plumtree border post into Botswana and examine children`s agency where sexual exploitation is concerned.

2.4.2 Robberies

According to the IOM report (2009) which focused on irregular migration of children entering into South Africa through Beitbridge, children employ the services of smuggling syndicates locally known as *omalayitshas`* and *magumaguma* in trying to cross the border illegally as they are the ones who know the best clandestine crossing points into South Africa. The IOM reports that *magumagumas`* would lead people towards a known crossing point in exchange for their possessions or money. It is during this process of trying to cross the Limpopo River that the *magumaguma* would take the opportunity to pounce on the unsuspecting children using threats

and in some cases violence to force the children to give up their clothing, footwear, electronic devices, and cash. It is apparent that *malayitshas* and *magumagumas* are taking advantage of children's desperate circumstances, their impulse towards informal channels of migration, as well as their lack of knowledge about South African immigration law in order to rob them of their money and possessions. This means when the children get to the other side they will be penniless and hungry which places them at a higher risk of sexual and labour exploitation in the host country. It was thus the aim of this study to relay the challenges that children crossing into Botswana from Zimbabwe faced and how they survived in the face of these challenges.

2.4.3 Failure to access social and health services

The failure to access basic social and healthcare services in a host country has been and still continues to be one of the major challenges that migrants face all over the world. According to a report by Eurodiaconia (2014), in Europe, it is reported that "asylum seekers are often not able to access their full rights to healthcare because of a lack of cultural understanding and knowledge around torture, trauma and violence among Swedish health professionals." It is quite sad that these migrants cannot access health services as there is a cultural barrier which in all earnest could be ignorance on the part of the health care workers as who should be doing all they can to serve all those in need as healthcare is important to the process of human development. Coming closer to home in South Africa, migrants` lack of access to healthcare can be attributed to lack of knowledge among educators about the rights of unaccompanied minors as well as xenophobia against them (Save the Children UK Report, 2007). South Africa as aforementioned is no stranger xenophobic attacks, feelings of hatred and discrimination are part of the bigger picture; and it is partly this reason that has seen large numbers of children not enrolled in school, this is worst in Musina and surrounding areas but is also of great concern in Komatipoort (IOM, 2009). It should be noted that this is in contrast to the principles of the ACRWC and the CRC as access to education is a basic right that every child regardless of race, sex or nationality should be accorded with. The well being of immigrant children has been overlooked in the past years and thus it was therefore the aim of this study to determine whether unaccompanied children from Zimbabwe who cross over to Botswana were accessing social and healthcare services as the IOM report largely focused on migrant children in South Africa.

2.4.4 Child labour/Exploitation

Migration can be an important determinant for child labour as evidenced by the estimates provided by ILO. It is estimated that around the world an estimated 215 million boys and girls are engaged in child labour (ILO, 2010). According to ILO (2010), most international independent child migration is undocumented or irregular as children of working age tend to have few legal channels through which to migrate; this exposes children to additional dangers in transit and creates a dependency on adults, who may take advantage of children's vulnerability and dependency to abuse and/or exploit them. Due to the fact that most of the unaccompanied children do not possess legal travel documents and cannot obtain work permits due to their age, recruiters and employers take advantage of these children`s desperate circumstances to exploit them in all kinds of work. In a study of Argentina, Chile and South Africa carried out by Yacub (2009), it was discovered that independent migrant children over the age of 15 were more likely to be working than dependant migrant children. These children were found to be working in agriculture, domestic work, and the urban informal economy, often in hazardous conditions and exposed to great risk of exploitation and abuse, (ILO, 2010) and where girls are concerned the issue of prostitution was a major violation to their rights. Botswana has ratified the ACRWC, CRC, ILO child labour conventions and there are policies on child labour that include ILO Decent Work Country Programme (2011-2017) and National Action Plan against child labour (ILO, 2016). Despite the existence child labour legislation in Botswana, child migrants are involved in child labour and having their rights grossly violated. It is from this point of view that the study sought to examine the experiences of unaccompanied children in child labour or exploitation and employ their voices in how they deal with the challenges that they face during the process.

2.4.5 Assaults and torture

According to a report by UNICEF (2017), of the African women and children who use Libya as a route to reach Europe fleeing war, violence and poverty, many get detained in Libya where security is precarious, living conditions are hard and violence is commonplace. In a survey carried out by the International Organization for Cooperation and Emergency Aid (IOCEA) in one Libyan detention centre, there were reports of migrant children experiencing violence, torture and harassment at the hands of adults. However, this survey only focused on the assaults and torture that migrant children faced when they were only in transit (Libya) to Europe, whereas

this study focused on the violence and torture that migrant children faced on their journey, in settlement areas and upon deportation by Botswana immigration officials.

2.5 Legislation

2.5.1 Global level legislation

In order to understand the abundance of the existing legislation concerning children`s rights, their protection and safeguarding one needs to first look at the legislation from a global level going to continental level and finally legislation that concerns Zimbabwean children.

Palmary (2009) refers to the Convention on the Rights of the Child which states that all children are given equal status regardless of their nationality. The CRC requires the state to:

➢ Take appropriate measures to promote the inherent right to life and ensure the survival and development;
➢ Take appropriate measures to protect all children from any form of discrimination;
➢ Take appropriate measures to protect all children from all forms of maltreatment perpetrated by parents or others responsible for their care and undertake preventative and treatment programmes in this regard.

Of particular focus to migrant children are the provisions that have been accorded to refugee children which require the state to:

➢ Take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee, receives appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance;
➢ Assist such a child to trace parents and family and where possible arrange unification with the family; and
➢ In cases where no parents or other family members can be found, the child should be accorded the same protection as any other child permanently or temporarily deprived of his or her family environment for any reason.

Other international legislation of relevance include:

➢ The UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees
➢ The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

> International Labour Organisation Convention 182 on Child Labour
> The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime

2.5.2 Continental legislation

Drawing its tenets on the CRC, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child specifies that every child is entitled to benefit from the rights and freedoms as recognized by the ACRWC "regardless of his or her race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status" (Article 3).

The ACRWC recognizes rights which are of particular interest to this study:

Article 15 states that:
> Children should be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with their physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development.

Article 16 states that:
> Children should be protected from all forms of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment and especially physical or mental injury or abuse, neglect or maltreatment including sexual abuse.

Article 17 states that:
> Every child accused or found guilty of having broken the law should receive special treatment, and no child who is imprisoned or should be tortured or otherwise mistreated.

Where the ACRWC is concerned, parents and those responsible for children should always act in the best interest of the child, this is the fundamental basis of uplifting children`s rights.

2.5.3 Country specific legislation – Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, the problem of child migration is on the rise. Despite policies and legislation being formulated by the government to ensure that there is regulation of the entry and departure of persons from Zimbabwe (Immigration Act 4:02), illegal border crossing is still a menace in the country. The undocumented child migrants make it a habit to use undesignated crossing points to gain access out of Zimbabwe and into Botswana. Furthermore, despite the existence of statutory

instruments that safeguard and protect children from abuse and exploitation such as the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, the Parlemo Protocols of 2000 and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, unaccompanied child migrants face abuse and exploitation during the cross border process, during their stay in the host country and upon deportation.

Zimbabwe ratified both the UNCRC and the ACRWC in 1992 and 1995 respectively, although the ACRWC only came into force in 1999 (MoPSLSW, 2008). The ratification of the UNCRC by Zimbabwe shows its commitment to giving children a voice in decisions affecting them and to raise children's awareness about the UNCRC and their rights (Faneli, 2006).

The key legislation pertaining to child protection and safeguarding of their rights include but are not limited to:

- ➢ The Children`s Act (Chapter 5:06)
- ➢ The Guardianship of Minors Act (Chapter 5.08)
- ➢ The Maintenance Act (Chapter 5:09) which emphasizes children's rights and their best interests and care (UN OCHA, 2011)
- ➢ The Education Act (Chapter 25:04)

In line with the above legislation, the constitution of Zimbabwe is also fundamental in protecting and safeguarding children`s rights. The constitution of Zimbabwe which was in use just after the country attained its independence in 1980 has been criticized by the child rights sector for not being child friendly, it only included civil and political rights in issues to do with governance (Lincoln University, 2017). The disgruntlements were prompted by the fact that the bill of rights which is enshrined in the constitution did nothing to protect children. However, the constitution now contains articles and sections in the Bill of Rights that promote the well-being of children and which can be used to fulfill children's rights, it emphasizes the plight of the children and the actions being taken in the best interest of the child (Tschudin, 2014). The existence of the Zimbabwe legal framework reflects the state`s ambition to protect and safeguard children`s rights as also reflected by the amendments made to the constitution. Most important to this study are the constitutional right to life, survival and development (article 6), legal obligations of state parties for all unaccompanied or separated children in their territory and measures for their

implementation, non-discrimination (article 2), implementing all policies, strategies and solutions that are in coherence with the best interest of the child and ensuring that children are protected in all aspects of life i.e in social, political and economic spheres.

2.5.4 Addressing a paradox? Increase in protection vis-à-vis gaps in implementation

It should be noted that whilst there is a profusion of existing legislation on child rights protection and safeguarding as explained above, adherence and practice of the laws by duty bearers is impaired. Palmary (2009) gives an example within the South African context noting that unaccompanied child migrants faced quite a number of problems such as severely constrained access to basic health and education and this heightened their vulnerability and exposed them to violence and abuse. Palmary (2009) indicated that whilst there was good legislation in place, poor implementation results in increased vulnerability especially when children migrate independent of parents or guardians, exposing them to the risk of heightened abuse as a result of a range of sources that include work conditions, violence, human rights and child rights violations. The same sentiments are shared by Feijen (2009) when she recognizes that even within the European context, illegal migration results in increased violence and exploitation towards children. With the passing of time, nine years later (2018) one is able to reassess the status quo. There has been an increase in legislation as evidenced by the above, amendments even (for example the Constitution of Zimbabwe), all in a bid to increase the protection of children`s rights and yet the problem of abuse and exploitation of unaccompanied migrant children is still persistent. Palmary (2009) attributes this "paradox" to both a lack of knowledge and intervention capacity on the part of NGO`s, along with a lack of access to government and state services. More so, for a long time children`s voices in the migration discourse have been stifled as they have been perceived to be travelling with family, in situations where children have migrated autonomously, research has focused on adults responding on behalf of the children. This is problematic in that the active roles and migration experiences of children are overlooked, resulting in only a partial understanding of migration processes, children`s experiences, the decision making process (Dobson, 2009) and this is tantamount to gaps in the implementation process of legislation. It is thus important to challenge the problem of adult centrism, focus on research with children rather than on children because in this way, nation states, societies, NGO`s and international organizations can understand and shape policies according to the magnitude of the problem as experienced by unaccompanied child migrants and not as perceived

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through adult lenses. Anything for the children without the involvement of the children works against the children.

2.6 Contributions of the study

Much of the existent literature on migration tends to focus on family migration and adult migration whilst neglecting the independent migration of children. Children have often been viewed as passive and their role in migration has been undermined as children are mostly viewed to be migrating as part of a family. Where little research has focused on children, their voices have been muted to the background whilst parents and guardians speak on their behalf. This study focused on the children themselves, incorporating their voices and their experiences in a context where the assumption 'children should be seen and not heard' still hold (Lansdown, 2001). Many studies in this area of research have mainly focused on adults as the main respondents to interviews whilst the voice of the child has been stifled. Incorporating children`s voices is instrumental as it is only children themselves who are better positioned to tell their own story than anyone else. It was therefore the aim of this study to challenge this problem of adult centrism by incorporating the voices of children and their "lived" experiences during the migration process. As aforementioned, to address the paradox of heightened protection and legislation juxtaposed on the increased vulnerability on account of implementation challenges, there is need to conduct research with children rather than on children so that the magnitude of child abuse and exploitation can be effectively and efficiently tackled by duty bearers.

In line with the above, instead of viewing children as passive and timid when it comes to making decisions concerning their lives, the study incorporated children`s agency as a way of challenging the traditional norm that children are dependent on their parents and guardians for survival. Children demonstrate their independence by choosing to leave home and making the arduous journey to Botswana all in a bid to change and renegotiate the structure of their lives as dictated by the socio economic and political environments, adults, families, tradition and laws. However, in as much as the study views children as active agents, it seeks to strike a balance on the issue of agency and protection and safeguarding of children`s rights. Children`s agency does not mean children ought to be treated as miniature adults but rather their rights need to be protected during the migration process as it exposes them to heightened abuse and exploitation.

Apart from this, the study goes on further to explore the alternative courses of action taken by children upon deportation. Most literature that has been reviewed tends to focus on the migration process only neglecting the after deportation process. The study answers the "then what?' question in trying to understand how children foster their agency upon being deported by immigration authorities. This is important in that it gives policy makers, NGO`s and all duty bearers a greater move to strengthen child protection in terms of collaboration and coordination whilst mainstreaming and promoting awareness and advocacy concerning child protection issues.

In line with the above, unaccompanied child migration issues pertaining to Plumtree have not been thoroughly exhausted in the existing literature. Most research has focused on Beitbridge border post with children destined for South Africa, there is very little research concerning Plumtree border post. Thus, the researcher seeks to add to the existing body of knowledge pertaining to migration of unaccompanied children by focusing on Plumtree.

2.7 Summary

The review of related literature looked at key concepts regarding child migration. The debates surrounding childhood and its constituting concepts, the nature of migration and its patterns including that of gender were discussed. This chapter has compared this research study and what other researchers have done in relation to unaccompanied child migration. The legislation guiding children's rights from global level down to country specific legislation in this context, Zimbabwe was looked at. The researcher looked paradoxical issues pertaining to legislation and the preflight conditions for children before migration. It has shown how this research has filled the gap in relation to unaccompanied children`s reasons, experiences and challenges that other researchers have not been able to fulfill. This knowledge enabled the researcher to tackle this study with an in-depth analysis and insight as it provided a broad and wider context of the issue of unaccompanied children`s migration. The next chapter will look at the methods that will be ideal and relevant for data collection for this study, which is research methodology.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the processes used to collect data for this study. It outlines the study population, sampling, design plan, administration of the data gathering tools, response rate achieved and ethical considerations used in this study. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods to achieve a mixed methodology approach. This approach was used to discover the reasons why children leave their homes to embark on the migration journey, ascertain which reasons outweighed the others, examining the experiences of these children during the migration process and how they deal with the challenges that they face during the while migration process.

3.1 Research design

Mixed Research

Research design is the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the pertinent and achievable empirical research (van Wyk, 2012). Carriger (2000) describes a research design as the strategy, the plan, and the structure of conducting a research project. In trying to define research design, van Wyk states that the research design articulates what data is required, what methods are going to be used to collect and analyse this data, and how all of this is going to answer the research question. Thus the central role of research design is to minimize the chance of drawing incorrect casual inferences from data and ensure that the data collected answers the research question as unambiguously as possible.

It is with this in mind that the research employs the use of a mixed method research design which combines both qualitative and quantitative research. Qualitative research can be defined as empirical research where the data are not in the form of numbers (Punch, 1998) whilst quantitative research is a means of explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analyzed using mathematically based methods, statistics in particular (Aliaga & Gunderson, 2000).

3.1.2 Mixed methods

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al., 2007). According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), the role of mixed methods research is not to replace either qualitative or quantitative research but rather to draw from the strengths and minimize weaknesses of both in a single research. This means that mixed methods research creates a hybrid or superior research through its methodological pluralism, a hybrid research method that captures every important detail in a study thereby extending the knowledge base through producing data that is coherent and highly accurate. Mixed methods research as the third research paradigm can also help bridge the schism between quantitative and qualitative research (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004). It is this type of research that this study used in discovering the reasons for unaccompanied children`s migration from Zimbabwe to Botswana, at the same time detailing their experiences during the migration process.

3.1.3 Justification for choice of research method

According to de Waal (2001), the logic of inquiry for mixed methods research includes the use of induction (discovery of patterns), deduction (testing of theories or hypotheses) and abduction (uncovering and relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one`s results). In order to determine the reasons for migration and whether children are still largely migrating due to economic reasons, the researcher had to employ this logic to test this hypothesis. More so, as it is the aim of this research to attract NGO`s, donors and policymakers to make a call for effective, efficiently practical child protection and safeguarding policies, mixed methods research gives higher credibility with the former as it provides an expansive, creative and pluralistic research that gives an insight into the worlds of children as per their experiences. Mixed methods research rejects dogmatism; it is an attempt to legitimate the use of multiple approaches in answering research questions, rather than restricting or constraining researchers' choices (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In this study, the qualitative data was used to enrich the descriptions generated by the quantitative data and thus creating a wholesome picture of the experiences of unaccompanied child migrants in Plumtree. The focus of this study was based on applied research with the intention to generalize the findings of this study to a particular context, in this

case the unaccompanied migration of children so that conclusions to inform decision making could be drawn. By fusing qualitative with quantitative research the study incorporated a scale of things, statistics and numbers to assess the extensity of the problem of unaccompanied children`s migration crossing borders, which is what is needed in ensuring sustainable development as it is difficult for programmes and policies to be initiated without a scale of things or determining the threat level of any problem in society, lest it becomes development in reverse.

3.2 Target population

The targeted population comprised of children at Plumtree Reception and Support Centre and two key informants. Preliminary investigations suggested that the centre assisted 15 children on monthly average although the centre`s busiest months are usually from October to March suggesting that the centre assists more than 15 children during those months. The researcher using this information thus targeted at least 18 children for the month of February. Two key informants, one from the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, particularly the Child Welfare department and one from Save the Children were chosen as part of targeted population. The social worker was chosen as she works closely with the deported children at PRSC especially as she provides psychosocial support to the children. The key informant from Save the Children was chosen as he had worked with migrant children on the cross border project and had information regarding the experiences of children from Zimbabwe who had migrated to Botswana.

3.3 Sampling and Sampling Technique

3.3.1 Sample size

The primary research involved children at the Plumtree Reception and Support centre in Bulilima and a key informant respondent who was a social worker from the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare. The social worker assisted in identifying participants for this study. A total of eighteen children were interviewed and their age range was from 11 to 18 years. This is not to say that there are no children younger than 11 years of age that migrate to Botswana unaccompanied but at the time that this research was carried out, that is the age range of the children that were being assisted at the centre.

3.3.2 Purposive sampling

The study employed purposive sampling in order to fulfill the qualitative part of the research design with a specific focus on homogenous sampling. In purposeful sampling, participants are selected or sought after based on pre-selected criteria based on the research question (Patton, 1990). Homogenous sampling aims to achieve a homogenous sample that is a sample whose units (e.g., people, cases, etc.) share the same or very similar characteristics or traits for example, a group of people that are similar in terms of age, gender, background, occupation, etc (Patton, 1990). This sampling technique was relevant to this study as it sought to work with a homogenous group, in this case children (under 18 years of age) and other individuals over 18 years but who had migrated to Botswana before attaining 18 years of age who share the same characteristics in terms of migrating to Botswana from Zimbabwe and their shared experiences.

3.4.3 Probability sampling

This study employed the probability sampling technique, focusing on cluster sampling. In probability sampling, every individual in the population has the equal chance of being selected as a subject of the research (Castillo, 2009), this sampling technique was important especially when working with children so that none of the children felt left out, they all had an equal opportunity to be selected as respondents. Using probability sampling as a guide, the researcher employed cluster sampling to produce a mini reproduction of the population and strike a gender balance. In order to influence the gendered pattern of migration in this study, stratified sampling was justified as a sampling method. The table below is a demonstration of how the researcher obtained a stratified sample:

Table 1: Cluster sampling for respondents

Population	21 children in the Plumtree Reception and Support centre
Groups/Clusters	2 groups by gender i.e, male and female Female = 9 Male = 12
Obtain a Simple Random Sample, in this case the lottery method	8 children from each of the 2 groups
Sample	8 x 2 = 16 selected children

Thus from the table above, the children were put into two groups referred to as clusters in accordance to their gender, the researcher then *randomly* sampled the population in each cluster using the lottery method where the children had to write their names on pieces of paper and drop them in a hat, the researcher then picked the names from the hat and resultantly the names picked were used for the participants of the research, coming up with eight children which amounted to sixteen respondents after multiplying the number by the two groups. These sixteen respondents were used to fill in the questionnaires during data collection.

3.4.4 Purposive sampling

In choosing the two respondents for collecting qualitative data, the researcher used two case studies to explicitly narrate the experiences of children and these included one from a male perspective and one from a female perspective. The researcher used purposive sampling in picking out the respondents for the two cases used for qualitative data. Purposive sampling was used for the purpose of picking out respondents that had been previously not selected for questionnaires so as to avoid repetition but at the same time capturing data that could possibly have been overlooked or missed by the questionnaires. The researcher ended up using two case studies which gave insight into the unaccompanied migration journey from a gendered perspective.

3.4.5 Convenience sampling

In the case of the key informants, the researcher used convenience sample as the social worker and the programmes manager from Save the Children were the best probable candidates for this study as they interact and work with the deported children a lot often offering the repatriated children counseling and psycho social support, therefore, the social worker from the department of child welfare and the programmes manager from Save the Children were *conveniently* selected as the key informant respondent.

3.5 Data collection methods and instruments

3.5.1 Quantitative method

Data Collection methods

> ➢ Semi structured questionnaire

- ➢ Semi structured key informant interview
- ➢ Document review

Semi structured Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a predefined series of questions used to collect data from individuals and the questionnaire design can either contain close-ended questions or open ended questions. In some cases however, the questionnaire design can include both close ended and open ended questions as was the case in this study. Closed ended questions were used so as to fulfill the quantitative part of the research design. Advantages of using a questionnaire include that of standardization as every respondent is asked the same question in the same way, efficient and cost effective way of gathering data from a large number of people and obviously issues of confidentiality and privacy especially when it comes to exploring embarrassing and sensitive areas such as sexual and criminal matters (Castillo, 2009), in this case, abuse and exploitation of minors during their unaccompanied migration process from Zimbabwe to Botswana.

When making use of questionnaires, the researcher can either use postal questionnaire method where the respondents fill in the questionnaires without the researcher`s aid or the respondents can complete the questionnaire in the researcher`s presence with the researcher providing clarity where necessary as was the case in this study. This research employed both open ended and closed ended questions; closed ended questions came in handy when exploring demographic trends, sex, migration trends and other motivators for the child migration phenomenon. Semi structured Key Informant InterviewThe study made use of an in-depth key informant interview to get opinions from an important stakeholder who is a social worker in the department of social services under the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. The researcher used a semi structured interview guide with open ended and closed ended questions to gather data concerning unaccompanied child migration.

Document review

Document review is an unobtrusive data collection method which is non reactive (Robson, 2002). The documents may be internal to a program, organization, government institutions and they may be produced in relation to a particular area of concern. The researcher requested permission on documents regarding deported unaccompanied children at the Plumtree Reception and Support Centre. The researcher hoped to find and have access to several documents that had

the relevant information she needed from the period 2010 to date but she was only given reports and program logs that dated back to 2015. The supplied documents enabled the researcher to get the information needed regarding statistics on deported unaccompanied children. The documents had some of the information that the researcher needed and it was also complemented by the interview with the key informant.

3.7.2 Qualitative method
> Semi structured questionnaire
> Semi structured key informant interview
> In depth case studies

Semi structured questionnaire

The researcher used this type of instrument as this research was based on the triangulation research design. Open ended questions assisted in prompting for further discussions and making follow up questions. The researcher probed the children in order to seek further clarity, more information, and meaning out of the responses they provided. Burgess (1984) acknowledges that open ended questions can be used to ask people about their attitudes, past, present, or future, behaviour, feelings, perceptions and other emotions. This was essential in order to examine children`s migration experiences against the backdrop of a myriad of abuse and exploitation that children are exposed to during the migration process.

Semi structured key informant interview

The semi structured interview allowed the researcher to gather in depth data, probe for clarification and deeper understanding of the study at hand. The in-depth interview encouraged the respondent to express her views at length and allowed the researcher to obtain more detailed information on the current trends, patterns and statistics concerning unaccompanied child migration of irregular child migration. This particular key informant was chosen as she works closely with the deported children at Plumtree reception centre and had a vast knowledge regarding the phenomenon of unaccompanied child migration.

In-depth case studies

The study made use of two in depth case studies using two respondents, a male and a female respondent through an unstructured interview. This was done so as to contextualize the gendered

aspect of unaccompanied children`s migration to ascertain whether boys and girls have the same opportunities when it comes to migration and also have a close up look at the whole phenomenon itself. Yin (1984) defines the case study research method "as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used." The informal and unstructured questions did not constrain children to pre determined responses but rather allowed them to discuss and raise issues that the researcher may not have considered whilst allowing the researcher to prompt for further discussion and probe further the responses that the children provided to seek clarity and meaning out of these responses. According to Zaidah (2007), case study research allows the exploration and understanding of complex issues and can be considered a robust research method particularly when a holistic, in-depth investigation is required. When working with children, the researcher found it necessary and important to employ this research method so as to incorporate the voices of children, observe their emotions, ascertain their feelings during data gathering with face to face interviews and explain the complexities of the phenomenon which might not have been captured by questionnaires, here data is examined at a micro level. Case study research is a recognized tool in social science research and its role in research becomes more prominent when issues with regard to community-based problems (Johnson, 2006), such as poverty, unemployment, drug addiction, illiteracy and in this case unaccompanied child migration are raised. Through the case studies, the researcher was able to understand the behavioral conditions through the children`s perspectives and the case study helped to explain both the process and outcome of unaccompanied child migration through observation, reconstruction and analysis of both the male and female cases that were investigated.

3.4 Research Area

Plumtree is a small town that is in-between Bulilima and Mangwe districts. Formerly it was known as Bulilimamangwe district until in 2002 the government decided to split it as it was then considered to be too expansive and administratively cumbersome a district. Plumtree is located in Bulilima district in Matabeleland South province, about 100 km, by road, southwest of Bulawayo, the nearest large city and 500km from Harare the capital city. Plumtree was chosen because of the frequency of deportations that take place from Botswana on a daily basis. Whilst Beitbridge remains the busiest and biggest border post in Zimbabwe, many migration studies

have tended to focus more on Beitbridge whilst neglecting Plumtree and this prompted the researcher to focus on Plumtree border post as a case study. Deportation is the process of returning back irregular migrants from another country or those that would have finished serving jail terms for various crimes in those receiving countries. At Plumtree border post, deportees from Botswana are left at the Reception and Support centre. IOM partnered with the government of Zimbabwe in its efforts to assist undocumented migrants especially those repatriated from Botswana, these efforts resulted in the establishment of the Plumtree Reception and Support Centre in May 2008.it was only in 2015 that the government decided to take over from IOM and since then, the centre falls under the administration of the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare while the department of Child Welfare and Probation Services plays a leading role. The centre was established as a `soft landing` for deportees from Botswana as it provides humanitarian assistance to deportees including food and shelter. The Plumtree Reception and Support Centre provides interim care, protection, psycho social support and medical assistance to deported unaccompanied children from Botswana until they are finally reunified with their families. It was during the children`s waiting period for reunification with parents and guardians and subsequent reintergration into society that the researcher took the opportunity to conduct interviews with the children.

3.5 Getting access to the field

In the field, gaining access to children can be a frustrating bureaucratic process; the researcher used a less stringent and shorter channel to gain access to the children at the Reception and Support centre. The researcher had worked at Zimbabwe National Council for the Welfare of Children which partnered with Save the Children Zimbabwe and Terres de homes on the Destination Unknown project in 2016 which focused on the migration of children and thus the researcher utilized personal contacts within the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, especially the department of Child Welfare to gain access to the children at the centre. The researcher also capitalized on the project conducted by ZNCWC in Plumtree to gain access to the field in terms of logistics and transport.

3.6 Data Processing and Analysis

The quantitative data from the semi structured questionnaires was coded and a master sheet was prepared before the researcher collected the data. After the data had been collected, the

researcher went through the data so as to screen the data and mark the codes for all the variables before entering the data into the master sheet using SPSS programme. Frequency tables were generated and made between relevant variables. The outputs that were derived from SPSS were the ones used to discuss the findings of this study.

Where qualitative data was concerned, the data from the questionnaires and interviews was edited to get a clear and coherent transcription of the respondents` experiences. Data was analysed with the intention of classifying emerging themes so that meaningful data could be constructed. Discussion of the findings was done in regards to the literature review and the data that was reviewed from the documents and participants of this research.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The researcher committed to minimize as much as possible the risks (psychological, social, or physical) associated with the research. The children were reaffirmed that information discussed during the interviews will be kept as confidential as possible and at no point in time will this information be discussed with their parents, guardians, friends or anyone without their consent. Sarantakos (2005) states that "ethical standards are an integral part of any research design" and hence the following were considered when it came to the ethical point of view of the research:

i.   Informed Consent

Children that participated in this research did so out of their own free will and were not coerced or forced to do. The researcher explained to the children that they were free to refuse to partake in the research if they did not feel comfortable.

ii.   Confidentiality

The researcher explained to the respondents that the information they provided was confidential and at no point would it be divulged to their parents, guardians or friends.

Iii. Privacy

The researcher made use of pseudonyms for children`s names so as to maintain their right to privacy and protect their identity.

After going through all the ethical issues with the children, the researcher interviewed the children in an office that was allocated by the staff at the Centre.

3.8 Summary

This chapter looked at the methodologies that were used in carrying out this research that is both qualitative and quantitative methods. The research methods used and justifications for the choice of method was given. The chapter discussed the sample size and sampling methods used in collecting data, the research area where the researcher collected data and the target population. It is in this chapter that all the procedures used in collecting data for this research were discussed. The following chapter looks at data presentation, analysis and discussions.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter reflects the findings that were found in Plumtree during data collection. The data that was collected is presented in this chapter in line with the research objectives that are outlined in chapter one. The findings are presented using mixed research methods as previously highlighted in chapter three. This chapter will firstly give a summary of the respondents` characteristics as depicted through the socio-demographic data. The researcher will proceed to present findings from respondents as well as the key informant so as to fulfill the objectives of the study. A critical analysis will be made from the findings of this research in order to make this section complete.

4.1 Research Participants

A total of 19 respondents took part in the research under semi structured questionnaires, semi structured and unstructured interviews for data collection. Of the 19 respondents, 16 children filled out the questionnaires, 2 children took part in the case study interviews and 1 key informant was interviewed. The next table shall present data in numerals in relation to the research participants at Plumtree border Reception and Support Centre.

Table 2: Research participants   N=19

Research Instruments	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Questionnaires	16	84.2	84.2
Case studies	2	10.5	10.5
Semi structured interview (Key informant)	1	5.3	5.3
Total	19	100	100

Source: *Field Research 2018*

Table 2 presents the number of respondents from Plumtree Reception and Support Centre. The researcher managed to get 19 respondents who provided the data that was needed to carry out this research. The high percentage participation of the respondents was due to the fact that the researcher fully explained to the ethics of privacy and that the research was for academic

purposes. More so, the researcher produced the university letter to get access to the field and used personal contacts within the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare to check when the centre had admitted deported children from Botswana, this aided the researcher to plan accordingly so that the field visit would not be futile. The researcher was thus able to get the much needed participants for this study from the Reception and Support Centre.

4.2 Response Rate

As aforementioned, the research accommodated 19 respondents, of which 18 were children at the Reception and Support Centre in Plumtree. The researcher had initially targeted 18 children in the Bulilima area not particularly the Reception and Support Centre but however, preliminary research showed that this would be a difficult and time consuming task to locate households that had cross border children who had been deported, the researcher thus opted to look for respondents at the centre which accommodates deported children as they await reunification with their parents/guardians and reintergration into the society. The researcher managed to interview all 18 children, with 16 filling out questionnaires and 2 interviewed cases of the research. Where key informants are concerned, the researcher had initially targeted 2 key informants, 1 immigration officer and 1 form the ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare. The researcher managed to only interview the later as on both accounts that the researcher visited the border post, immigration officers were extremely busy. The researcher ended up interviewing the social worker from the department of Child Welfare within the ministry as she interacted with children on a day to day basis and provided psychosocial support to the deported children. The table below gives an outline of the response rate achieved for this research:

Table 3: Response Rate Achieved

Respondents as per Research instrument	Targeted Respondents	Responded	Response Rate
Questionnaires	16	16	100%
Case studies	2	2	100%
Key informant interviews	2	1	50%
TOTAL	20	19	95%

Source: *Field Data 2018*

4.3 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

The purpose of this section was to gather the necessary information regarding the respondents that participated in this research at Plumtree Reception and Support Centre through their profiles. Profiling of respondents was done in conjunction with age, sex, level of education, whether children were orphans or not, state of migration (first time or repeat migrant) and sending towns. The researcher used some of the profile features of the respondents to examine and analyze the phenomenon of unaccompanied children`s migration.

4.3.1 Characteristic 1: Age distribution

Age distribution was an important characteristic to this research as it enabled the researcher to analyze the kind of information that was brought out of this research. This characteristic was also important as this research was focusing on children and as defined before by the ACRWC and the CRC, 18 years is the cut off from being a child to an adult. It is paramount to note that 4 of the respondents had already reached 18 years by the time this research was carried out but they took part in the research as they had migrated to Botswana before they reached 18 years. This, these respondent were beneficial to the collection of data for the purposes of this research. The table below shows the age distribution of the respondents:
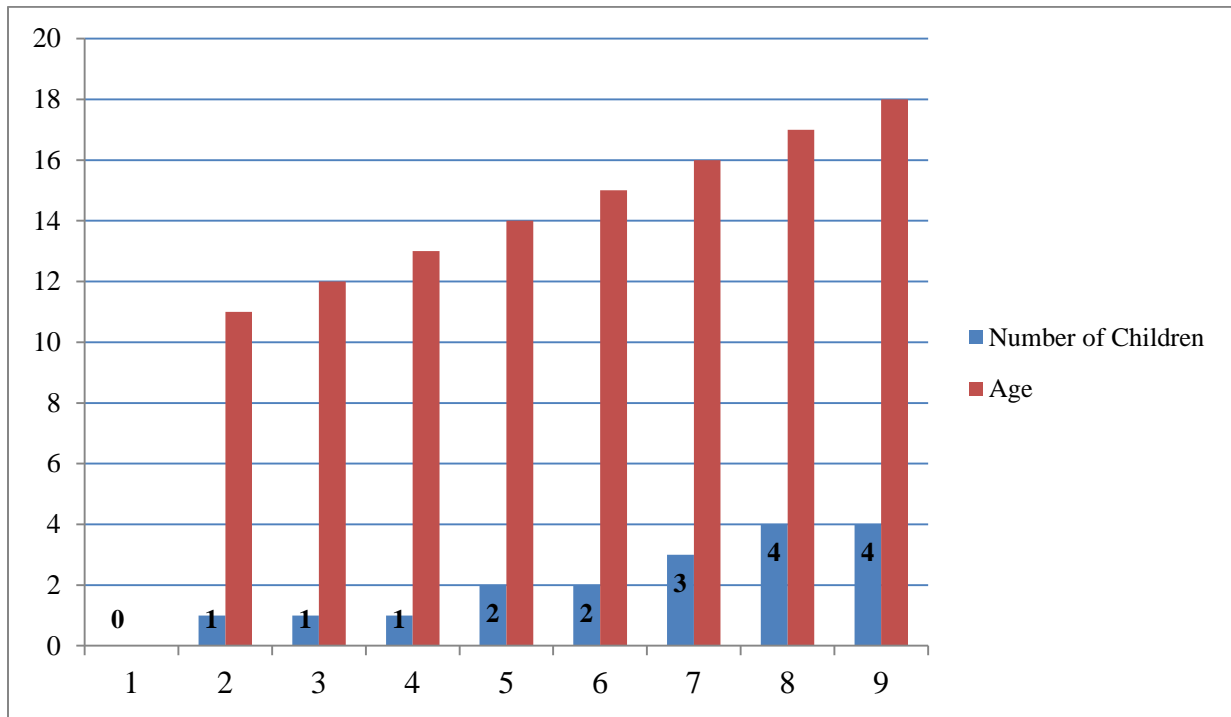
Source: *Field Data 2018*

From the age distribution shown by the above table, it is evident that as the age increases, the chances of migrating among children also increase. Younger children`s rate of migrating independent of their parents or guardians is much lower than that of older children as shown by the graph which steadily increases as the age of children increases. This is because younger children`s agency to migrate is usually overshadowed by the fact that they still feel young and are heavily dependent on their parents or guardians for their welfare. This is in contrast to the older children between 15 and 18 years who feel older and a need to contribute to the family`s livelihood since the family also depend on them to "bring something to the table" for the family`s sustenance. It is evident from the above table that 89% of all the children were between the ages of 13 and 18, suggesting that the likelihood of participating in unaccompanied migration increases with the onset of adolescence. It was noted that children from the ages of 1 to 12 years old accounted for 11% of the respondents and this is because it is particularly difficult for these younger children to travel unaccompanied while conversely the older children are able to travel in the company of friends or even alone.

4.3.2 Characteristic 2: Sex of respondents

It was very important for the researcher to strike level of gender balance between the respondents for this research thus the researcher included 18 children in this research, 9 male and 9 female respectively. The purpose of this was to get an insight into the gendered patterns of migration among unaccompanied children. The table below shows the sex of the respondents:

Table 4: Sex of respondents   N=20

Sex	Questionnaires	Case studies	Key informant	Total
Male	8	1	1	10
Female	8	1	1	10
Total	16	2	2	20

Source: *Field Data 2018*

The table above shows the number of participants who took part in the study according to sex. At the time of the research, the children had just been deported and were awaiting reunification with their parents and guardians and reintergration into their respective communities. It should be noted that although migration of girls is something that is usually staunchly frowned upon, the availability of female respondents that equated to male respondents shows that girls are defying the conventional thinking that girls ought to be confined to the private sphere and have since joined their male counterparts in the quest for self betterment and diversifying their livelihoods through migration.

4.3.4 Characteristic 3: Level of education

As part of the socio demographic section, the research required respondents to indicate their level of education so as have insightful views into the whole phenomenon of unaccompanied migration. Below is a graph showing the levels of education acquired by the participants of this research:

Figure 2 above is a representation of the levels of education attained by the participants of this research. UNESCO (2001) regards education as the most effective tool that a society possesses to overcome challenges that threaten the human race. It is paramount to note that with the given age distribution of children who participated in this research, the highest level of education achieved by 22% of children was Grade 5. This is followed by a 16.7% in Grade 6 and Form 3 respectively with only 5.6% of the respondents having completed Form 4. While 66.7% of the respondents reported to have attained the highest level of education of Grade 7, only 38.9% managed to proceed to secondary education. The above proportions show that most children are dropping out of school between the period one finishes primary education and the cross over to secondary education. It should however be noted that there is no correlation between the levels of education and the attitudes of the respondents towards the unaccompanied migration phenomena. The children`s views, perceptions and attitudes in justifying their reasons for migrating were not affected or influenced by their different levels of education. More so, the

variances in levels of education showed that children were not influenced by their levels of education in order for them to migrate.

4.3.5 Characteristic 4: Single orphaned; double orphaned and parented children

Table 5: Single orphaned; double orphaned and parented children

State of children	Male	Female	Total
Single orphaned	4	3	7
Double orphaned	3	4	7
Parented	2	2	4
Total	9	9	18

Source: *Field Data 2018*

The above table shows that according to the data collected, both single and double orphaned children are migrating more than parented children. The highest numbers of migrating children are orphans and according to this data that is 38.9% respectively for both single orphaned and double orphaned children, whilst parented children who migrate unaccompanied stands at 22.2%. These proportions are better illustrated in the pie chart below:

Figure 3: Proportions of single orphaned, double orphaned and parented children who migrate
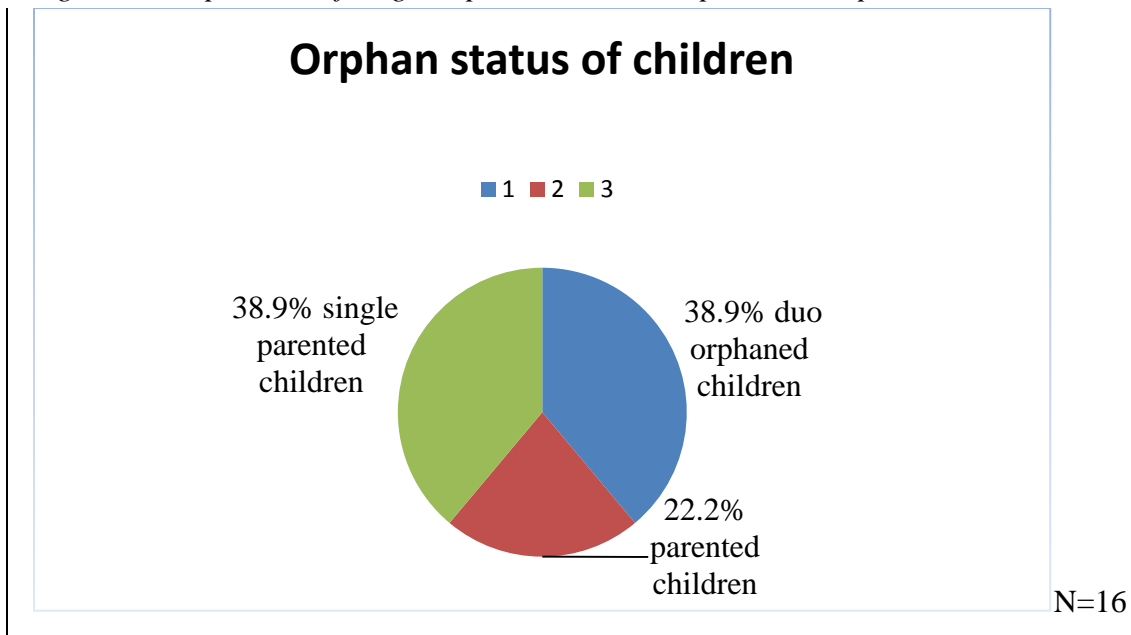
Source: *Field Data 2018*

The above pie chart reinforces the findings presented in table 5 above concerning the percentage of unaccompanied children migrating from Zimbabwe to Botswana where their state of orphan hood and being parented is concerned. It was important for the researcher to include this data as child headed families and children who have lost their parents tend to be more vulnerable economically and thus migration as a diversification strategy seems more appealing in a bid to improve their livelihoods and that of their siblings.

4.3.6 Characteristic 5: State of migration

The research had to find out the state of migration of the participants in order to determine their agency or their experience in handling the challenges that they encountered during their journey and their level of vulnerability. The table below is a representation of the children`s state of migration according to their sex:

Table 6: State of migration

State of migration	Male	Female	Total
First time	4	7	11
Repeat	5	2	7
Total	9	9	18

Source: *Field research 2018*

Given the above data in the table, it is clear that the number of combined first time migrants at 61% is higher than that of total repeat migrants which is 38.9%. However, breaking down this data according to the two gender strata, it is evident that females dominate the first time migrants' category at 64% whilst male first time migrants stand at 36%. The opposite is true for the repeat migrants' category where males in turn dominate this category with 71% whist females only contribute 29% of repeat migrants. The variations in these proportions were explained by the respondents who said males were more eager to repeat the migration journey upon being deported as they were "*vanhu vakuru vasingatye kuzviitira zvinhu zvavo vega*" (grown ups who weren't afraid to do their own things) whereas females were a bit more cautious and preferred hanging back once being deported from Botswana. Thus, from the above given data it is evident that in as much as the migration journey seems more appealing to females as evidenced by the high number in first time migrants, after experiencing the challenges associated

with migration and being exposed to abuse and exploitation, they are less willing to partake in repeat migration in contrast to the boys.

4.3.7 Characteristic 6: Top 5 child migrant sending districts

The research had to find out the highest sending towns of child migrants as this was pivotal in understanding the dynamics regarding the causes of migration. The number of migrants per district is depicted in Figure 4 below:

Figure 4: Top 5 child sending districts
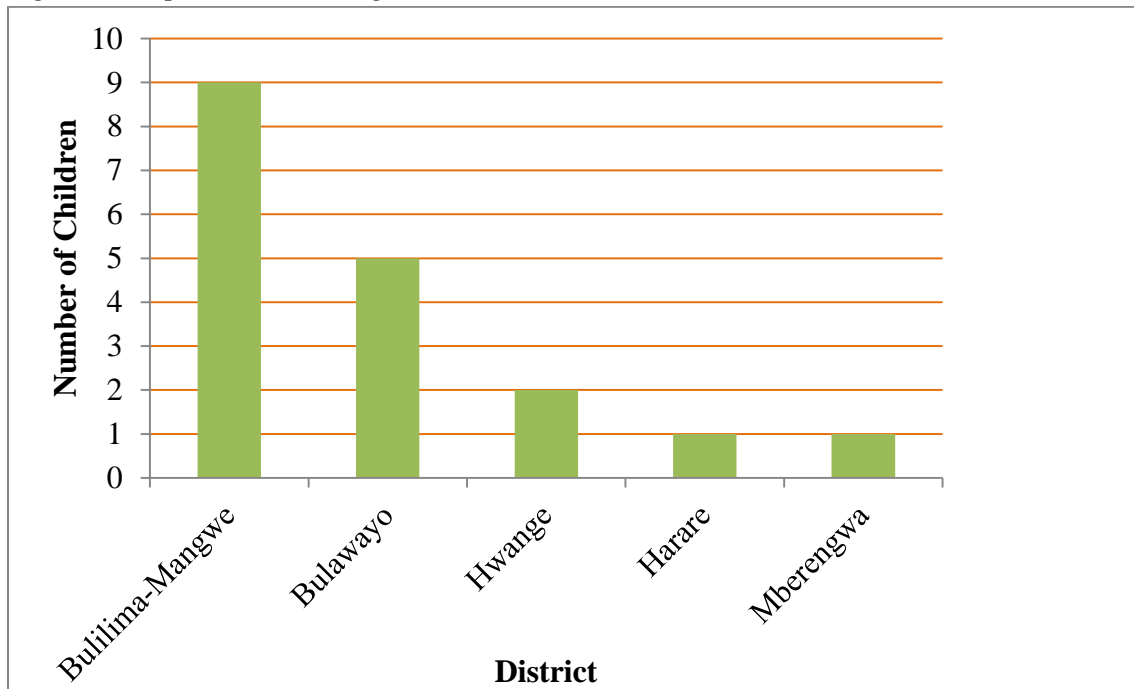
Source: *Field Data 2018*

Bulilima, Mangwe and Bulawayo are traditionally regarded as child migrant sending areas due to their proximity to Plumtree border post, the number of children per district as depicted in Figure 4 corroborates with this view. From the above data, Bulilima and Mangwe contribute 50% of the child migrants whilst Bulawayo comes second with its contribution of 28%. This is followed by Hwange which has a percentage of 11 whilst Harare and Mberengwa accounts for 5.6 percent respectively. From the above data, it can be deduced that where migration patterns are concerned, children who live in close proximity to the border are more inclined to migrate rather than those live far off the border as depicted by the small percentage contribution of Harare, the

greater the distance between the border post and the district of origin, the less likelihood of migrating.

4.4 Profile of Children supported by Plumtree Reception and Support Centre 2015 - 2017

The research as part of its data collection used secondary data in the form of reviewing documents provided by the centre. These documents included reports and program logs that dated back to 2015 which the researcher used in analyzing the trends and patterns of unaccompanied migration.

4.4.1 Total number of children supported by the PRSC by month 2015-2017

As part of the document review, the researcher used the program logs to review data concerning the number of children assisted by the centre between the period June 2015 and December 2017. The Figure below gives a representation of the data:

Figure 5: Number of Children supported by PRSC by month 2015-2017   N=453
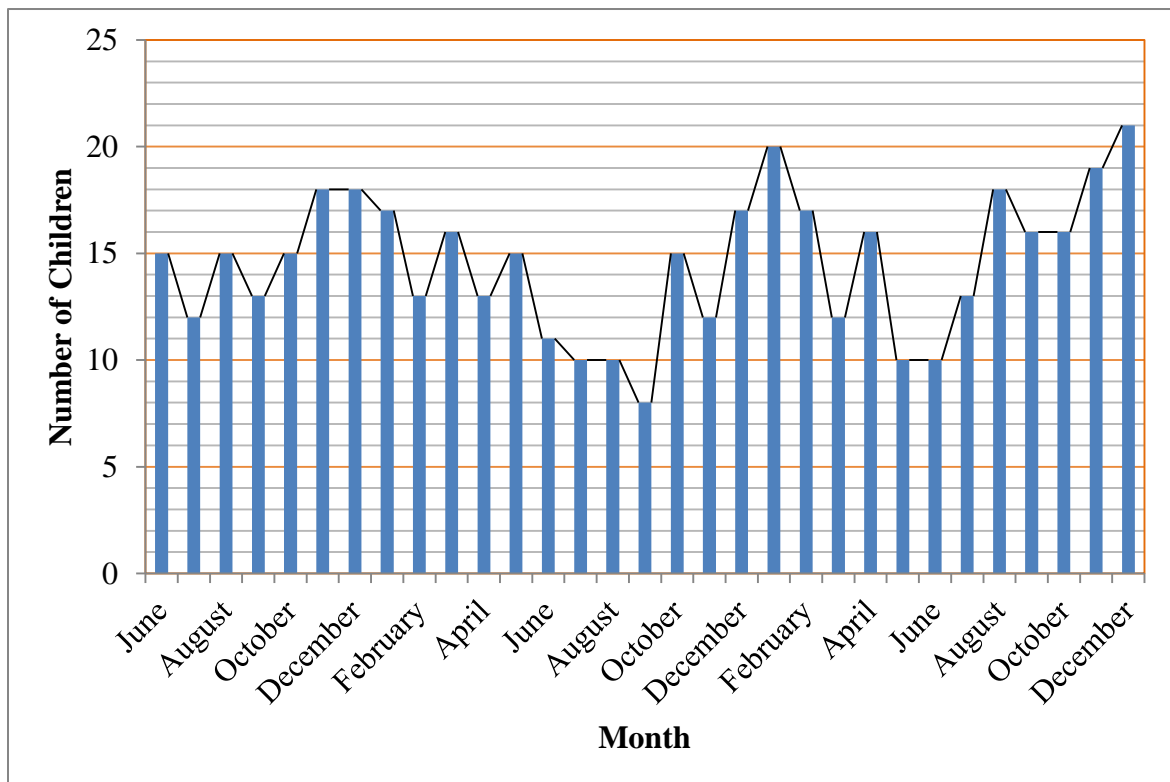
Source: *Field Data 2018*

From the above given data of children accessing the services of PRSC, it can be noted that between the period June 2015 to December 2017(31 months), the number of children supported by PRSC peaked in February and December 2017 in which a total of 20 and 21 children were catered to by the facility in those respective months. It can be noted that the majority of deported unaccompanied children cases according to the reviewed documents were handled in 2017 which recorded 42%. This is followed by 2016 which accounted for 35% of these cases whilst the lowest being recorded was 2015 which accounted for 24% of the cases handled at PRSC. In general, with the exception of 2016, the number of children supported by PRSC peaked between the months of November and January each year. Furthermore, a dramatic decrease in the number of children passing through the centre was evident from June to September 2016; this decrease was also evident between May and June of 2017.

More so, it was important to calculate the average of children that were supported by the PRSC to analyze the extensity of the unaccompanied child migration phenomenon. Using

$$A = \frac{1}{n} * \sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i$$

A=   average   (or   arithmetic   mean)
n=   the   number   of   terms   (e.g.   numbers   being   averaged)
x_1= the value of each individual item in the list of numbers being averaged

- ➢ Therefore;
  15+12+15+13+15+18+18+17+13+16+13+11+10+8+15+12+17+20+17+17+12+16+10+10+13+18+16+16+19 / 30
- ➢ 453/30
- ➢ **=15.1**

Therefore, basing on the above calculations of the arithmetic mean, the number of children supported by PRSC on a monthly average is 15. It should however be noted that in as much as the centre has these records of deported children that they cater to, it is not every child that passes through the border that falls into the hands of the PRSC. It was reported that some children upon being deported evaded being entered into the system by the child reception centre,

meaning that if strategies were put into place to place all deported children into the centre before they are reunified with their parents and reintegrated into the society, numbers could be much higher than the ones recorded here.

4.4.2 Sex of children assisted by PRSC 2015-2017

The period indicated above falls under the study period of this research thus it was important to incorporate the sex of the children supported by the centre as indicated by the program logs provided by the PRSC. The table below gives an outline of the sex of children:

Table 7: Sex of respondents by year   N=453

Year	Male	Female	Total
2015	69	39	**108**
2016	84	73	**157**
2017	91	97	**188**
Total	**244**	**209**	**453**

Source: *Field Data 2018*

Using the data given in the above table, it is evident that in all the given 3 years, the combined total of males that are assisted by the PRSC is much higher than that of females, males account for 54% of the children whilst females account for 46% of the total number of children. It is evident that females that were assisted by PRSC in 2015 was much lower than the preceding years as 2015 accounted for only 19% of the total number of females assisted by the centre in those three years. This is followed by an increase as evidenced by the 35% recorded in 2016. It is interesting to note that in as much as the total number of males surpasses that of females during the given three years, the number of females that were catered to by PRSC in 2017 is higher than that of males. With 46%, this number is slightly higher than that of males which is recorded at 37% for the same year.

More so, in comparison with the data that was collected from the participants of this research, it can be noted that the trends are slightly different in that the number of first time female migrants was higher than that of their male counterparts while the male repeat migrants' number was higher than that of females. In this particular case however, there was no indication in relation to the state of migration of the children to indicate whether this was first time or repeat migration.

4.4.3 Child migrant sending districts 2015-2017

The reviewed program logs and reports from PRSC provided information pertaining to the migrant sending districts of unaccompanied children who migrate from Zimbabwe to Plumtree. The numbers of children per district is depicted in the Figure below:

Figure 6: Child migrant sending districts 2015-2017   N=453
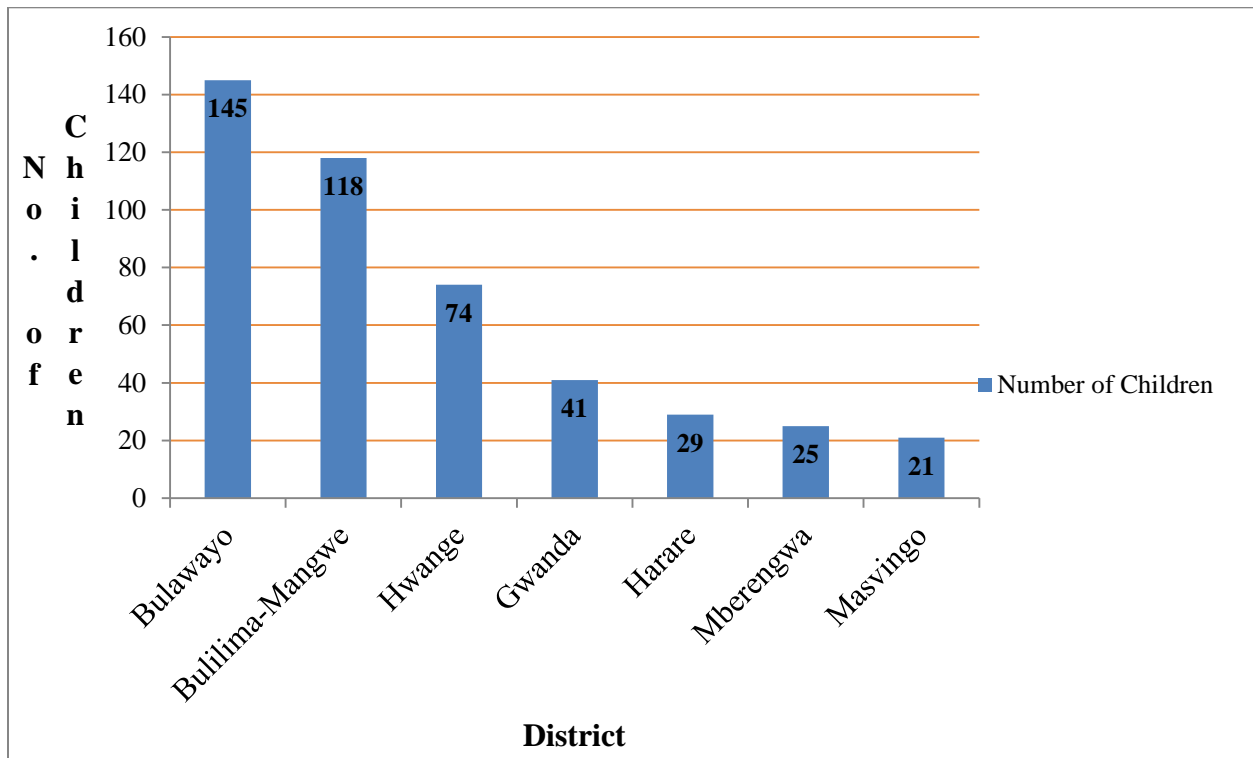
Source: *Field Data 2018*

The data that is represented in Figure 6 above clearly shows that Bulawayo, Bulilima and Mangwe district are the dominating child migrant sending districts. The three districts combined account for 58% of unaccompanied child migration to Botswana, followed by Hwange which accounts for 16% of unaccompanied children. Right in the middle of the graph there is Gwanda which accounts for 9% of child migrants whilst Harare, Mberengwa and Masvingo are at the far end and have the lowest contribution with a combined total of 17% for the three districts. This data corroborates with the findings of the interviewed respondents who indicated that most of them migrated from Bulawayo, Bulilima and Mangwe district. Thus, this data buttresses the findings of this research in that where migration of unaccompanied children in concerned,

children living in areas along and near Plumtree border post have a higher likelihood of migrating to Botswana as compared to those children who live far off the border town.

4.4.4 Age distribution of children supported by PRSC 2015-2017

The researcher had to find out the ages of migrating children according to the records that were provided by the PRSC as this would in turn inform the study as to the level of vulnerability in the challenges that the children faced and ascertain whether the age distribution in migration in those three years was still existent using the given ages of the respondents of this research. The chart below is a representation of the age distribution:

Figure 7: Age distribution of children supported by PRSC 2015-2017   N=453
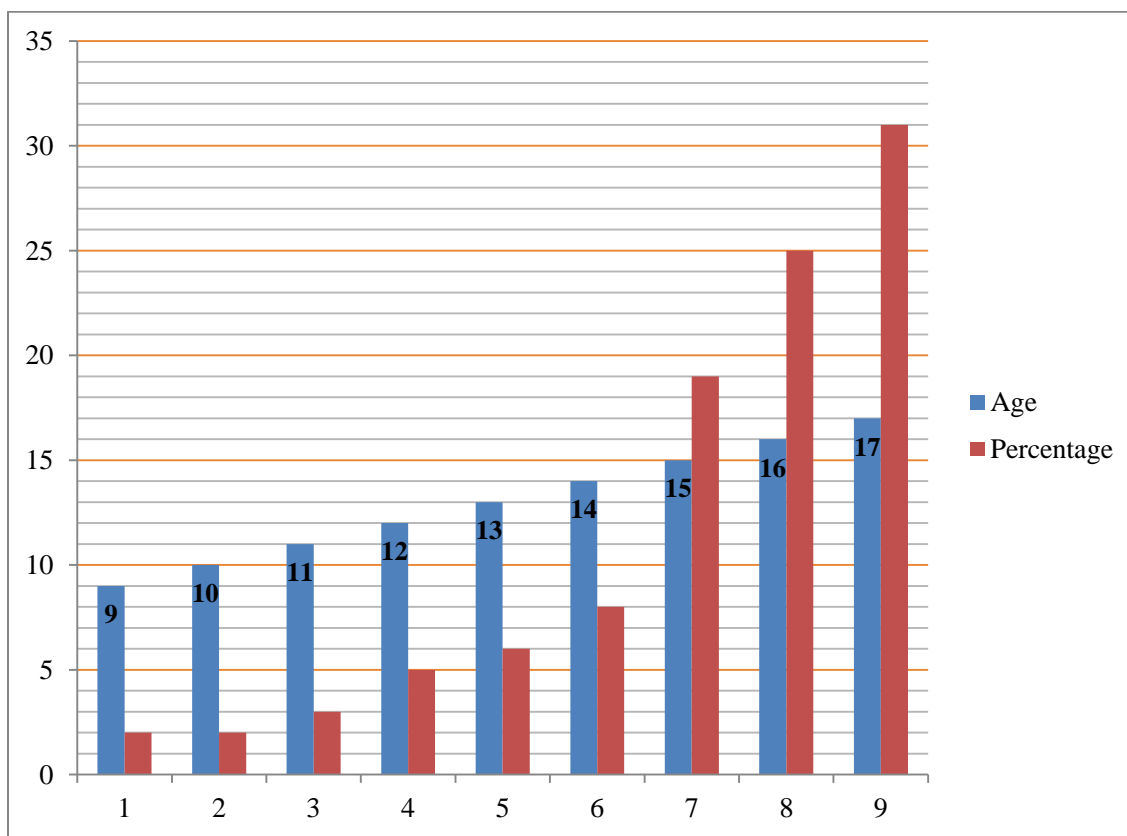
Source: *Field Data 2018*

Looking at Figure 7 above, it is evident that there is a steady rise in the percentage of younger children from the age of 9 to 14 years who migrated to Botswana and were assisted by the PRSC. At the start of the graph the numbers of children assisted by the centre are constant, both the 9

and 10 year age category accounted for a combined total of 4%. A slight increase is noticed at the age of 11 with a 1% increase, the steady increase in the age group of 11 to 14 has a combined total of 22%. A sharp increase in the transition of 14 years to 15 is vividly noticeable and the percentage of children from 15 years of age rapidly rises until 17 years. The combined total of the 15 to 17 years age group accounted for approximately 75% of the total number of children assisted by PRSC. The above findings reinforce the data collected by the researcher from the participants in relation to age distribution. The likelihood of migration increases with the onset of adolescence or in older children as compared to the younger children who easily raise suspicion if travelling independent of their parents of legal guardians. It should however be noted that the age limit of a child to be entered into the registers at the PRSC is 17 years of age as depicted by the above graph. Upon reaching the age of 18 a child, is considered as an adult and does not fall under the Child Welfare department. However, this research incorporated those who had already reached 18 years as they had migrated before reaching 18 and thus their contribution was pivotal to the findings of this research.

4.4.5 Orphan status of children supported by PRSC 2015-2017

The researcher had to find out the orphan status of children that was provided by the documents provided by the PRSC. Children who access the provided services at the PRSC are required to indicate their orphan status so that the Child Welfare department can easily contact their parents or guardians in order to carry out the reunification and reintergration process.

In line with the data presented in Figure 8 below, it can be noted that the highest percentage of children who accessed services at PRSC was 33% which consisted of non orphans, followed by double orphans who accounted for 27% of the children. Maternal orphans comprised 16% of the children which was the least group of children whilst paternal orphans that were supported by the centre stood at 20%. It should be noted that there was a group of children that did not indicate their orphan status when logging into the registers thus this group`s orphan status was unknown and accounted for 17% of the total number of children that accessed services at PRSC.

The chart below is a representation of the orphan status of the children who accessed services at PRSC in 2015-2017:
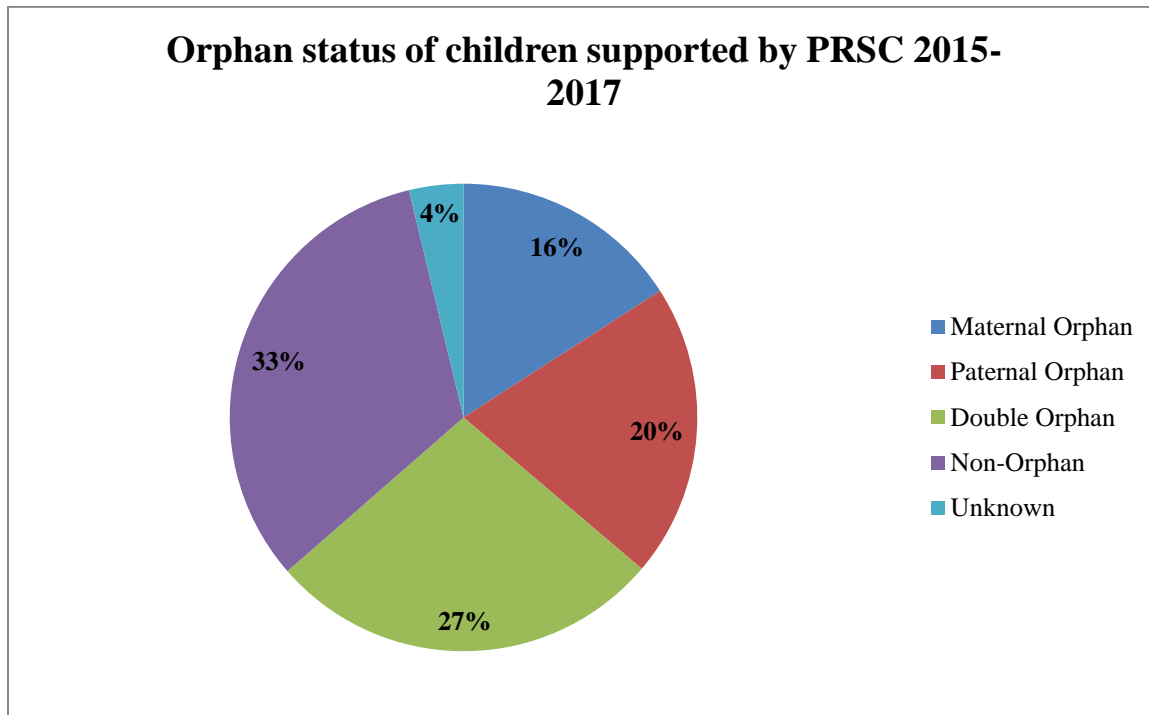
Source: *Field Data 2018*

4.4.6 Characteristics of individuals providing assistance to children in crossing 2015-2017

The reports provided by the department of child welfare contained information in relation to the characteristics of the individuals who assisted children to cross the border into Botswana. Using the data given in the graph below, it is evident that the majority of the children that is 62% are being assisted by *omalayitsha* or the human smugglers to cross the border using undesignated entry points. This is followed by 17% of children who are assisted by bus drivers whilst 14% of children required no assistance in crossing the border. 7% of the children did not indicate how they had managed to cross the border into Botswana thus this information was unknown. The chart below is a representation of these characteristics:

Characteristics of individuals assisting children to cross the border

Category	Number of children
Bus drivers	79
No assistance	64
Unknown	31
Omalayitsha	279
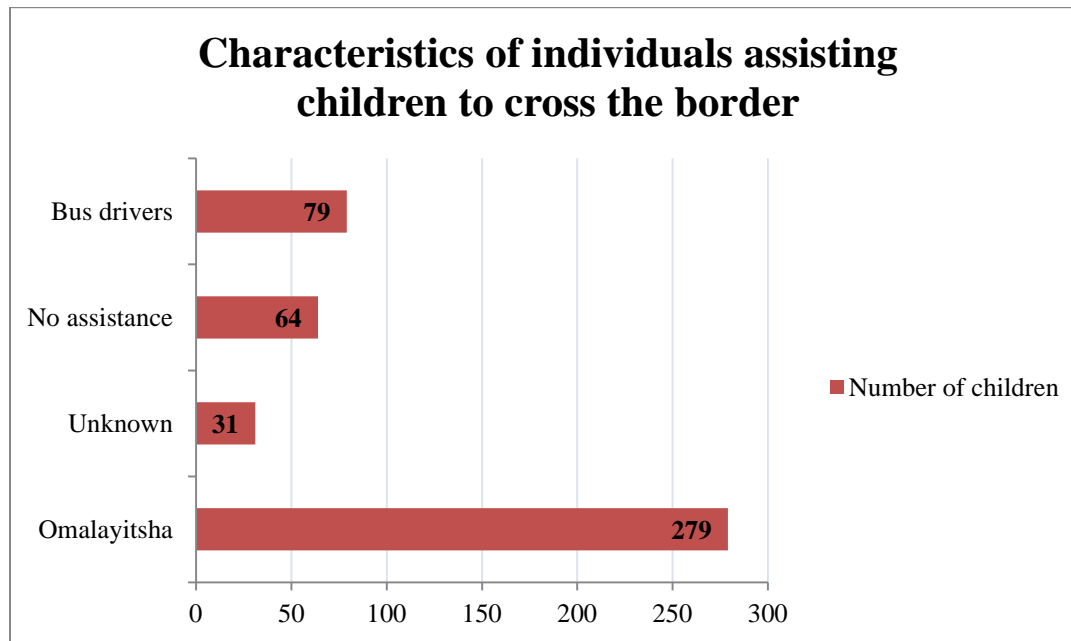
Source: *Field Data 2018*

4.5 Objective 1: Causes of migration (questionnaire respondents)

In order to fulfill the objectives of this study, the researcher had to find out the underlying reasons why children were migrating from Zimbabwe to Botswana. The respondents were asked questions concerning what motivated their need to migrate, below is a graph showing the major reasons for children`s migration:

Major causes of migration
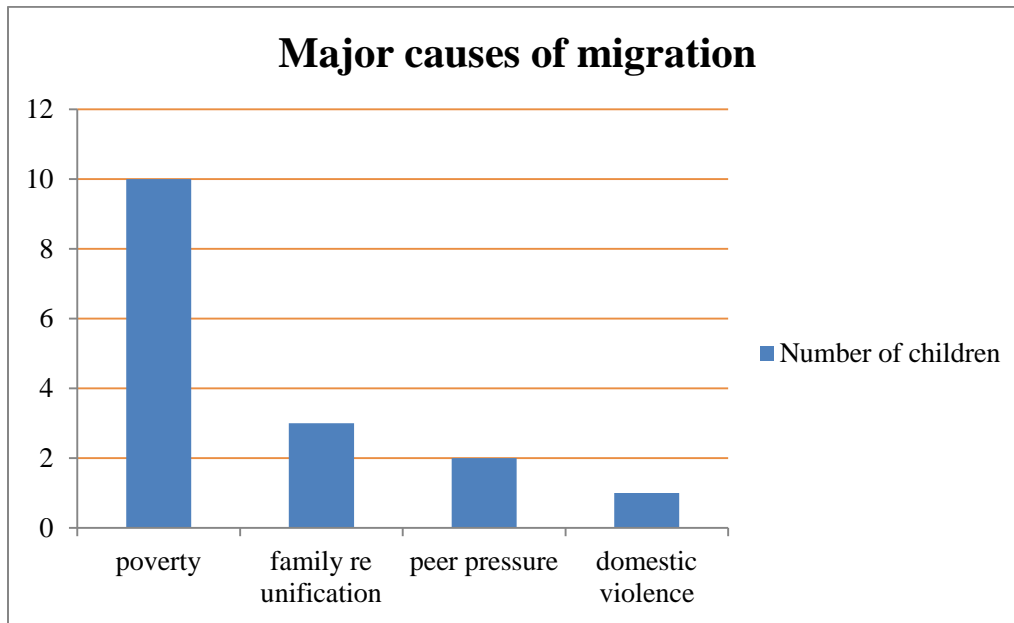
Source: *Field Data 2018*

The above chart shows the causes of migration as indicated by the questionnaire respondents. According to the above data shown on the graph, it can be deduced that the major cause for migration is poverty as it accounts for 63% of the total sample. This is followed by the need to be re united with family members that have since gone to Botswana, of which 19% indicated this as their major reason for crossing the border. Peer pressure was cited as a major reason with 13% of the respondents whilst the least number of children (6%) attributed their move to Botswana as being prompted by domestic violence.

Furthermore, children cited other causes of their migration in the blank spaces provided by the questionnaires. It should be noted that in as much as there are major reasons for prompting migration in children, there are other underlying reasons that made the situation unbearable for them to form a bigger picture in their reasons for migration. One respondent, Brian*, a 16 year old boy had this to say:

> "*Hupenyu hwakaoma, ndiri nherera, baba ndivo vakatanga kufa kuchizotevera amai. Ndina sisi vangu first born mumhuri medu vakaenda ku Botswana kare muna 2013 asi zvinhu zvacho hazvina kumira mushe mari yaingotumirwawo pano nepapo. Ini ndini ndakatosara ndichichengeta hanzvadzi dzangu two nemunin`ina wangu last born mumba*

medu. Pakafa baba ndipo pandakasiya chikoro ndikatanga kuita maricho kuti ndiwane kamari kekutenga chikafu kumba."

(Life is tough, I`m an orphan, it was my father who died first followed by my mother. I have an elder sister who went to Botswana long back in 2013 but things have not been easy as she only sends money here and there. I was the one left fending for my two younger sisters and my young brother the last born in our family. When my father died that is when I dropped out of school and started doing menial jobs to raise money for food at home).

This goes on to show that in as much as Brian had indicated poverty as the major reason for migrating to Botswana, there was a history of a family that was child headed since the death of both his parents and thus circumstances had forced Brian to move to Botswana in trying to find better economic opportunities for him and his siblings back home.

Furthermore, one respondent cited maltreatment at home as a reason that had also prompted his move to Botswana. Dumiso*, a 17 year old boy from Bulawayo had this to say:

"Ngamithisa intombi yami eleminyaka elitshumi lanhlanu, abangakibo bamphoqa ukuba uzohlala lami ngakithi, kwayenzeka ukuba ngicine ngiyekile iskolo ngendaba yokuthi abazali bami bebengasayibhadhali imali yeskolo bathi sengiyindoda kfanele ndizibonele. Kwezinye insuku umama ubesincitsha ukudla, size silale singakafakanya lutho ethunjini, lokho kwangenza ngacina ngikhathaa yikuhlukunyezwa kwalapha ekhaya ngaya zifunela umsebenzi"

(I impregnated my 15 year old girlfriend and she was forced to stay with me at my parents` place. I dropped out of school because my parents refused to pay school fees saying I was grown. Sometimes my mother would not leave any food for us and we would go to bed hungry. I eventually got tired of the constant verbal abuse and decided to go find a job).

From the above statement, it can be noted that apart from his decision to move being prompted by poverty, Dumiso had been faced with maltreatment at home with his parents denying him his right to education by refusing to pay for his school fees simply because he had impregnated a girl

but also denying him his right to food and verbally abusing him. In Dumiso`s scenario, his maltreatment begins in the home and haunt him throughout the migration journey.

In addition to the above, one respondent Batsirai*, a 15 year old girl cited that apart from poverty being the major reason for her decision to join a friend and move to Botswana, this move was also prompted by the fact that she was running away from an arranged marriage. She had this to say:

> *"Ini ndakangozvarwa tichipinda postori, baba vangu vakashaya asi amai vakagarwa nhaka na babamukuru vangu. Kuchikoro ndakagumira Grade 7 ndokutanga kubatsira hangu amai kurima nekutengesa muriwo nemadomasi. Problem ndeyekuti babamukuru vaida kundiroodza kune vamwe madzibaba veku church kuti ndoita mukadzi wavo wetatu ini ndokuramba. Ndakamboita zvizuva ndichinetsana nababamukuru kusvika ndatozopihwa mari namai ndiko kuuya kwandakazoita kuno…kumba inhamo yega yega, kuuya kuno kutotsvagawo kurarama".*

(I was born and bred in an Apostolic church, upon my father`s death my father`s older brother took my mother as his wife. I dropped out of school when I was Grade 7 and started helping my mother with farming and selling vegetables and tomatoes. The problem is that my father`s older brother wanted me to get married to a fellow congregant so that I could become his third wife and I refused. I spent some days arguing with my uncle until my mother gave me some money and I came to Botswana…there is poverty at home, my being here is because I'm trying to earn a living).

From the above, it can be noted that the respondent admits that even though there is a history of poverty in her life, this was exacerbated by the fact that she was also running away from an arranged marriage as she did not want to be a child bride. It is important to note that this is a 15 year old being forced by her uncle to get married whereas she is supposed to be in school getting her education. The family is supposed to be the primary caretaker and caregiver of the child but in this case it is the unfavorable home environment that forces a child to migrate in the absence of a parent or legal guardian.

In line with the above, it should be noted that where causes of migration are concerned, respondents cited the major causes of migration which are presented in Figure 9, the children`s

circumstances however included other reasons that prompted their migration and these they explained in greater detail in their own words. The researcher felt that this was important so as to understand the bigger picture of where they were coming from (preflight conditions for migration) and how this has a bearing on the decisions they make upon being deported from Botswana.

4.6 Objective 2- Socio-economic effects of migration

The researcher had to find out the social and economic effects of migration in order to fulfill the objectives of this study and examine these effects visa vie the children`s welfare. The chart below is a representation of the socio-economic effects of migration:

Figure 10: Socio-economic effects of migration   N=16
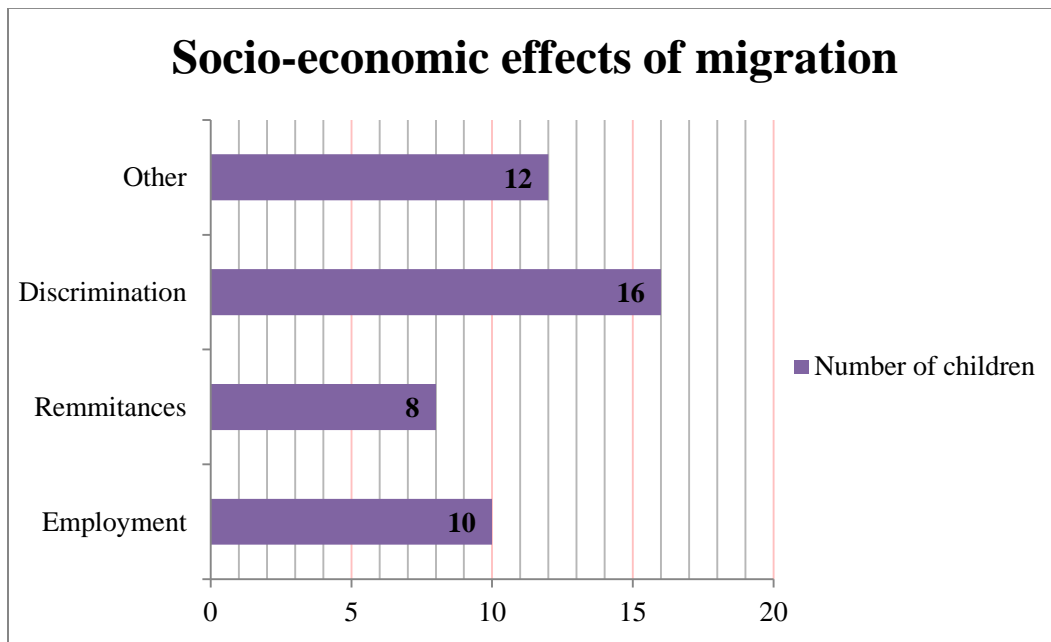
Source: *Field Data 2018*

Using the data presented in Figure 10 above, it can be noted that 100% of the respondents admitted to have faced discrimination during their stay in Botswana. 63% of the respondents indicated that they had been employed during their stay in Botswana whilst 50% indicated that they had managed to send remittances back home during their stay in Botswana. Interesting to note was the fact that some children who had indicated that they were not employed indicated that they had sent remittances back home whilst a few who had admitted that they were

employed had not managed to send any money back home. The researcher had to probe for answers that could explain these dimensions to be discussed as the study unfolds. 75% of the children however ticked the "other" box to indicate that there were other socio-economic effects related to their migration, respondents were asked to indicate these other effects and explain them in detail.

4.6.1 Employment

As aforementioned, 10 children indicated that during their stay in Botswana they had been employed in the informal sector as they could not be formally employed because of their age and thus their lack of work permits. The following chat represents the types of jobs that children were employed in during their stay in Botswana:

Figure 11: Types of jobs done by children in Botswana   N=10
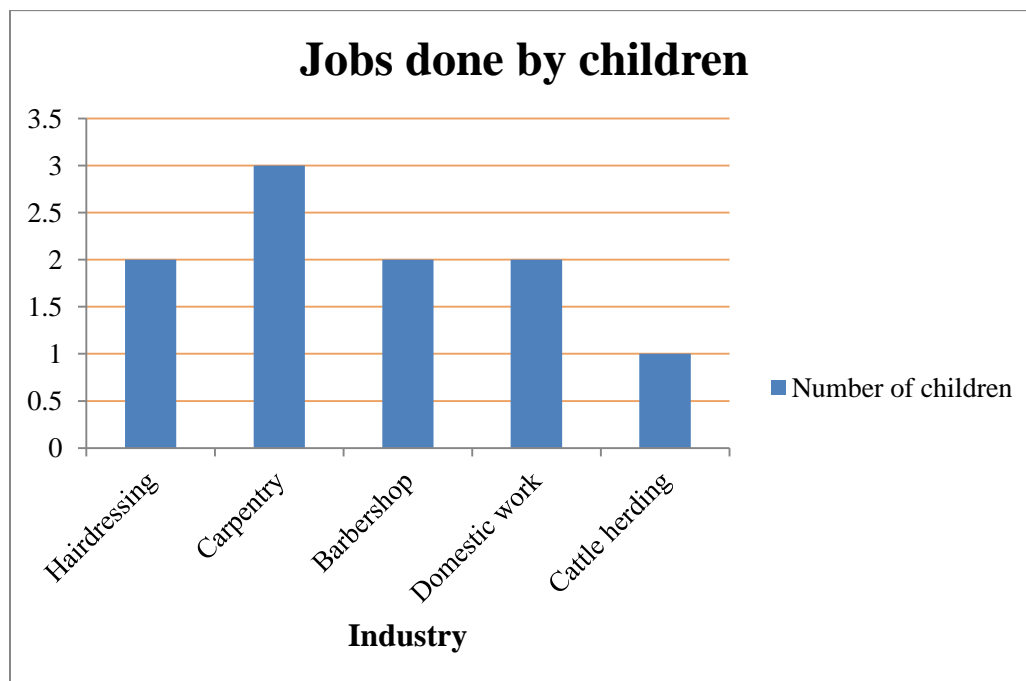
Source: *Field Data 2018*

Using the data provided by Figure 11 above, it is evident that all the children were working in the informal sector with the highest number of children working in carpentry. However, an even number of children, 2 per industry, were employed as hairdressers, in domestic work and in the barbershops whilst only one child was employed as a cattle herder. Getting employed in the formal industry requires work permits and qualifications that the children did not possess thus

they had to accept whatever work came their way. In as much as children see this employment "opportunity" as a source of diversifying their livelihoods, in the world of children`s rights it is condemned as child labour.

4.6.2 Children`s earnings

The researcher wanted to know how much income children were earning and how this had a bearing on their living experiences in Botswana. The graph below is a representation of the income earnings as indicated by the children:

Figure 12: Income earnings   N=13
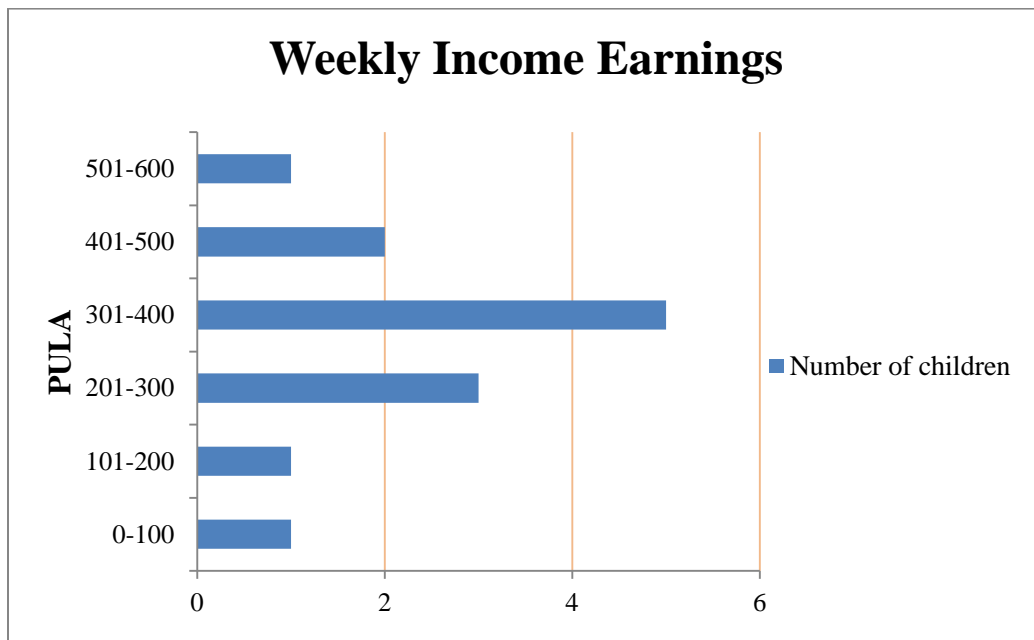
Source: *Field Data 2018*

Figure 12 above shows the income earnings as indicated by the respondents. The highest percentage of children which is 38% earns between 301 and 400 Pula whilst 38% of the children earns less than 300 Pula a week. Only 23% of the children earn more than 400 Pula a week. What is critical to note is that there are variations between Figure 11 where only 10 children indicated that they were employed in the informal sector whereas Figure 12 above shows that 13 children were earning income. The variation was explained by the children, this is what they had to say:

"Ku Botswana zvinhu zvakaoma but hazvina hazvo kuzonyanyooma seku Zimbabwe, semukomana hauzoshayewo pekutangira, ndongotenderera tenderera ndichitengesa maphone nema watch, chere chandinenge ndawanawo mukufamba imomu."

(Things are tough in Botswana but not as tough as they are in Zimbabwe, as a boy I have my ways of surviving, I move around selling phones and watches, anything I can get my hands on).

Robert*, 16 years old

Uyu anonzi Chipo uyu, takasangana ku Botswana tikangotanga kuwirirana, taitogara pa same house. Mabasa acho ainetsa kuwana and paunenge wariwana zvinenge zviri zvekushandisana mari yacho haiuye saka takazopedzisira takugara pa shebeen tichiwana ma clients ipapo saka mari yaiuya as long as client waiwana chete.

(With me here is Chipo, we met in Botswana and started getting along, and we even stayed at the same house. Jobs were hard to get by and even when you did find a job they would not pay you accordingly so we ended up staying at a shebeen and we would get clients who would pay us).

Alice* and Chipo*, 15 and 17 years old

The above statements voiced out by the children show that children were earning their income through illegal means such as stealing and prostitution; this is why these children had not indicated that they were employed as they felt this was not a profession to indicate on the questionnaire. However, it should be noted that where child prostitution is concerned, this is child sexual exploitation as these are children who are being sexually exploited by adults.

4.6.3 Remittances

Most children admitted that they had crossed over to Botswana in a bid to find employment and send money home when they can as their families left back home depended on them. The chart below is a representation of how often children managed to send money home:
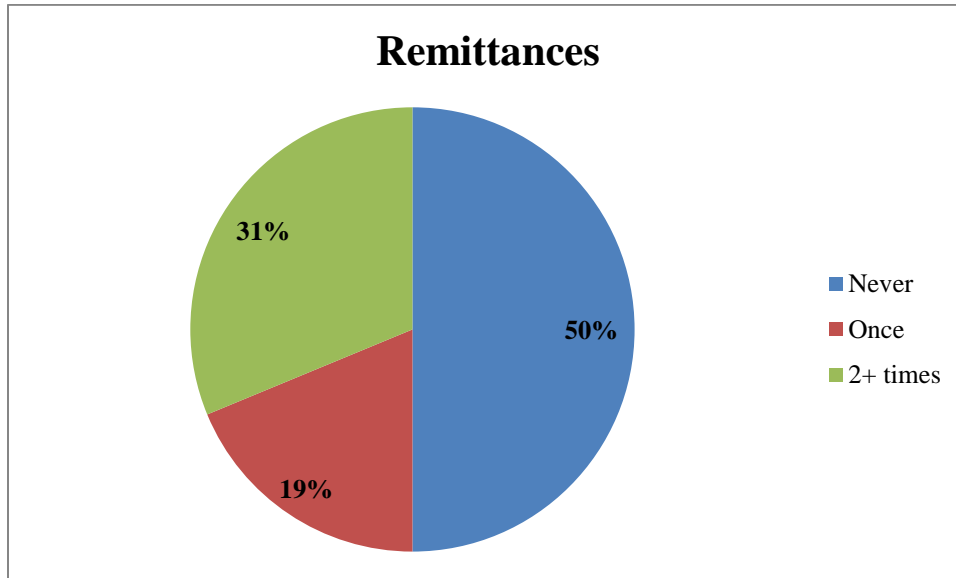
Source: Field Data 2018

Using the data presented in the pie chart above, it is evident that approximately 50% of the respondents had never sent remittances home, whilst 19% of the children had managed to send money home only once. 31% of the respondents admitted to have sent remittances back home more than twice. Children complained that the money they earned was too little to have extra to send home as they too had to pay rent, buy food and clothes.

4.6.4 Discrimination

As indicated in Figure 10, all respondents indicated on the questionnaires that they had faced some type of discrimination during their stay in Botswana. Children indicated in their responses that this discrimination was mainly due to their age, gender and nationality. On age, one respondent had this to say:

> *"Every time pandaitsvaga basa kana remumba kana rekutengesa mu shop vaindibvunza makore angu and because handisati ndasvitsa 18years ndaitonyimwa basa. Pamwe pacho ndakapedzisira ndaakunyepa age yangu but mumwe mukadzi akabvunza national ID yangu apa ini I.D yacho handina because handitorina birth certificate racho."*
> (Every time that I would go looking for domestic work or to work as a shop assistant they would ask for my age and because I have not yet reached 18 years they would refuse to

give me any work. Other times I ended lying about my age but this other lady asked for my national I.D card and I do not have it since I do not even have a birth certificate).

Chipo* 17 years old

Where gender is concerned, Takudzwa* an 18 year old boy who came from Harare had this to say:

> *"Inini ndakabva ku Harare ndine skill rangu rekuruka ma braids ma one one, ndaiti ndika crosser border then ndoita ka business kangu kekuruka musoro but haa panga pakaoma because inini ndiri mukomana and vanhu vajaira kuri ma hairdresser vakadzi, kwese kwandaitryer kupinda muma saloon kuti ndikwanise kurukawo musoro mamwe mahairdresser acho aindiitira attitude because ndanga ndakuvatorera basa"*
>
> (I came from Harare and I was already skilled in plaiting single braids, I thought that if I crossed the border then I would start my small business of plaiting hair but things were tough because I`m a boy and people are used to seeing female hairdressers, all the saloons I tried getting into so that I could plait hair, some hairdressers ended up giving me negative attitude because most clients came to me).

Takudzwa admits that he was discriminated on the basis of gender because the norm is that hairdressers are female and him being male and only a boy too, he faced problems trying to get into an industry that was female dominated. More so, most respondents indicated that the major source of discrimination was due to nationality. One respondent had this to say:

> *"Life inokuomera kana uri mu foreigner especially panyaya dze language apa nekuti communication yacho inonetsa kuti munzwisisane. Once vanhu vangoziva kuti muri ma foreigner havatomboite kana effort yekutaurawo kana ne English kuti munzwisisane especially muma taxi kana mushop uchida kutenga…even pakutsvaga basa zvinonetsa because SeTswana yacho unenge usingaizive, zvinoda vanobata language yacho fast."*
>
> (Life is tough if you`re a foreigner, especially where language is concerned otherwise there is no effective communication. Once they know that you are a foreigner they do not even make an effort to at least speak in English so that we can understand each other

especially in taxi rides or when you want to buy in shops…even when looking for a job it is difficult because you don't know Tswana, you need to be a fast learner.)

Raymond*, 18 years old

The views shared by the respondents show that in as much as leaving home to migrate to Botswana in search of better opportunities, they are faced with discrimination of all sorts, largely because of their nationality, different culture and inability to communicate in SeTswana and this acts as a hindrance to their adaptation and survival during their stay in the host country.

4.6.5 Other socio economic effects of migration

Some respondents ticked the `other` box under socio economic effects of migration and were asked to explain these. The other social effects of migration that were listed include a sense of freedom and increased sense of responsibility, increased confidence among peers and depression. In explaining their answers, this is what respondents had to say:

> *"Kana uchiri kugara mumba mevabereki unenge uchipihwa mitemo yakawanda but once wabva ipapo ukatanga kugara wega then unenge wane freedom yekuita zvese zvaunenge uchida, kana kubuda kuenda kubhawa ukadzoka mangwana hapana anokubvunza."*
> (When you are still living with your parents they give you a lot of rules that you must abide with, once you leave them and start staying on your own then there is a sense of freedom, freedom to do whatever you want, even going out to the bar coming back the following day without being asked any questions).

Michael*, 17 year old boy

From the above response, it should be noted that this respondent feels that by leaving the care of his parents and moving alone to Botswana, he experienced a sense of freedom in which he could do whatever he wanted to do with no questions asked. This is quite dangerous as it can be noted that by choosing to revel in his freedom and going out to the bar drinking, he is abusing his freedom and exposing himself to increased risk under the influence of alcohol. More so, Takudzwa* indicated that since he migrated, he now has a sense of increased responsibility towards himself and his family. This is what he had to say:

"Ukangotanga kushanda chete, ma responsibilities anowanda. Kamari kaunenge wawana wakufunga kubhadhara rent, kutenga chikafu, uku vanhu ku Zimbabwe vanenge vachifona vachida kutumirwawo mari".

(Once you start working, you have a lot of responsibilities. The little money that you get you need to pay rent, buy food and people back in Zimbabwe will be phoning you asking you to send them money).

This revelation by the respondent reveals that in his case, the roles have been reversed, he is the child and his parents and guardians are supposed to be the primary caregivers but instead, he is the one who is responsible for taking care of his family as they depend on him to send them money.

In line with the above, some respondents agreed that their migration had brought with them an increased sense of confidence especially among their peers. This is what one respondent had to say:

"Inini kana pavanhu handinyare ini, kare zvanga zvakaoma but now ndakuwanawo tumari twangu ndichitenga hembe dzakanaka ndichichena zvekuti munhu unenge uchionekerawo. Hapana need yekuti unenge uchingokumbira mari because zvangu zvinenge zvitori right".

(I am no longer shy among other people, back then things were tough but now I get my own money and buy nice clothes and look good. There is no need to ask people for money because I have my own).

Alice*, 15 year old girl

Respondents generally noted in their responses that they were now confident among their fellow peers as they had managed to improve their livelihood through migrating to Botswana. This improvement according to respondents included buying new clothes, shoes and jewellery so that they could look good, not only in Botswana but especially when they went back home. More so, one respondent indicated that this confidence also came as a result of the fact that they had lived in a foreign land, whereas their peers in Zimbabwe had been stuck in the rural areas.

Furthermore, some respondents noted that separation from their families was stressful and often times caused them to be depressed. The respondents said they felt a huge amount of stress

leaving their familiar environment, family and friends to go to a foreign land and this placed a huge amount of unwanted responsibility on their shoulders. More so, the stress that was accompanied with job hunting, discrimination, adaptation and surviving multiple challenges they faced in Botswana caused them to be constantly depressed. More so, these are children who need parental care and have dropped out of school to assume responsibilities that only adults should be partaking in, this shows how the duty bearers in Zimbabwe have failed where children`s rights and welfare is concerned.

4.7 Objective 3- Challenges encountered by children

In order for the researcher to find out the experiences of children during the migration process, the respondents were asked about the challenges they faced. Respondents were provided with a list of challenges and indicated the ones they had faced during the migration process. The graph below is a representation of the challenges that children faced:

Figure 14: Challenges faced by children during the migration process   N=16
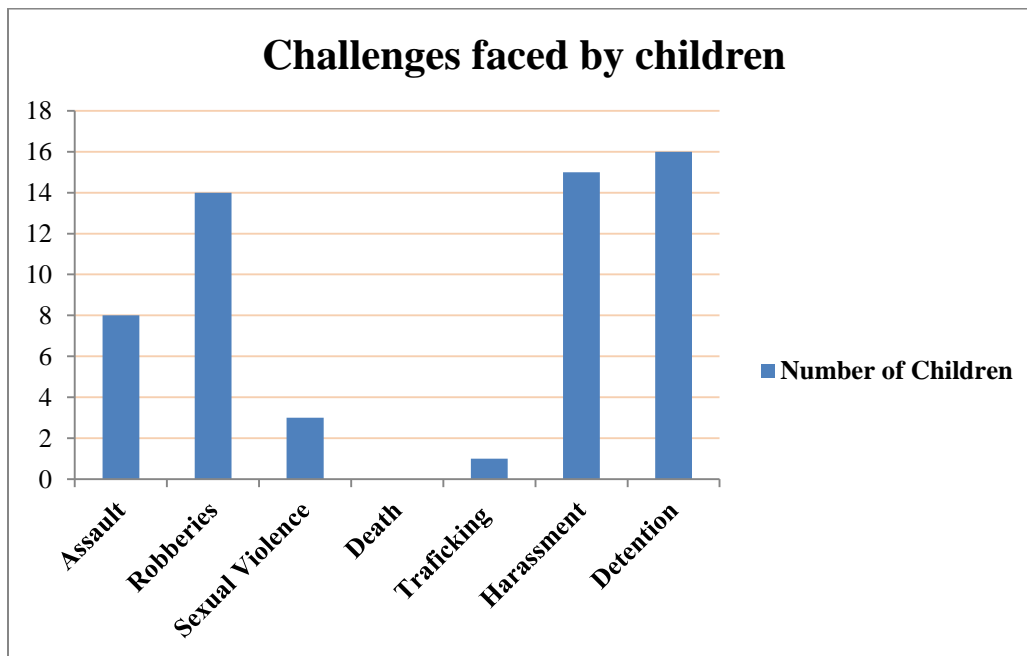
Source: *Field Data 2018*

Figure 14 above shows the challenges that children faced during the migration, settlement and return process. Respondents were asked to circle all answers that applied to their experiences. It can be noted that 100% of the respondents had faced detention during the migration process and

this makes detention the most severe challenge that children had to face. Apart from detention, 94% of respondents indicated that they had faced harassment as part of their migration journey. More so, 88% of the respondents indicated that they had been robbed of their belongings during their migration journey whilst 50% had been assaulted. 19% of the respondents cited sexual violence as a challenge they had encountered and only 1 respondent cited trafficking as a challenge that was encountered.

In explaining the challenges that they faced, this is what some of the respondents had to say:

> *"Kana uchitambiriswa mari shoma it means kamari kese kaunenge wawana wotokachengetedza, pandakatanga kuenda ku Botswana kekutanga pandange ndave kuda kudzokera kumusha ndakabvisa mari yebhazi zvikandidhurira because pa border unofanira kuburitsa mari kuti ubude sezvo passport pasina, ndakazoudzwa nedzimwe boys kuti zviri nane kuzvibatisa nemapurisa paunenge wakuda kudzokera kumusha then vongonokusiya ku Zim side mahara."*
>
> (When you get paid so little money every cent counts and you have to save, when I came to Botswana for the first time and I wanted to return home I had to pay for bus fare and it was expensive because at the border I had to fork out money to bribe officials in order for me to exit since I do not have a passport, I was then advised by these other boys that it is better to hand yourself to the police when you need to go back home as they will leave you to the Zim side for free).

This revelation by the respondent resonates well with most explanation that were being given by respondents as they preferred handing themselves to officials just so they could get free transport to reach the border and this is how they end up at Plumtree Research and Support Centre. This explains why all the respondents indicated that they had faced detention by the police as a challenge as most of them handed themselves to police in order to get free transport to travel back to Zimbabwe. One respondent however in his case indicated that he had been detained at one time by the police but ended up paying a bribe:

> *"Mapurisa akambotibata one time takawanda vakatibvunza ma passport nema work permit but ini ndanga ndisina. Takanovharirwa ku police station for one day but ndakazobhadhara 200Pula kuti ndibude asi vamwe vangu vakasara varimo."*

(The police got hold of us this one time and asked to see our passports and work permit but I did not have them. They detained us at the police station for a day but I had to pay 200Pula for my release but my friends stayed back).

This gives testimony to the fact that some children are being detained at police stations in Botswana and they have to actually bribe their way out. As aforementioned, children are a vulnerable population and this vulnerability increases upon migrating to a foreign country where they have no support structures and play hide and seek with law enforcement on a daily basis.

In line with the above, children pointed out that they faced assault and harassment during the migration process. This is what one respondent had to say:

> *"Takabatwa nemapurisa pataida kucrosser border tichienda ku South Africa, taga tiri 5, 3 vanhu vakuru then inini then lami lo`mgane wami. They took us vakatiendesa ku police station because tanga tisina ma passport. Pataida kutiza vakatimhanyisa vakatirova nesjambok…ku police station takagara for two days and ngangisesaba, sanikwailambazi lodwa okwamalangawonke omavili, if you complain waitukwa."*
>
> (We got caught by the police when we wanted to cross the border going to South Africa through Botswana, we were 5, 3 adults then me and my friend. They took us to the police station because we did not have passports. When we wanted to run away they beat us up with a sjambok…we stayed at the police station for two days and I was scared, we were given porridge every day for those two days and if you complained they would harass you."

This shows that assault and harassment was the norm as most children had indicated that they had either been assaulted or harassed especially by the police upon being arrested and deported to Zimbabwe. This goes against article 17 of the ACRWC (OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/24.9/49 (1990) which denotes to the administration of juvenile justice and states that state parties must ensure that no child who is detained or imprisoned or otherwise deprived of his/her liberty is subjected to torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

In addition to the above, children stated that robberies were the order of the day especially during the migration journey and in the settlement process. Respondents indicated that they were robbed

of their clothes, cell phones and other accessories such as watches. This is what one respondent had to say:

> *"Handina passport and pakucrosser border kupinda mu Botswana takapinda nemusango tichishandisa Kafusi River but zvinotyisa because the first time takasangana nematsotsi ini ndakabirwa mari yandanga ndinayo vamwe vakabirwa maphone nebhutsu dzavanga vanadzo."*
>
> (I do not have a passport and when crossing the border to gain entry into Botswana we passed through the forest using Kafusi River but is frightening because the first time we were ambushed by thieves and my money got stolen and others had their phones and shoes stolen too.)

The respondent also mentioned that the thieves would assault the unsuspecting migrants with small knives and bottles as a way of intimidating them so that they can give up their belongings. One respondent also indicated that during her stay in Botswana, she had been robbed of her phone 2 times whilst walking in the street in broad daylight and this was echoed by the other responses given by the respondents, most of them agreed that they had to take extra care so that they could avoid being robbed by thieves.

Furthermore, some female respondents indicated that they had faced sexual violence and exploitation as a challenge during the migration process. One female respondent had this to say:

> *"Pa shebeen patinoshanda tinowana ma clients but sometimes vanodhakwa and havadi kubhadhara mari yakakwana and mukawirirana kuti mari iyi ndeye one round sometimes anopedzisira akuda kuita kana ka 2 nemari ye 1 round…sometimes vanobhadhara mari yakawanda so that tisashandise ma condom…ndiro business racho."*
>
> (At the shebeen were we work we get clients but sometimes they get drunk and do not want to pay the agreed amount or stick to having sexual intercourse only once, sometimes they end up forcing you to have sex twice when they would have paid money for only one round of sex…sometimes they pay more money so that we can have unprotected sex…that is the business).

The above statement is testimony that female child migrants had been faced with the problem of sexual violence and sexual exploitation. Male 'clients' take advantage of these girls' desperate

situation and exploit them sexually and do not take measures to protect them thus exposing them to unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases. This goes against article 27 of the ACRWC which states that children must be protected from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. Furthermore, their rate of vulnerability is increased in the event that they get ill as they do not have national I.D's or travel documents and thus it becomes a mammoth task for them to get access to health care. More so, these children because they are illegal migrants indicated that they cannot go and report the cases to the police for fear of being apprehended and deported back to Zimbabwe.

Moreover, in one particular case one respondent indicated that she had been a victim of child trafficking. This is what she had to say:

> "*Ndaishandira pa border ndipo pandaiwana maclients angu and vaindibhadhara for sex… pamba pandaigara ndanga ndiine chikwereti che rent na landlord and vakaronga kuti ndiuye kuBotswana nasekuru vavo ndichishanda vachizotumirwa mari yavo…panga pasina zvekuita because ndanga ndisinawo pekugara kana chekubata.*"
> (I worked as a sex worker at the border where I would get clients and they would pay me…I owed my landlord rent and they organised that I should go to Botswana with the uncle so I could work there and pay off the debt…I had no choice because I did not have a place to stay and no means of surviving).

This shows that the respondent had been coerced and forced by her desperate circumstances to leave Plumtree and go to Botswana in the company of her landlord`s uncle so that she could work in Botswana in a bid to pay off the debt she owed the landlord. It should be noted that in this case the adults fail to act in the best interest of the child by trafficking the child to Botswana and exposing her child labour and sexual exploitation.

Thus from this view, it should be noted that children face a myriad of challenges during the migration journey, in the settlement and deportation process as indicated by the table above and the explanation given by the respondents. These challenges heighten the children`s vulnerability and in the process their rights are grossly violated. In as much as children demonstrate their agency to migrate in a bid to diversify their source of livelihood, duty bearers must ensure that

they act responsibly and safeguard the rights of the children so that the survival and development of children is at the very core of all sustainable development programs.

4.8 Objective 4- Survival strategies adopted by children

The researcher wanted to find out the survival strategies that were employed by children in the face of the various challenged that they faced. Respondents cited various challenges and they are represented in the chart below:

Figure 15: Survival strategies adopted by children   N=16
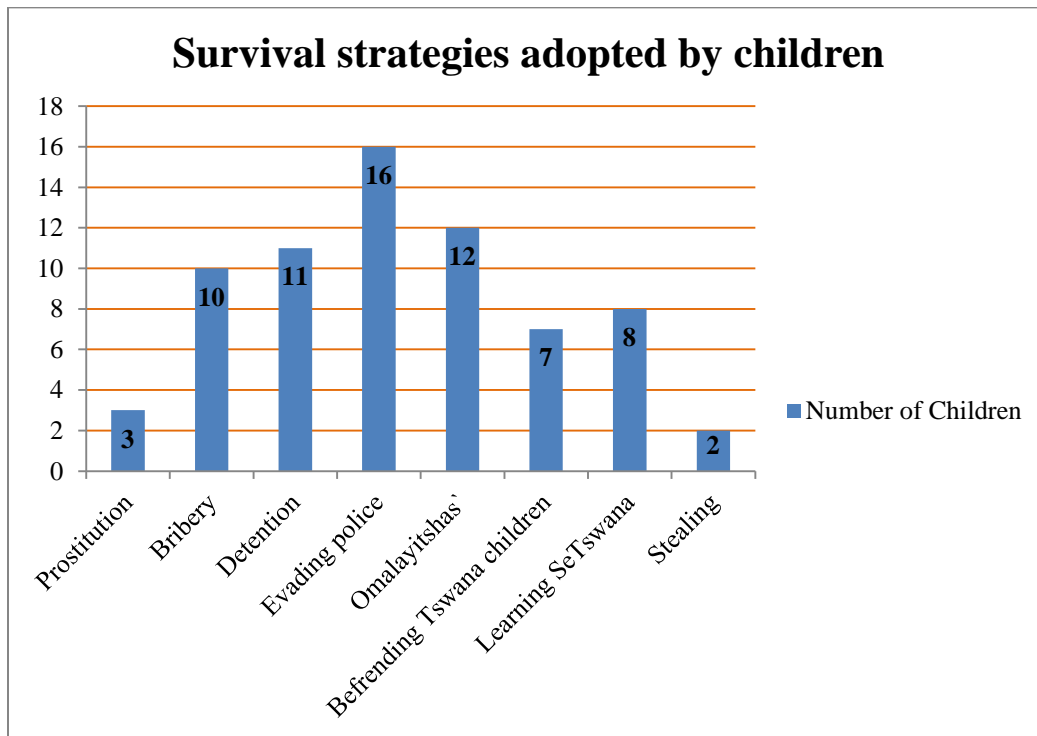
Source: *Field Data 2018*

Using the data represented by Figure 15 above, it is evident that the most common survival tactic that children employed was evading the police as clearly 100% of all the children cited this strategy. This is followed by the use of *omalayitshas`* with 75% of the respondents citing this strategy which they used to cross the border into Botswana. 69% of the respondents indicated that they sometimes had to hand themselves to the police so that they could arrest them or detain them as they wait for deportation. This is followed by 63% of children who cited bribery as a survival strategy whilst 50% of the respondents indicated that they had tried to learn SeTswana

and 44% tried befriending Tswana children as a strategy to survive. The least common survival strategies included prostitution and stealing as they attributed 19% and 13% respectively.

In explaining the survival tactics one respondent had this to say concerning evading the police:

"I heard police raids were common in Gaborone and Francistown so I decided to stay in Molepolole *okuyindawo engayangisanda ukuba lamapholisa* (because there are few police raids there)."

Most respondents agreed that police raids were the order of the day in big cities such as Francistown and Gaborone and children who stayed there said they constantly had to play hide and seek with the police and sometimes when they got caught they had to bribe their way of being arrested by paying between 150 to 350Pula, those with no bribe money had to face arrest and eventually deportation. Moreover, some respondents indicated that they tried befriending Tswana children just so they could look like they 'belonged'; this is what one respondent had to say:

> *"Ndakasvika ku Botswana ndikatanga kutamba nema Tswana because ndiyo one way yandaikwanisa kudzidzira Tswana very fast and ndaitoona kuti kazhinji kacho kana ndakufamba mu town taitofamba nema Tswana friends angu zvekuti mapurisa aisambofungira kuti ndiri muZimbabwean."*
> (I arrived in Botswana and started befriending Tswana people because this was one way I would be able to learn their language quickly and I would make sure that most of the time I walked around in town with my Tswana friends and the police would not even notice that I was a Zimbabwean).

Some respondents were blatantly open about choosing prostitution as a survival strategy to overcome economic hardships in Botswana. This is what one respondent had to say:

> *"Mabasa ainetsa and ndaida kutsvaga quick money, ndakapedzisira ndakutsvaga hangu ma clients vaindibhadhara ndichitokwanisa kutomirawo mari kumusha kunoku ndichiraramawo."*

(Jobs were hard to come by and I wanted to look for quick access to money, I ended up looking for clients who would pay me and I was able to send money back home at the same time looking after myself).

These statements by children indicate that in as much as children demonstrated their agency and believed in their minds that they were 'grown ups' and capable of looking after themselves, they exposed themselves to child labour and sexual exploitation because of their desperate circumstances.

4.9 Children`s experiences- Case study 1

Priscilla* was a 16 year old girl who came from Epworth in Harare. She was born in Harare but later moved to Masvingo to stay with her grandmother whilst her mother was working in Harare. The only family she has ever known is her grandmother and her mother; she knows nothing of her father. She has worked as a domestic worker and a part time hairdresser in Mahalapye in Botswana. The researcher asked Priscilla what had motivated her to migrate to Botswana and she had this to say:

> *"ini ndakakurira nhamo yega yega ndichigara ku Zimbabwe, ndaigara namai vangu tiri two, kuchikoro ndakaenda ndikagumira Grade 7 asi handina kuzonyora Grade 7 yacho nekuti handina birth certificate…dzimwe nguva ndairara ndisina kana kudya zvinhu zvakaoma, sometimes ndaitoenda kana pamashops ndokumbirawo rubatsiro kune vanhu…ndakauya kuno kuti nditsvagewo life iri nane…"*
>
> (I grew up in poverty when I was staying in Zimbabwe, I stayed with my mother just the two of us, I went to school up to Grade 7 but I did not write my Grade 7 exams because I do not have a birth certificate…sometimes I would go to bed hungry because things were tough, sometimes I would go to the shops and beg for help from other people…I came here to look for a better life…)

This shows that because of economic hardships, children are bearing the brunt of the economic downside in Zimbabwe as in Priscilla`s case. Here, the problem of the absence of birth certificates is a recurrent issue in this study as it is one of the main reasons why children cannot continue with their education and cannot obtain passports thus they resort to illegal migration; of course this is exacerbated by lack of financial security. In Priscilla`s case, she says she made

plans with *omalayitsha* whom she met up with in the company of her friend whom she was also going with to Botswana. She says the *omalayitsha* had 7 other people for transportation and they all had to pay bribes just so they can pass through the border through undesignated entry points. Upon reaching Botswana, Priscilla and her friend met up with her friend`s uncle who had arranged domestic work for them and this is how she had survived police raids as she was employed in domestic work as a housemaid. When asked about her experience in Botswana she had this to say:

> *"kubasa kuri right hako, ndagara ndinoshanda hangu saka handiwanzoita ma problems na boss wangu. Kazhinji ndinomuka na 5am ndotanga basa, ndinotsvaira mumba, kusuka maplates, kubika, kuita zvemugarden, kuwacha, chero rese basa rinenge richida kuitwa pamba…one problem hayo inomboitika ndeyekuti dzimwe nguva handipihwe pay yangu yese yakakwana because mari panenge pasina but zviri nane because at least ndine pekugara nechekudya."*
>
> (Work is alright, I`m a hardworking person so I do not encounter problems with my boss. I usually wake up at 5am and start working, I clean the house, do the dishes, cook, do some gardening, laundry, any domestic work that needs to be done…one problem is that sometimes they do not give me my full pay because there is no money but I don't really mind because at least I have somewhere to stay and food to eat).

Interesting to note is that little does Priscilla know that in as much as she deems this job opportunity from her employer as a safe haven she is being exploited in terms of labour. She actually prefers to be in this situation that back in Zimbabwe where she used to go to bed hungry and not being able to take care of any of her needs. She says that the reason she is back is because her grandmother had died so she had come to pay her last respect. She says that her employer had given her bus fare but she had decided to get herself arrested to cut on transport costs just so she reaches Zimbabwe. When asked about her future plans, Priscilla says she wants to come back to Botswana after a week to go back to work, via the same route which is the undesignated entry points with the aid of *omalayitsha.*

Case 2

Mpumi* was an 18 year old boy who came from Plumtree. He was born in Harare and attended his primary school there whilst staying with his aunt but later moved to Plumtree and attended Secondary school there whilst staying with his mother and his 2 younger siblings. His father stays in South Africa with his second wife and Mpumi has no kind words for his father. This is what he had to say:

> *"Kubva ndichikura baba vangu vanoenda kuma girlfriends vachitisiya ini namai vangu tichitambura. Amai vaiita zvekusona asi vakazoita accident last year saka mazuvano havashandi, vakatogara kumba. My father doesn't care, izvezvi vari ku South Africa havatumiri kana mari. kuti ndizowana mari yekutora passport ndakaita ma piece job nekuti handidi kuona mai vangu vachitambura. Passport payakabuda ndakabva ndatocrosser border ndikaenda kuBotswana kwandinoshanda mu grocery shop."*
>
> (Since growing up, my father goes to his girlfriends and leaves us. My mother was a tailor but she was involved in an accident so now she stays at home, My father doesn't care, right now he is in South Africa and he does not send us any money. I had to do piece jobs to get money for a passport because I don't want to see my mother suffering. When I got my passport I quickly crossed the border to Botswana where I work in a grocery shop).

Mpumi has so much anger and hatred towards his father because he feels that is the reason why he is now working instead of having advanced his education to A level but now he is instead working to take care of his mother and his younger siblings. Mpumi says he was very brilliant at school so this has worked to his advantage as he did not struggle to find a job and he gets on really well with his employer. When asked about the challenges that he has encountered in Botswana Mpumi relates to the time he got beat up by thieves on his way home from work and how he had suffered bruises and cuts but his employer had helped him to get medical care. Mpumi relates to the time that he got arrested one time when the police found out that he did not have a work permit. He says, "I got arrested by the police when they found out I had no work permit, I stayed at the police station for 2 days *vachindipa* (giving me) porridge *ne* (and) tea until my employer talked to them and I had to pay a bribe for them to release me". This shows that the issue of bribing the police is a recurrent survival strategy in this study and the unfavorable conditions subjected to children during detention does not work in the best interest of the child.

Mpumi says he is here because he is going home to start a chicken rearing project for his mother and younger siblings with some of his savings. He says for him to get here he had to like most of his counterparts, get arrested by the police to cut on transport costs to get to Zimbabwe. When asked about his future plans Mpumi lights up and says " I plan on coming back to Botswana when I come back from home, then I want to find my way to Namibia and see what it has to offer." Mpumi says he is not scared of the police anymore and that if you have a little bit of money with you then you can always bribe your way out of any situation.

4.9.1 Experiences of children – Key Informants

The researcher interviewed the social worker form the child welfare department to find out the experiences of children assisted by the PRSC. The social worker conveyed that most children assisted that were assisted by the centre did not have passports and mostly used the undesignated entry points into Botswana with the use of *omalayitsha`s* and bus drivers. This revelation was echoed by the programs manager from Save the Children who said that the number one reason why children did not have passports was the fact that most of these children did not even have birth certificates to begin with, which made it impossible for children to acquire national ID`s and travel documents even in the event that funds are available to apply for passports. The programs manager had this to say:

> "*Children from Zimbabwe who illegally cross the border into Botswana most of them do not have birth certificates and this is the menace that most children especially those who come from dysfunctional families are facing…from an early age, children are deprived of their right to birth registration and this has ripple effects in that it affects their right to education and children are put at risk as they become illegal immigrants in the absence of legal travel documents*"

The programs manager reinforced that it was of paramount importance for the government and NGO`s to work together to effectively address the problems encountered where birth registration of children is concerned as this could partly assist in addressing the challenge of illegal migration of children.

In line with the above, the social worker conveyed that in her experience as a social worker who works with the deported children, girls do not have the same experiences as boys as it was girls

that tend to face discrimination, indecent assault, rape and sexually exploited through prostitution. The abuse mainly came from the *omalayitshas`*, employers and the girls` boyfriends. This is what she had to say:

> *"The situation is really bad because these children are running away from poverty and unconducive living environment only to be faced with abuse and exploitation across the border. The girls usually end up in prostitution when they fail to get jobs and those who are lucky to get jobs are exploited by their employers."*

This shows that children are taken advantage of because of their desperate situation and this sexual exploitation mostly occurs on the part of girls. The social worker reported that the dangers of those girls that ended up in prostitution included unwanted pregnancies, illegal abortions, arrest, sexually transmitted infections and in some cases death of the children. She said these were some of the challenges that were faced by migrant girls. She related that the department assisted the children with shelter, food, sanitary wear, psycho social support (counseling) and initiated the reunification and reintergration process.

Moreover, the program manager cited that in his experience in working with the children from the centre, they had collaborated efforts with the MoPSLSW in trying to assist the deported children with interim care, psychosocial support services, facilitating referals of children to other key service providers such as for educational support to those who were willing to enroll back into school, alternative care and for health support.

Moreover, the social worker cited some challenges that the department faced when working with the return child migrants, these include the following:

➢ Unwilling to cooperate (some children do not want to abide by the rules at the centre or cooperate with the social worker when she tries to engage them in order to assist them).
➢ Lack of sufficient resources at the centre e.g sanitary wear, food, medical supplies
➢ Reunification process is harder especially for double orphans with no legal guardians
➢ Some children once deported are eager to risk their lives again by illegally crossing the border the very next day
➢ False information provided by the children in some cases

The social worker reported that most of the children who were assisted by PRSC did not have passports, ID cards or birth certificates. In such a case, this makes it difficult for the children to break the cycle of poverty as the history of not having a birth certificate can become a generational curse. Those who had passports preferred getting arrested on their way from Botswana to Zimbabwe just to cut on transport costs. The social worker related that the counseled children confessed that in as much as they preferred cutting transport costs by getting arrested; the children bemoaned the prison conditions. She said that most children that had been arrested and spent nights in cells had nothing positive to say about that experience as the food rationing was bad, cells were stuffy, smelly and crowded without any bathing facilities and this exposed children to diseases such as TB and cholera. The counselor revealed that amongst the children, boys especially, they felt a sense of manhood and pride in having been arrested and spending time in the cells.

On the whole, both key informants strongly agreed that the phenomenon of unaccompanied child migration heightened children`s vulnerability and that the government needed to put effective structures in place to largely address the causes of child migration and deal with the challenges that these children face.

Looking at the above presented findings, it is evident that there are numerous reasons why children are migrating to Botswana and these include economic hardships, family reunification, unconducive family environment that include domestic violence and peer pressure. Children are attracted by the pull factors in Botswana which include employment and better living conditions among others. Children by exhibiting their agency to migrate to Botswana in the absence of parents or guardians and this heightens their vulnerability and exposes them to risks such as sexually transmitted diseases, child labor and child prostitution including sexual exploitation, child trafficking, and juvenile delinquency. Thus in the process, children`s rights have been grossly violated and this has hindered the welfare and development of the child migrants.

4.10 Summary

From this chapter, the findings of this study have very much managed to answer the research objectives. The presentation of the findings were discussed in accordance with the specific objectives of the study and given a thorough analysis. The next chapter shall present the recommendation and conclusions drawn from the findings of this chapter.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter marks the concluding part of this research study. This chapter focuses on giving the conclusions to this study in relation to the objectives of this study as discussed in the previous chapter. The conclusions will be followed by the recommendations for curbing the problem of unaccompanied child migrants in relation to Plumtree and improving the welfare and safeguarding the rights of children on the move so that child welfare and development can be at the core of sustainable development programs. These recommendations will be given in relation to the findings of this study. Lastly, this chapter will end with a chapter summary.

5.1 Summary

This study has managed to answer the research objectives and has given an account of the causes for unaccompanied children`s migration and their experiences during the migration process. The study has shown that the phenomenon of unaccompanied child migration whwere the case of Plumtree border post is concerned is largely dominant in Bulilima and Mangwe and areas in close proximity with the border town although there are some few notable cases where children travel form as far as Harare to Plumtree in order to gain entry into Botswana. This shows that where the gender pattern is concerned, children tend to opt to travel short distances in order to minimize their costs when trying to corss the border and this is attested to by the high numbers f children who come from areas surrounding Plumtree. The study has shown that in as much as children are largely crossing the border due to economic hardships, there are quite a number of other reason that work in part to catapult children`s decision to migrate. For some children, the social backgrounds such as break-up of the family and family disintergation due to divorce or death can cause many socio-economic challenges which in turn propel children to look for solutions and many end up migrating without legal travel documents in a bid to diversify their livelihood and that of their siblings.

Furthermore, children are faced with a myriad of challenges when they migrate and this heightens their vulnerability as their rights are violated. Many children are engaged in child labour, child sexual exploitation and constantly play hide and seek with the police in Botswana but unfortunately many of them end up arrested and detained. What is also important to note is that in proving their agency, children try to put measures to confront the challenges that they face

in their day to day lives during their stay in Botswana. However, the children, most of them are unaware of their rights and have no idea that they are being exploited in their bid to seek greener pastures especially where child labour is concerned. Thus, it should be noted that in a much as children in this research have tiried to demonstrate their agency by migrating in the absence of adults, facing challenges on thir own whilst at the same time devising ways to overcome these challenges, children are children first and thus they ought to be protected as highlighted by statutory instruments.

5.2 Conclusions

- ❖ There are large numbers of children that are migrating from Zimbabwe to Botswana using Plumtree border post and majority of them are illegal migrants (border jumpers) as they do not have proper and legal travel documents thus they use undesignated entry points into Botswana.

- ❖ The age of migrating children start from 9 years and the number of children migrating increase in relation to age; this is to say that the age of migration increases on the onset of adolescence with approximately 89% of adolescent children (13-17) having migrated between the period 2015 to 2017 whilst only 11% of children between 9 and 12 migrated during the same period.

- ❖ It has been established that the majority of children that are migrating to Botswana are doing so as a result of economic hardships and poverty that has plagued their lives. In as much as economic factors are largely the reason for migrating, there are other factors that work in part with the former in acting as catalysts to expedite the decision to migrate and these include unconducive living environments (domestic violence, maltreatment and abuse), family reunification and peer pressure, this shows that unaccompanied child migration is multi dimensional in terms of the reasons why it happens. The unfavorable social and economic environment prompt children to migrate to Botswana in search of better life opportunities as they see migration as a means to an end and diversifying their source of livelihood.

- ❖ The social effects of children`s migration are more negative than they are positive for the children. Children are constantly faced with discrimination, depression due to stress caused by separation from family and frustration as hopes are crushed due to low income and the inability to send remittances home as expected.

❖ Children are faced with a myriad of challenges but they develop survival strategies to overcome these, they do not wait to be succumbed by those challenges but they put measures to confront the challenges. In support of the structuration theory, children indeed have the agency to put in place measures to confront the challenges they face in their migration journey. However, it should be noted that in facing these challenges, children`s rights are grossly violated and children themselves heighten their vulnerability and are exposed to risks that endanger their welfare and development. Thus, in as much as children have agency in reshaping their lives, this agency has limitations due to income earnings, children size, age and sex.

❖ In terms of exploitation, children`s are being exploited in terms of their labour, both boys and girls, with children being employed in the informal sector. However, it should be noted when it comes to girls, some of them end up in prostitution and others being sexually exploited thus revealing that the gendered migration experience in as much as it is exploitative for both boys and girls, girls are more at a disadvantage as they end up being victims of child sexual exploitation.

❖ This study has also revealed that there is an existing paradox in terms of migration policies and children`s rights as there is increased protection and somewhat good legislation but there is an apparent gap in implementation. There is the existence of legislation but children`s rights are being grossly violated when they are on the move.

❖ This study has also displayed the ability of children in participating as research respondents without the need for an adult to verify their responses. Most research on children autonomous migration has tended to focus more on adults` perspectives and this was not the case with this research. The children interviewed, regardless of their age proved to be very competent in responding to various questions, articulating their world view, experiences and their emotions. This goes on to further demonstrate the point that children have adequate agency in them and they are not becomings, but are actually creators of their own social worlds.

5.3 Recommendations

In light of the findings of this study, it is recommended that;

❖ There is need to address the root causes of unaccompanied children`s migration especially where poverty alleviation is concerned, factoring in that economic hardships is the major reason for children`s migration, zeroing in on the sending communities. The government in cooperation with NGO`s need to collaborate their efforts in coming up with poverty alleviation programs that focus on keeping children in school, technical skills development for both in school and out of school children, life skills for children in order to raise awareness and increase knowledge on the dangers associated with children`s autonomous migration. Such an approach will enable children to make informed decisions concerning their lives and ensure that children are equipped with the necessary technical expertise or skills in entrepreneurship as a way of sustaining their livelihoods once they leave school.

❖ There is need to sensitize communities especially parents and guardians on the dangers involved with exposing their children to unaccompanied migration, especially where illegal migration is concerned.

❖ There is need for the government to put measures that can address the existing gap between policy formation and implementation where child migrants are concerned. The rate of corruption among immigration and the police at border posts is a menace to the development of any country, Zimbabwe and Botswana included. Plumtree border post has become a haven for corruption and this has seen immigration and the police asking for bribes from children just so they can turn a blind eye on illegal entries and exits. There is need for effective anti corruption measures to stop this unbecoming culture of corruption at border posts.

❖ There is need for impact assessment on all new policy on migration and even existing policies that have not been assessed in this way to ensure that children`s rights despite gender are respected and that relevant international standards such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the ACRWC are adhered to. Ensure that migration policies and practices treat children as individual rights holders, whether they are accompanied by adults or not.

❖ There is need to continually adjust migration policies and processes in order to respond to the changing demographic and economic conditions whilst learning from past experiences.

❖ There is need for the government ministries to collaborate efforts and resources towards the smooth operation of PRSC as there is lack of equipment, medical staff, food and sanitary wear to assist the deported children who end up at the centre.

5.4 Suggestions for future research

This research has shown that children who migrate independent of their parents or guardians once they have been deported they end up at the PRSC for assistance as they await the reunification and reintergration process into their respective communities. There is need to examine and analyze the reunification and reintergration process of children so as to determine the post deportation process and what opportunities lie ahead once children have been reintegrated into the society.

5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter marked the end of this entire study. This chapter had provided the overall conclusions which have been drawn from the presented research findings of this study. This chapter has given the recommendations in relation to the findings of this study as well so that there can be room for curbing the child migration phenomena, improving the child migrant situation and protecting the rights of children on the move in the face of the challenges that they encounter during migration, in the host country and during deportation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SEMI STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE
My name is Adelaide Natalie Zimunya and I am in my Final year studying for a Master of Arts in Development Studies with Midlands State University. I am conducting a research on unaccompanied children`s migration at Plumtree Reception and Support Centre.

You are therefore requested to answer the attached questionnaire to the best of your ability. Participation in this research is voluntary and you are assured that the information that you provide will be treated as confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this research.

Questionnaire number……..

SECTION A: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Sex:　　　　MALE ☐　　　　FEMALE ☐

2. How old are you?...........

3. Level of Education (tick the one that applies)

　　　Primary ☐　specify grade……….

　　　Secondary ☐ specify form……..

4. Place of Birth…………………

5. Where did you migrate from (sending town)?............................

6. Orphan Status (Tick one that applies)

　　　Non-orphan　　　☐

　　　Single orphan　　☐

　　　Double orphan　　☐

7. State of migration (tick one that applies)

　　　First time　　☐

　　　Repeat　　　☐

SECTION B: CAUSES OF MIGRATION INTO BOTSWANA

8. What was your main reason for migration? (tick one that applies)

　　　a) poverty　　☐

b) family re-unification ☐

c) domestic violence ☐

d) peer pressure ☐

e) other (please specify)………………

9. What other reasons caused you to migrate apart from the one you have stated above?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

10. Did you personally make the decision to migrate? If not, who made that decision for you and why?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION C: SOCIAL EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

11. What social effects have faced during migration? (tick all that applies)

a) employment ☐

b) remittances ☐

c) discrimination ☐

d) other (please specify)……………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………

12. Were you employed in Botswana?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes specify the type of job…………………………………………………………………………..

13. If no to Q12 above how were you surviving in Botswana?

....
....
....

14. How much income did you earn in a week?

…………………………………………………………………………..

15. Have you ever sent remittances back home?

      a) Never ☐

b) Once   ☐

c) More than once   ☐

16. What type of discrimination did you face in Botswana? Describe it

……
……
……

SECTION D: CHALLENGES FACED DURING MIGRATION, IN SETTLEMENT AREA AND DURING DEPORTATION PROCESS

17. How did you get to Botswana?

……
……
……

18. What challenges did you face? (tick all that apply)

a) assaults   ☐

b) robberies   ☐

c) sexual violence   ☐

d) harassment   ☐

e) detention   ☐

f) trafficking   ☐

If you ticked one or more in Q18 above, please explain your answers

………
………
………
………

SECTION E: SURVIVAL STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY CHILDREN TO OVERCOME CHALLENGES

19. Where did you live in Botswana and how did you avoid getting caught by the police?

………
………
………

20. How did you overcome the challenges you faced in Botswana?

………
………
………

End of questionnaire, thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX 2

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW- CASE STUDY

1.What is your name and how old are you? (use pseudo name)

……………………………………………………….

2. Before you crossed the border where did you live in Zimbabwe?

………………………………………………

3. Why did you choose to migrate to Botswana?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Whom did you live with before you went to Botswana?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Tell me about your home environment

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…..

6. Please tell me how you got to Botswana

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

7. Are there any dangers you faced during the migration process?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

8. What were you doing in Botswana?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

9. How did you deal with challenges that you faced during migration?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

10. How was your stay in Botswana?

……
……

11. What are your future plans?

……
……………….…………………………………………………………………………………………..

12. Is there any information you want to add?

……
……

APPENDIX 3

SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE- KEY INFORMANT

1 a.What are the main reasons for children`s migration?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

b. Can you give me a brief profile of the children who end up at PRSC?

2 a. Do girls and boys have the same opportunities of migrating?

     Yes ☐   No ☐

  b. Do boys and girls have the same experiences during migration?

If no to Q2b above support your answer

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Do the children have passports? If not, how do they end up in Botswana?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

4. What kind of support does PRSC offer to deported children?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. What kind of challenges have do you face when working with the deported children?

....
....
....

6. How do children end up at the centre?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

End of interview, thank you.