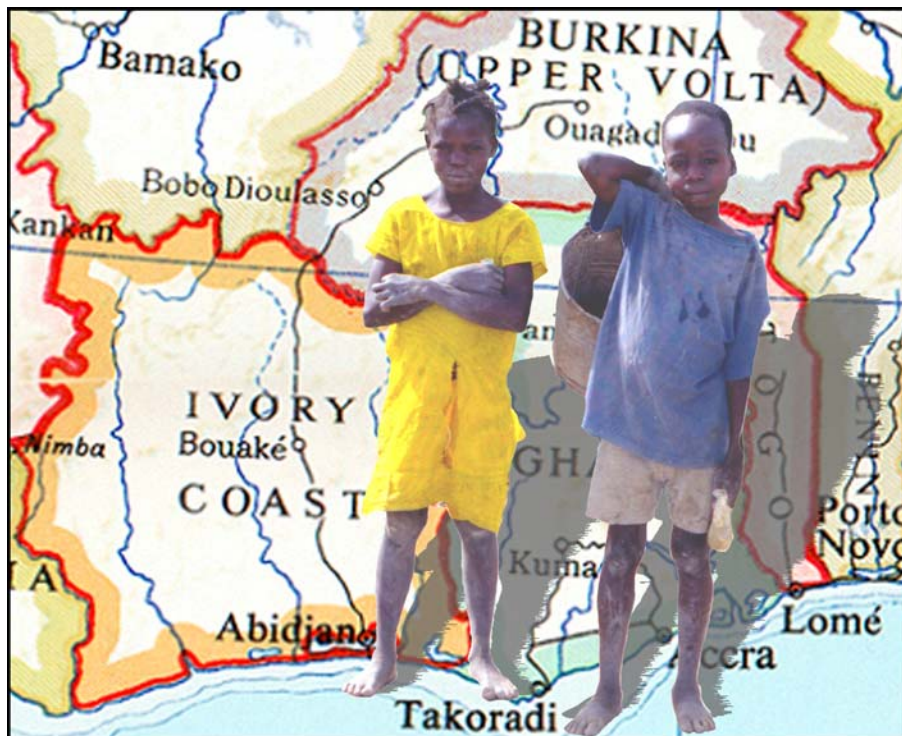


BURKINA FASO: CHILD LABOR MIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS

THE MAGNITUDE AND THE DETERMINANTS*



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* ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS, WITH INCORPORATED COMMENTS, FROM THE WORKSHOP OF INTERPRETATION AND VALIDATION IN OUAGADOUGOU JULY 16-17 2002

The findings and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the authors, and do not necessarily represent those of the World Bank. All errors and omissions are those of the authors. We are grateful to the Norwegian Education Trust Fund for financing the research work that this report is based on.

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1. Introduction

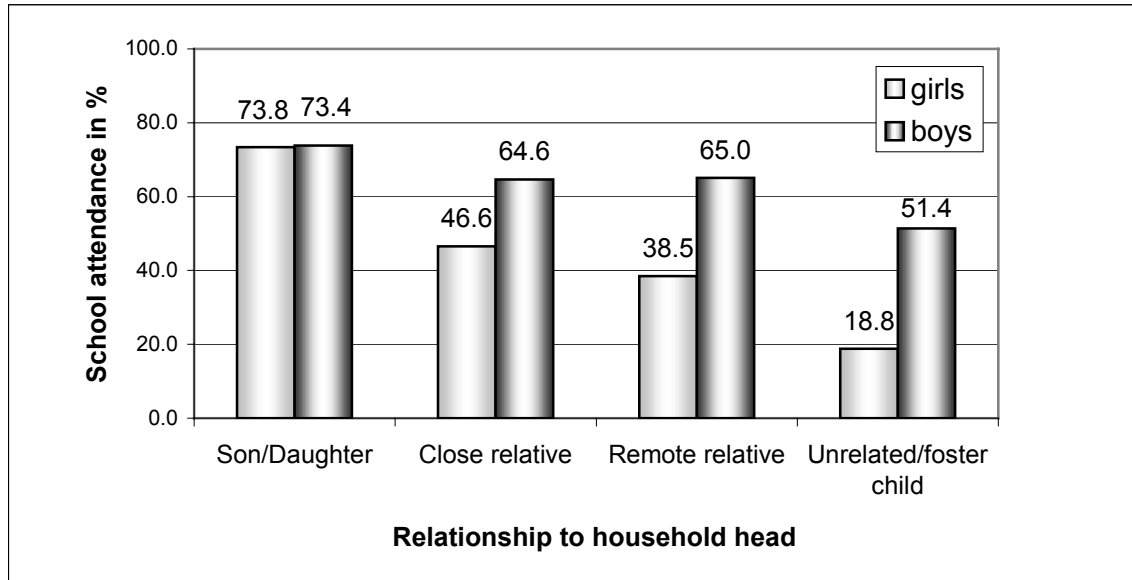
Above all, the four most basic needs of children worldwide are love, protection, food and education. In African culture, the child's closest family and kin would, within a traditional community, cover all these four needs. Children have typically circulated within extended families, something that has not only helped their socialization and integration in family and community, but also improved their educational training by allowing them to learn from various relatives.

This traditional education system is today challenged by two major developments: A changing and more diverse labor market, and consequently new requirements to education that go beyond what the family can teach. Formal schools have given children new skills and work opportunities, but have also taken away time that children used to spend working with, and learning from, their kin. The introduction of formal schooling, moreover, has led to a somewhat qualitative differentiation between school children and non-school children that was earlier unknown. Not only do schools take the children away from the labor tasks they used to perform, but the skills learned in formal schools are often poorly fit to prepare the children for the rural labor market in a country like Burkina Faso. The result has been migration of both educated and uneducated youth towards urban areas, and towards the neighboring countries, most notably the Ivory Coast.

In this report we look at the migration of children from rural areas in Burkina Faso towards cities and other countries. Their motives for leaving are different, but one thing is clear: when children are prematurely separated from their parents in the modern day West Africa, they are statistically much less likely to have their most basic needs, such as love, protection and education, covered.

From research in Benin we know that children who are placed with urban relatives, or someone unrelated, work much more than their peers. Analyzing the urban data from DHS/INSAE in Burkina Faso, we found that the likelihood that an urban child attends school decreases with an increased distance in family relation to the household head. Figure 1 shows how this tendency is particularly strong for girls.

Figure 1: School attendance rate for urban boys and girls 6 - 16 years old, on relationship to household head (Source DHS/INSAE).



The systematic deception and exploitation of unaccompanied children or “*passive travelers*”, as they are sometimes called in Burkina, have developed over the last decade. Professional intermediation of child labor from Mali to the Ivory Coast via Burkina cities like Banfora has been documented over the last two-three years, and several incidences of organized trafficking also of Burkinabe children have been disclosed. The children who fall victims of professional intermediaries often end up working under slave-like conditions, normally grossly underpaid, and sometimes not paid at all. Embarrassed with own failure, many never return home, and their stories remain unknown to their communities of origin. The few who do well – often after living through initial hardships – sometimes do come home, and their fancy shoes, clothes and gadgets are noticed and envied by the children in their villages, attracting new child migrants.

There has been little concrete information on the migration of Burkinabe children, complicating appropriate programming to ensure the children education and, preferably, preventing them from leaving home prematurely. However, in order to design an adequate and cost-effective program, or a national policy, in this area, three basic pieces of information are needed:

1. To *scale* the programs, one needs to know how many children are involved in child migration from rural areas in Burkina Faso.
2. To make the programs *relevant*, one needs to know why the children migrate, or statistically speaking; what are the typical features of the children who migrate, their families, and their villages compared to other children, families and villages?

3. To know *where to start* preventive efforts, one needs to know where the high-risk areas for child migration are.

This study has had as its main objective to provide accurate estimates on these three points in order to facilitate the further work of policy makers and programmers in this field. It is a replication of a similar study from Benin, conducted in the same month of April, year 2000.

Summary of findings:

- The data presented in this report is derived from a survey of 4500 randomly sampled rural households, interviews with 7354 rural mothers, covering 23,542 rural children.
- 9.5 percent of Burkinabe children 6-17 years old were found to live outside the proximity of their parents.
- 29 percent of these children live abroad, most of them in the Ivory Coast (22%).
- In absolute numbers this comprises almost 330,000 children, almost equally many boys and girls, whereas around 95,000 live abroad (73,000 in the Ivory Coast)
- 25.5 percent of the child migrants – 32 percent of the boys and 19 percent of the girls – left with the objective to study.
- This comprises around 83,000 children, 53,000 boys and 30,000 girls.
- Average departure age for a child migrant is 11.5 years for boys and 10.8 years for girls. For the children who left to study, the average age was of 11 for boys and 10.4 for girls.
- According to our operational definition of a *child labor migrant*, a total of 165,000 of the Burkinabe child migrants between 6 and 17 years old have migrated to work.
- Among the child labor migrants we find almost 94,000 boys and 71,000 girls.
- Almost 83,000 Burkinabe children work abroad, more than 47,000 boys and 35,000 girls.
- Around 66,000 of them work in the Ivory Coast, more than 36,000 boys and almost 30,000 girls.
- The two other most important recipient countries for child labor migrants from Burkina Faso are Ghana and Benin, with respectively an estimated 7,000 and 3,000 Burkinabe child labor migrants.
- More than 82,000 rural children have migrated to work in urban areas of Burkina Faso, almost 47,000 boys and almost 36,000 girls.
- Among the domestic labor migrant children 36,000 have gone to Ouagadougou, 22,000 to Bobo Diolassou, and 24,000 to other cities.
- The most seriously affected region of origin is the South West, where 12.5 percent of children 6-17 years old – or an estimated 23,000 children - have left to

- work abroad or in urban areas. Also heavily affected are Le Boucle the Mouhoun (5.1 %), East (5%), Center (6.1%), Center South (5.6%) and Center East (6.6%).
- The highest shares of international child labor migration are found in South West, Center East and East.
 - Child labor migration has increased steadily in Burkina Faso over the last five years, although international labor migration stabilized between 2000 and 2001 at an annual level of around 27,000 children.
 - In 2001, a total of more than 60,000 rural children left their parents in order to work in the cities or in the neighboring countries.
 - Most child labor migrants left with someone they were related to, while 19 percent left with a friend, and 22 percent left with “someone else” or a complete stranger.
 - More boys than girls leave with strangers and friends, while more girls than boys leave with relatives.
 - Poverty is the most cited reason parents give for sending their children abroad, and is curiously given as reason in 50 percent of the cases of boys, but only 33 percent of the cases of girls.
 - Girls were more often sent in hope of finding an apprenticeship, and interestingly in 12 percent of the cases for “emancipation”. The similar figure for boys was only 7 percent.
 - Comparing the households, parents and villages of child labor migrants to those of the children who stayed, we found that the poverty factor is much weaker than anticipated, and contrary to what was reported by the parents, stronger for girls than for boys.
 - The better-off households sent almost as many children away to work, and the only exception was a slightly lower rate for girls who were sent to work in urban areas. Household savings only reduces the likelihood that boys are sent abroad to work, and the overall wealth of the village is not significant at all.
 - As a further complication of the poverty link, we find that access to formal credit in the village systematically increases child labor migration.
 - Among the strongest and most systematic determinants for child labor migration is the fact that the child never has attended school.
 - The presence of a primary school in the village surprisingly does not have an effect on child labor migration overall. However, a primary school in the village is found to reduce girls labor migration when looking at an aggregate of all destinations, and reducing domestic migration when looking at boys and girls aggregated. (This effect is only significant at a 0.1 level.)
 - The impact of a total of 33 factors on child labor migration is examined and discussed.

2. Methodology

Central definitions

In 1994 the United Nations General Assembly defined *trafficking in persons* as the;

“illicit and clandestine movement of persons across national and international borders, largely from developing countries and some countries with economies in transition with the end goal of forcing women and girl children into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situations for the profit of recruiters, traffickers, crime syndicates, as well as other illegal activities related to trafficking such as forced domestic labor, false marriages, clandestine employment and false adoption.”

We particularly take note that false marriages and false adoption are stressed as possible disguises for child trafficking. In the most recent protocol amendment UNICEF extends the definition, including in the concept;

“the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery.”

The West Africa branches of UNICEF and ILO have explicitly aimed to separate working children that have been “confided” as a form for cultural socialization practice from children who have been “exported” for labor exploitation. The following regional definition of child trafficking has consequently been proposed:

“For the transfer of children to be qualified as trafficking, there should be;

1. the conclusion of a transaction;
2. the intervention of an intermediary;
3. the motive to exploit.

The term “transaction” refers to “any institution or practice through which young people, below 18 years, are handed over by either or both parents, or by a guardian to a third person, whether for a fee or not, with the intention of exploiting the person or the work of the young person.”

It remains unclear if a close relative strictly speaking can be defined as an intermediary, and if so, how close a relative. It is also unclear how to define “exploitation” in a way that clearly distinguishes what is internationally perceived as trafficking from what is in West Africa understood as a child helping out a relative. Notably, also traditional forms of child placement have economic aspects, since the placed or confided child in most cases works with the foster family.

When interviewing parents about their children’s whereabouts, who they left with, and their reasons for leaving, all the criteria above come out as difficult to address. It makes little sense to ask parents whether the motive for the child’s departure was “*economic*

exploitation”, since such concepts probably are quite meaningless to most rural parents. We have few means to assess whether *coercion* was used when the child left, and the degree of *voluntarism* of the child is impossible to measure in a credible way through parental interviews. In other words, the current definitions of child trafficking makes it complicated to design an adequate measurement to use in a household survey.

Given such definition problems, we choose in this report to use the concept “*child labor migration*”, a phenomenon that by many will be perceived as child trafficking, but that does not pretend to fully represent the child trafficking concept.

The trafficking in children is defined as a “*worst for child labor*” by ILO Convention 182, article 3, that denounces

“(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;”

While the convention calls for an abolition of child labor, with the exception of light work, for all children up to their 15th birthday, the worst forms, including child trafficking, also cover children until their 18th birthday.

In this study we will therefore mainly look at the migration of rural children 6-17 years old, including both the 6 year-olds and the 17 year-olds. We assume that the children who are under 6 are too young to work, and they are therefore not included in the main research sample.

Sampling

How can one accurately measure the labor migration of children in a country? Tracing children abroad and in urban areas *after* migration is difficult and very resource demanding. The alternative is to go to the source of the problem; to the rural households that the children come from. The study is therefore based on interviews with parents in rural households.

The only way to get results that are representative for the country in general is to make sure that the sample of households visited is absolutely random, that is: Each rural household in the entire Burkina Faso needs to have the same chance to be represented in the survey. We used stratified sampling; that is, we first drew a random sample of villages, and then randomly sampled households within each village.

The basis for the sampling of villages was the list of 8000 villages from the 1996 census in Burkina Faso, and from that list a random sample of 150 villages was drawn. Almost all of the 45 provinces were represented in the village sample. The number of households visited in each village was a function of the population size in the village that year,

compared to the total population of all the villages sampled¹. The largest village, Bouroum in Namentenga, had a population of 5562 in 1996, and the sample size was 141 households. The smallest village sampled had only 30 inhabitants, and only one household was visited. One very small village was not found, and was consequently excluded from the sample, leaving the research teams with 149 villages and 4463 households to visit.

The central coordinators of the survey divided the country into five regions, and employed local coordinators for each one. Each local coordinator then recruited the number of interviewers necessary to cover the households in her region, and trained them locally. A total of 90 interviewers worked to gather the data. Both the interviewers and the local coordinators were women because mothers were the primary targets for the interviews, and we assume that women are more likely to open up to other women.

In each household visited, all mothers with children 0-18 were interviewed about their children in the age group. Some basic household information was collected with the help of the household head, but with the situation of polygamy and often a high number of children per household head, it was assumed that the most accurate information would be obtained from each of the wives, and from other mothers living in the household.

One could assume that if the mother is dead or absent, a child could be at a higher risk of being sent away. To make sure all children were covered, it was made clear whether there were also deceased or absent mothers with children belonging to the household. If so, at least two other women from the household reported on the whereabouts of such children.

A total of 7354 mothers were covered in the interviews. Together they reported on behalf of 23,542 children between 0 and 18 years old, 14,738 of whom were between 6 and 17 years old.

¹ For list of villages sampled, their province, department, population size and sample size, see annex 1.

3. The Demographic Situation

In this section we will look at what the data tells us about the basic demographic situation in rural Burkina Faso. We will first look at the composition of rural families, and then examine at the whereabouts of rural children who are not with their parents. Based on data from the last census we derive the total number of rural Burkinabe children who are not with their parents, taking into account an assumed population growth of 3,5 percent per year since the census was carried out in 1996. From there we will examine the main motive for children to leave, and the reasons given by the parents.

Rural family size

Based on a basic analysis of the data collected we find that the rural households in Burkina Faso are large, with an average of 9.7 members. Twenty-five percent of households have 5 members or less, while 25 percent have 13 members or more. There is on average 1.7 mothers who have children in the age group 0-18 in each household, and they, on average, have 3.2 children in the age range each. The fertility rate in rural Burkina Faso is close to 8 children per mother, and when the number in this case is so much lower, this is because we in a random sample of mothers will find some mothers who just had their first child, while others will have many children above 18 who will not be counted in this survey.

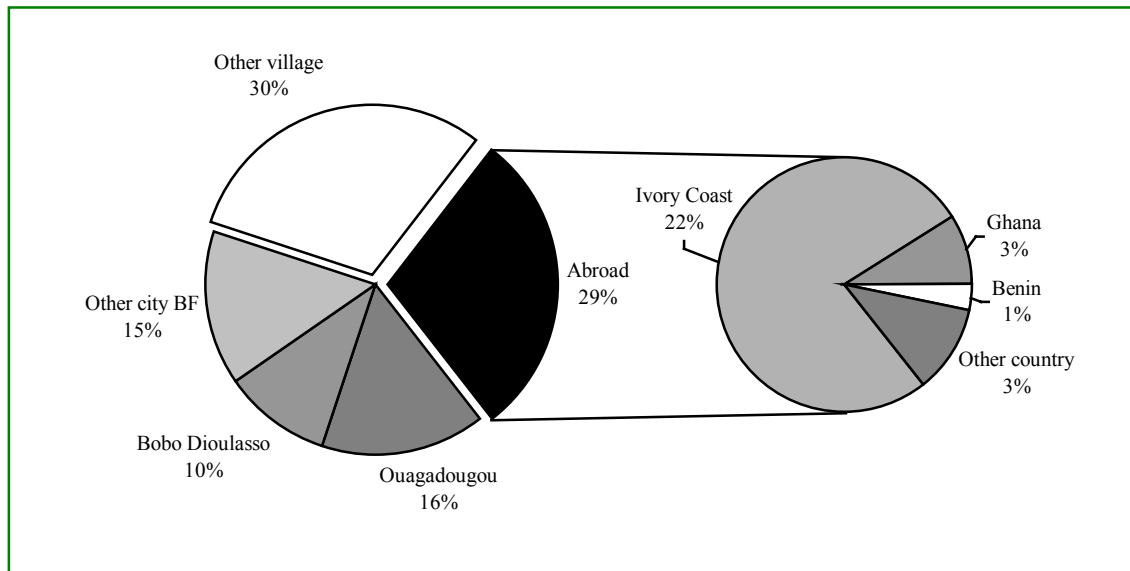
7.4 percent of the mothers are them selves household heads, 73.9 percent are the first wife of the household head, 9.6 percent are co-wives, 1 percent are daughters, 7.7 percent are other relatives, while only 0.3 percent are not at all related to the household head.

In rural Burkina, 1.4 percent of children have lost their mother, and 3.1 percent have mothers who live elsewhere. 3.5 percent have fathers who live in other households in the same village, 3 percent have fathers who live in other parts of Burkina Faso, 3 percent have fathers living abroad, while 4.7 percent had lost their fathers. While 6 percent of children were single parent orphans, less than one percent of the children in our sample had lost both their parents.

Where are the children?

Rural Burkinabe children generally stay in the parental households, or in the same area, but figure 2 shows that 9.5 % of the children 6-17 years old live outside the proximity of their parents. Among those who are not staying with their parents, 30.4 percent live in another village, 40 percent have left for the cities, while 29 percent are abroad, most notably in the Ivory Coast (22 percent).

Figure 2: Where are the rural Burkinabe children 6-17 who do not live in the same village as their parents?



How many children live away from home?

Since the census in 1996, INSD calculates with an annual population growth of 3.2 percent in Burkina Faso. The rural population should thereby have increased from 8,7 million in 1996 to 10.5 million in 2002. Around 35 percent of people in rural areas are children between 6-17, and we can therefore roughly estimate that there are 3.5 million children in this age range in rural Burkina. The 9.5 percent that have left their parents should then represent around 333,000 children, around half of them girls. Table 1 shows their destination in absolute numbers. From the table, we also see that girls primarily go to other villages, while the most favored destination for boys is the Ivory Coast. 23 percent of girls and 34 percent of boys go abroad. In total, there are more than 70,000 Burkinabe children in the age range in the Ivory Coast, more than 8,000 in Ghana, and more than 3,000 in Benin.

Table 1: Destination of Burkinabe children 6-17 years old extrapolated into absolute numbers.

Destination	Boys	Girls	Total
Other village	34683	66014	100697
Ouagadougou	28166	22961	51127
Bobo Dioulasso	17225	16264	33490
Other city in BF	30028	19135	49162
Ivory Coast	40270	33007	73277
Ghana	5819	2631	8450
Benin	2328	957	3284
Other country	7682	2631	10313
Total	166200	163600	329800

What are their motives for leaving, according to the parents?

The parents of the child migrants in Burkina give different reasons for why their children have left. In the survey the most common motives are compiled in four categories; the children left to work, to marry, to study or “for other reasons”. Table 2 shows that while 41 percent of the boys had left in order to find work, only 16 percent of the girls had done so. On the other hand, while few boys had left to marry, 30 percent of the girls did, and 36 percent of girls had left for “other reasons” than studies and work, compared to 25 percent of the boys. Among the boys who had left, 32 percent had left to study, while the equivalent share of girls was 19 percent.

Table 2: Motive for leaving the parental household, on gender, children 6-17 years old.

	To work	To marry	To study	Other reason	Total
Boys	41.0	1.5	32.1	25.4	100 %
Girls	16.1	29.8	18.6	35.5	100 %
Total	28.8	15.4	25.5	30.3	100 %

Different child fostering arrangements are common in Burkina, and we know (with reference to figure 1) that the fostering of girls to the cities often conceals exploitation of children as domestic servants. From experience we also know that women’s work is often not considered work at all, and a considerable underreporting on girls’ labor motives for leaving must therefore be assumed.

Figure 3: Why rural boys and girls 6-17 years old have left their parents, in estimated numbers on a national basis.

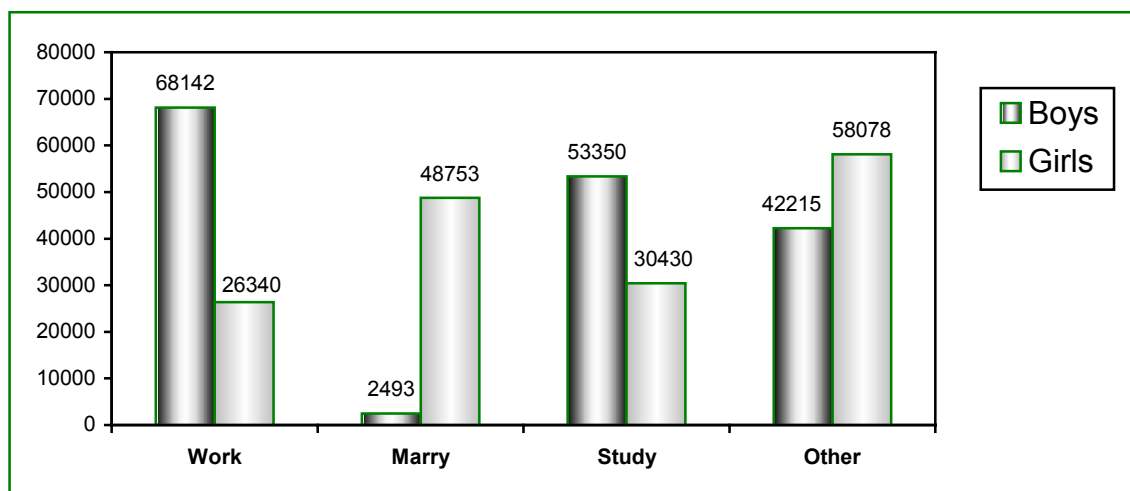


Figure 3 shows the extrapolation of the absolute number of children who have left their parents with the different motives. We see that more than 80,000 children have left their parents to study, most of them boys. According to our sample, more than 90,000 children have left their parents explicitly to work, 68,000 boys and 26,000 girls. Around 49,000 girls have left to marry, and 58,000 have left “for other reasons” than to study, marry and work. Adding up the three non-study groups, we see that around 133,000 girls and 113,000 boys have left their rural parents for other reasons than to study.

The age of child migrants

Table 3 shows that girl migrants are on average 8 months younger than boys when they leave home. The average departure age for a migrant girl is 10.8 years and for a boy 11.5, which is also approximately the average age for children who leave to study. Labor migrants are a bit older, boys on average leave at 13.3 years, while girls leave at 12 years and 2 months. Youngest are the children who have “left for other reasons”, probably comprising a variety of child fostering arrangements, including more or less open use of children for child domestic services. Girls in this category left on average at 8.4 years old, and boys at 9.3.

The current average age of the child migrants is somewhat higher. The children who left explicitly to work are today on average 14.9 years old, the children who left to marry 15.7 years old, the children who left to study 13.2 years old, while the children who left for other reasons are on average 11.3 years old. Among all the child migrants the average age today is 13.4 years, 13.1 for girls and 13.7 for boys.

Table 3: Departure age and current age of child migrants on gender and motive for departure.

	Departure age			Current age		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Work	13.3	12.2	13.0	15.3	14.1	14.9
Marriage	(11.3)	13.8	13.7	(14.2)	15.8	15.7
Study	11.0	10.4	10.8	13.5	12.8	13.2
Other reason	9.3	8.4	8.7	11.7	11.0	11.3
Total	11.5	10.8	11.2	13.7	13.1	13.4

4. Child Labor Migration

In the group of children who had left their parents explicitly to find work we find a clear majority of boys. It is a notorious problem within labor research that the labor of women and girls tend not to be defined locally as “real” labor, and we thus tend to get an overrepresentation of boy workers. We find a great majority of girls among the children who have left “for other reasons” than study, work and marriage, and only 3 percent of them are in fact currently in school. It is evident that many of these girls today are found within various foster care arrangements, often more or less clearly used as child domestic servants. Almost all the children who had left to marry were girls, and also here we find that only 3 percent currently attend school. Being married is obviously no excuse for child labor exploitation, and we find that one in four girls who left to marry are in fact sent abroad. As we have seen, in 1994 the United Nations General Assembly in their definition of *trafficking in persons* warns in particular against “false marriages” and “false adoption” as common disguises for the trafficking in women and children. It is moreover anecdotal evidence that children victims of trafficking are given false promises of schooling when they leave.

So, how do we construct an adequate operational definition of child trafficking based on the data from this survey? What sub groups do we involve? For each subgroup we include we risk polluting the sample with children who are in fact better off after migration, and for each subgroup we exclude we risk losing important information about children who are indeed victims of trafficking. From the discussion above, we find that it would involve serious information losses to only include those children who’s parents explicitly state that the children have left to work, as we in particular would risk getting a serious under-representation of girl labor migrants. Any operational definition will have to be based on subjective judgment, and consequently we choose to stick with the more neutral term, “child labor migrants” rather than using the trafficking term it self. Although all these children may not necessarily be victims of trafficking, they are certainly at high risk of ending up exploited by scrupulous adults far away from the protection of the closest family and kin. As an operational definition for *child labor migrants* we then suggest to include;

Category 1: Children who fill all the following criteria;

- ✓ Birth zone: Rural
- ✓ Age group: 6-17 (average age 14 years)
- ✓ Destination: Urban areas in Burkina or abroad
- ✓ Motive: Work or “other reason” than school and marriage
- ✓ Education: Not currently in school

Category 2: Girls who have left to marry and who do not attend school. In order to reduce the impact of this group on the total sample, and also in the spirit of the UN definition of 1994, we only include those who went abroad, assuming that “false” marriage can be used to gain entry into another country. We stress that this group is a relatively small part of the total sample.

Category 3: Children who left with the aspiration to study abroad or in urban Burkina Faso but who are not in school after all. This is also a small group compared to category 1.

We have thus *not* included children who have moved within the rural areas in Burkina, either to work or for any other reason. This is done mainly to avoid involving too many children who are part of a natural rural family circulation of children, and because we believe that distance to parents and contact with a different culture (urban/foreign) is a crucial welfare risk for the rural migrant children. We are aware, however, that this does involve loosing information on children who have left to work in mines and on plantations like cotton farms. We have not included boys who left to marry, nor girls who left to marry in other parts of Burkina. We have neither included any children under 6 years of age. None of the children in the sample are currently in school. The sample derived from our operational definition covers 49,5 percent of children who have left the parental household within the age group, and consists of 43 percent girls and 57 percent boys.

Child labor migration in numbers

According to our operational definition of child trafficking we find that 4.7 percent of rural Burkinabe children aged 6 to 17 are child labor migrants, and thus possible victims of child trafficking. In 51 percent of the cases the parents state explicitly that the primary motive for their child’s departure was to work, in 37 percent of the cases the child had left “for other reasons”, 8 percent were girls who had gone abroad to marry, while 4 percent had left to study, but were not studying after all. In spite of the extended definition of labor migration, the clear majority – 57 percent - are still boys. Table 4 shows that while the parents stated that of two out of three boys left explicitly to work, almost half the girls were said to have left for “other reasons”, although they are not in school. 18 percent of the girls have married outside Burkina Faso.

Table 4: Suspected victims of trafficking, on gender and motive for departure

	Boys	Girls	Total
To work, urban/abroad	66.2	31.3	51.2
To marry abroad (girls)		18.2	7.8
To study (but not in school)	5.8	1.0	3.8
Other reason (not in school)	28.0	49.5	37.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In a rural population estimated to 10 million people, the 6 to 17 year-old age group would comprise approximately 35 percent of the population, and thus represent 3.5 million rural children.² If indeed 4.7 percent of these children are labor migrants this should represent around 165,000 children, 94,000 boys and 71,000 girls.

The destination of child labor migrants

Tables 5 a) and b) look at the destination of the child labor migrants in percentage share and in estimated absolute numbers. Interestingly, the distribution is almost even between boys and girls on urban areas in Burkina Faso and other countries. Considering that boys to a higher degree would be looking for work in commercial agriculture (typically cotton, coffee and cocoa) and girls more often would search domestic services in urban areas, one could have expected larger differences between the genders' respective destinations³. Among the children who migrate to urban areas in Burkina, most go to Ouagadougou, although a surprisingly high share is going to Bobo Dioulasso that is a considerably much smaller city. While a higher share of girls than boys go to Bobo Dioulasso, a higher share of boys than girls goes to other cities in Burkina. The Ivory Coast is not surprisingly the main recipient country for Burkinabe child labor migrants, in particular of girls. Some boys migrate towards Benin, probably to work in the cotton plantations, while very few girls do.

Table 5 a): The destination of rural Burkinabe child labor migrants in percentage share, on gender.

Destination	Boys	Girls	All
Ouagadougou	22.2	21.2	21.8
Bobo Dioulasso	10.6	16.8	13.3
Other City, Burkina	16.7	12.1	14.7
Total Burkina	49.5	50.0	49.8
Ivory Coast	38.6	42.1	40.1
Ghana	4.5	3.7	4.2
Bénin	2.5	.7	1.7
Other Country	4.8	3.4	4.2
Total Abroad	50.4	49.9	50.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In absolute numbers (table 5 b), we see that an estimated 82,000 children have migrated to work in urban areas of Burkina Faso, and among them we find around 46,500 boys and 35,500 girls. Almost 83,000 children have gone abroad to work, around 47,000 boys and

² Estimates are based on the age pyramid of DHS/INSD's *Enquete Demographique et de Sante* 1998/1999.

³ It should be noted, however, that among rural children migrating for work in other villages within Burkina (not included in this sample) 72 percent were boys, probably mainly looking for work on commercial farms.

35,500 girls. Among them, 66,000 are in the Ivory Coast, while around 16,500 are in other countries, most notably Ghana.

Table 5 b): The destination of rural Burkinabe child labor migrants in estimated absolute numbers, on gender.

Destination	Boys	Girls	All
Ouagadougou	20868	15052	35970
Bobo Dioulasso	9964	11928	21945
Other City, Burkina	15698	8591	24255
Total urban Burkina	46530	35571	82170
Ivory Coast	36284	29891	66165
Ghana	4230	2627	6930
Bénin	2350	497	2805
Other Country	4512	2414	6930
Total Abroad	47376	35429	82830
Total	93906	71000	165000

When more boys than girls are found to migrate, this is mainly due to the fact that boys are given a much greater liberty to travel than girls. Cultural practices in some places moreover consider the migration and adventure seeking of young boys as a sign of bravery and adulthood. A considerable element of peer pressure must be assumed in this connection: Where one boy travels, other boys may want to copy his example. In the case of international trafficking, intermediaries tend to prefer boys, due to their higher market value with one of the most important recipients; commercial farmers. Finally, rural families tend to feel a stronger need to educate sons than daughters. With the acute lack of primary schools in most rural areas, boys may, to a greater extent, be sent away for educational purposes. Although not attending school themselves, the parents may want them to be around educated children and families with the hope that they will pick up better social skills.

Region of origin

To target preventive programs well, it is of great importance to know where most child labor migrants come from. While some cases were found in all 13 regions of the country, there were definitely areas with a higher propensity to send children off to urban areas and abroad in search of work. The South West region was in a league on its own, where 12.5 percent of the children sampled in the age group had left home in search of work. In total, that should account for as many as 23,000 children, among whom almost 10,000 – or 5.2 percent - have gone abroad. The cultural practice of emancipating children through migration is thought to be particularly strong in this region. The region is developmentally backward, and moreover geographically located right on the Ivorian border, something that inspires its youth to leave in search of better opportunities.

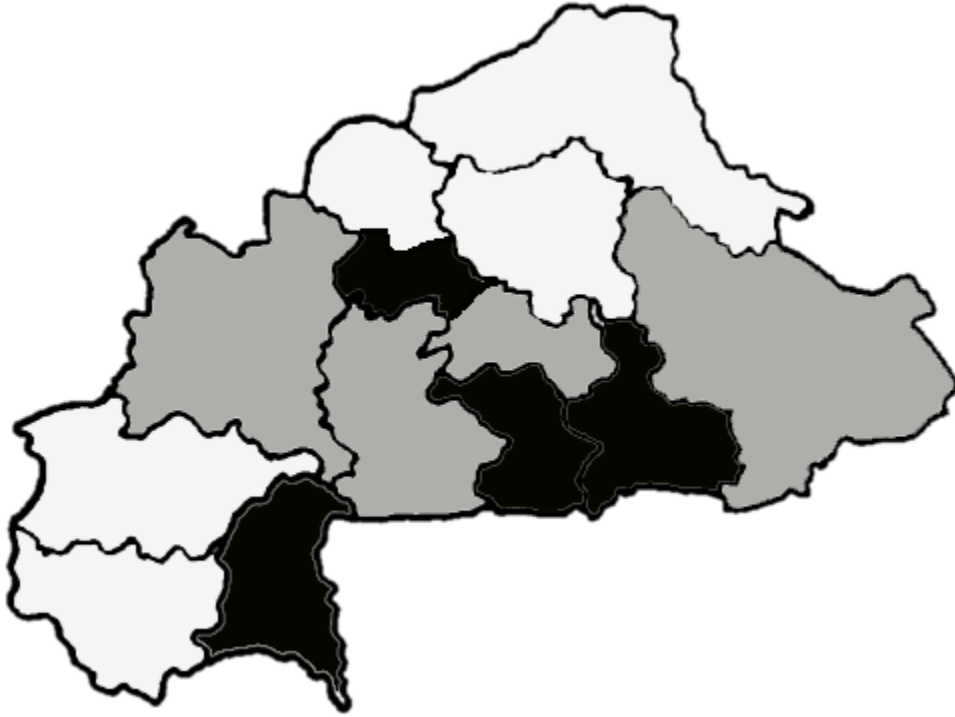
The second worst overall child labor migration rates are found in the Center and the Center East regions, where the culture of emancipation through migration is equally strong. While the majority in the former had gone to the nearby city of Ouagadougou, the majority of the latter had gone abroad. In absolute numbers, the second largest exporting region of child labor migrants is the populous Boucle du mouhoun region, with an estimated 22,000 children migrated, equivalent to a share of 5.1 percent. More than half of them, 12,000 children, or 2.9 percent, have migrated to work in other countries. Interestingly this is one of the most child labor demanding regions in the country with extensive cotton farming, and one could have expected less migration from this zone due to the presence of such local income earning options⁴. Also the Eastern region has a considerable share of children who have left to work in other countries. More than 11,000 children have left to work abroad, equivalent to 3.6 percent of children aged 6 – 17. The maps presented on the following three pages aim to give an overview of the high-risk areas for child labor migration in general, child labor migration to urban areas of Burkina, and child labor migration from rural Burkina to other countries, based on the numbers in table 6.

Table 6: Share of 6 – 17 year olds who are child labor migrants and extrapolated estimates of absolute numbers, on region of origin and destination.

	Urban BF		Abroad		All destinations	
	Rate	Numbers	Rate	Numbers	Rate	Numbers
Cascades	1.0	1067	1.0	1067	2.0	2134
Hauts-Bassins	2.0	5479	1.3	3653	3.3	9132
Boucle du Mouhoun	2.3	9719	2.9	12419	5.1	22138
Sahel	1.1	2846	2.0	5312	3.0	8158
Est	1.4	4591	3.6	11477	5.0	16068
Sud-Ouest	7.3	13556	5.2	9580	12.5	23136
Centre-Nord	1.8	6169	1.1	3835	2.9	10004
Centre-Ouest	1.6	5447	2.8	9473	4.4	14920
Centre	4.0	3673	2.1	1900	6.1	5572
Plateau Central	2.6	5890	1.6	3720	4.2	9609
Centre-Sud	4.6	9281	1.1	2158	5.6	11440
Yatenga	0.6	2005	0.8	2578	1.3	4583
Centre-Est	1.8	5339	4.8	14681	6.6	20020

⁴ It was suggested by one of the researchers that some of the children who had left their homes in the boucle du mouhoun, aiming for the cities or for the Ivory Coast, in fact could have gotten no further than these local plantations, believing that they had gone much further when leaving their parents.

Map 1: Child Labor migration all destinations, rates.
(Black=6% and more, gray=4-5%, light gray=3% and less)



Map 2: Child Labor migration all destinations, estimated numbers.
(Black=more than 20,000 children, gray=10-20,000 children, light gray=less than 10,000 children)



Map 3: Child Labor migration to urban areas of Burkina Faso, rates
(Black=4-8%, gray=2-3%, light gray=1% of children 6-17 years old)



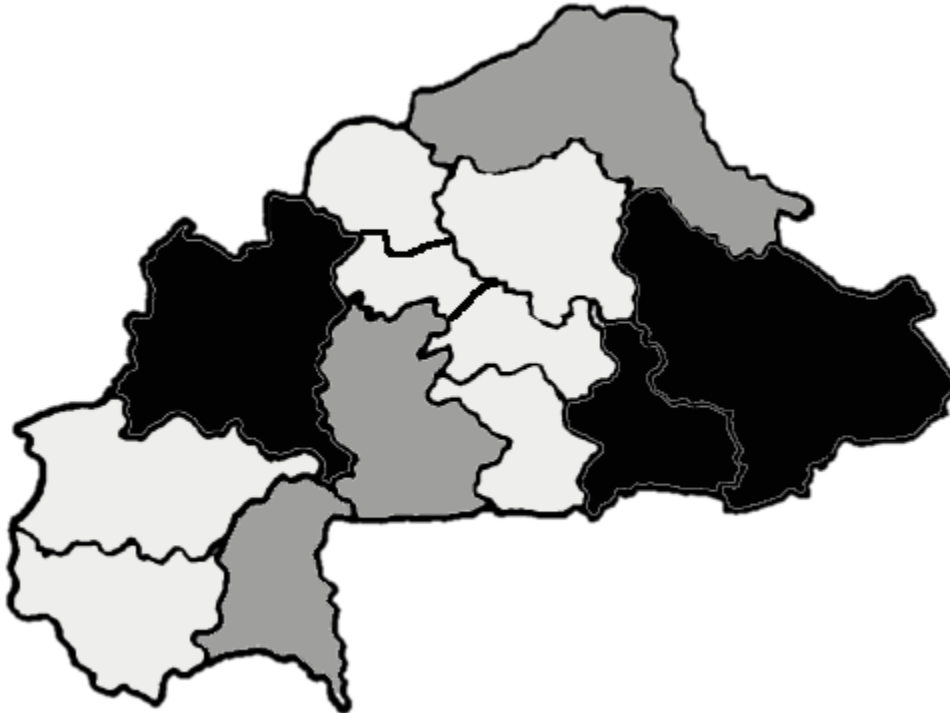
Map 4: Child Labor migration to urban areas of Burkina Faso, estimated numbers
(Black=More than 10,000 children, gray=5-10,000 children, light gray=less than 5,000)



*Map 5: Child Labor migration to **other countries, rates.***
(Black=4-5%, gray=2-3%, light gray=1% of children 6-17 years old)



*Map 6: Child Labor migration to **other countries, estimated numbers.***
(Black=More than 10,000 children, gray=5-10,000 children, light gray=less than 5,000)

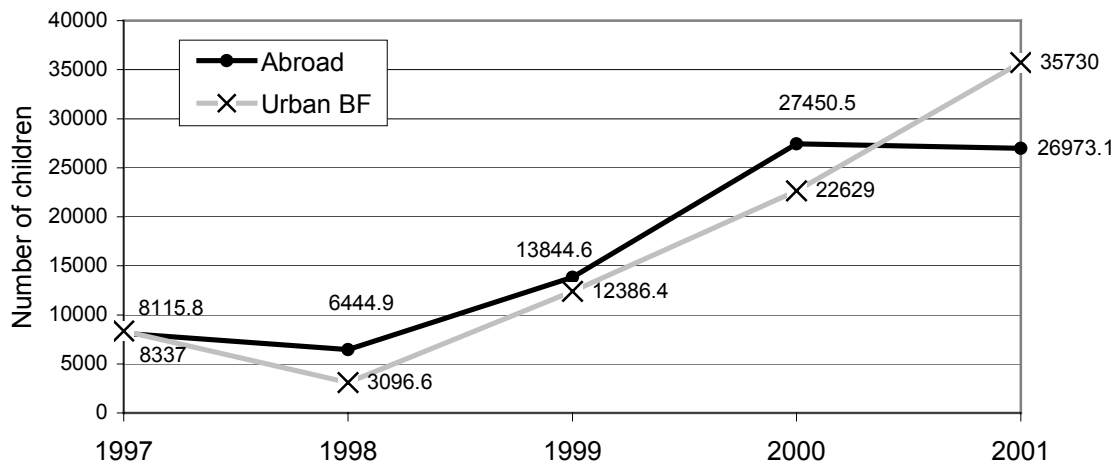


Development of child labor migration over time

Looking at when the children left their parents, we find a steady increase in child labor migration from around 1998 and up till today, and it almost doubled from 1999 to year 2000. International migration reached a peak in 2000, and dropped marginally in 2001. Child labor migration to urban areas of Burkina Faso, however, has continued to increase steadily, and may in fact have compensated for the stabilization of migration to other countries over the last year.

It is a general impression that life conditions in rural areas have become gradually worse over the latter years, and the differences between life conditions in urban and rural areas have thereby increased. Left out of the process of development and increasingly desperate, we may assume that rural parents have become more and more eager to get their children into more prosperous environments in urban areas, or abroad. Child trafficking is a relatively new topic of interest in Burkina Faso, and the attention recently given to its dangers have hopefully contributed to the stabilization of the international child labor migration that is seen between 2001 and 2002. We must also assume that the ethnic tensions and the return of ethnic Burkinabe from the Ivory Coast over the last year have had a deterring effect.

Figure 4: Child labor migration from rural areas of Burkina Faso to urban areas and abroad between 1997 and 2001, in estimated numbers.



Who the child left with

In 58 percent of all cases of child labor migration the parents state that the child left with a relative. This is particularly the case for girls, who, in almost 63 percent of the cases, left with a relative, while 55 percent of boys did. Almost 60 percent of the children who

went abroad had left the village accompanied by a relative, while 57 percent of domestic child labor migrants did so. Around 19 percent of the children had left with friends, which was more the case for boys than for girls, and more the case for domestic child labor migrants than for international ones. Twenty-two percent had left with some one else, or a complete stranger. This was more often the case for the children who went abroad than for the children who left for the urban areas of Burkina, and more common for boys than for girls.

Table 7: Who the child labor migrants left with, on gender and destination.

	Urban BF			Abroad			All destinations		
	boy	girl	all	boy	girl	all	boy	girl	all
Friend	26.0	14.8	21.7	20.1	28.4	16.7	21.8	15.8	19.2
Relative	49.5	67.1	57.1	60.8	58.1	59.7	55.2	62.6	58.4
Other/stranger	24.5	18.1	21.2	19.1	13.5	23.6	23.0	21.5	22.4

What the parents give as reason

When asked about the reason why the child labor migrants had left, we find a relatively uneven distribution on gender. While poverty in almost 50 percent of the cases was stated to be the principal reason for boys to leave, this was so only in 33 percent of the cases of girl child labor migration. Girls had, in 31 percent of the cases, left in the hope of finding apprenticeships, while this was the case for only 17 percent of the boys. In 18 percent of the cases of boys, the parents state that the child left on its own initiative, and this was also the case for 16 percent of the girls. Interestingly, more girls than boys had been sent away as their “emancipation” into adult life, as 15 percent of the girls and only 7 percent of the boys had left for that reason. The main difference in motives for sending children abroad, as compared to sending them to the urban areas of Burkina, was that poverty was a much more cited reason for sending children abroad.

Table 8: The parents’ explanation for why the child left, on gender and destination.

	Boys			Girls			All	
	Burkina	Abroad	All	Burkina	Abroad	All	Burkina	Abroad
Emancipation	10.2	3.5	6.8	9.4	15.3	11.8	9.9	7.3
Apprenticeship	16.8	18.0	17.4	30.9	30.7	30.7	22.9	22.0
Poverty	41.8	57.5	49.7	35.6	29.6	33.1	39.1	48.0
Child’s decision	19.4	16.0	17.7	16.1	15.3	15.7	18.0	15.7
Study	9.7	4.5	7.1	2.0	1.1	1.6	6.4	3.4
Adoption	2.0	0.5	1.3	6.0	8.2	6.8	3.8	3.0

* To get comparable results we removed the category of marriage for international girls child labor migrants.

5. The Determinants for Child Labor Migration

In order to design effective preventive programs for child trafficking and child labor migration, it is important to study the reasons for why some families make the choice of sending a child away to work. We have looked at the reasons parents give for sending their children to work in urban areas of Burkina Faso or abroad, but such statements represent the subjective perception of parents more than they represent objective conditions. One family might for instance *perceive* it self to be poor, while another family with much fewer assets may not. In this chapter we will look at the features of rural households that send their children to work in urban areas of Burkina Faso or abroad, as compared to families who do not.

We maintain our definition of *child labor migrants* as children 6-17 years old who have left their parents to go to urban areas or abroad in order to find work or for “other reasons” than studies and marriage. The few children in this group who were found to be attending school are excluded from the sample. We have also included girl children who have gone abroad to marry, but stress that this is only a very small share of the sample. We also include some children who left to study, but who are not currently studying after all, also this representing only a small share of the overall sample of child labor migrants.

We do *not* include children who have left to work – or for any other reason – to other rural areas of Burkina Faso, girls who have left to marry within Burkina, nor any child who is currently in school, no matter where or for what reason.

To study the determinants for child labor migration we use regression analysis; a statistical method that can help us to find more accurate information about the patterns that lead to the phenomenon, as in, for instance, data cross tabulations.

What is a regression analysis?

A regression analysis is a more advanced way to look at statistical data, and is basically a complex computer run mathematical model that calculates the effects that certain factors have on other factors: For instance, the effect that household poverty has on child labor migration. Cross-tabulation, the type of tables we have used so far, can normally only look at two or three factors simultaneously before it becomes too complex to read. We have up till now typically looked at gender and destination in combination with one other factor. The regression model has the capacity to look at many more factors at the same time, for instance; the poverty of the household, the religion of the mother, the gender of the household head, the schooling of the child and so on.

Why is this so important? Let’s take an example: Let’s say we want to look at the effect of the fathers’ death on the labor migration of his children. In a cross tabulation we will then look at the labor migration rate of children whose father is dead, and compare that to the labor migration rate of children whose father is alive. In our data we find that 9.6 percent of children who lost their father have gone to the cities or abroad in search of

work, while only 4.4 percent of children with their father alive have done so. What we do not see – but that we should expect – is that among all the children we have data on, the group of children who have lost their father would quite logically have a higher average age than the group of children who still have their fathers alive. Looking at the data, this is indeed correct: The average age of children 6-17 who have lost their father is 12, while the average for those who have not is 11. We also know that the older the child is, the more likely is it that the child leaves home to go and work. In other words, what seems to be the effect of having lost their father may in fact just be a result of this group being older than the group of children with their father still alive.

The regression analysis “adjusts” for such differences, and it is capable of adjusting for inequalities in a complex set of factors simultaneously. The regression results then tell us the effects for each factor after “controlling” for all the others, basically identifying what factors that do *most systematically* correlate with what we want to measure. By “controlling” for the impact of one factor on a certain phenomenon, we make sure that is indeed the effect of this factor we observe – and not the effect of some other factor that may be related to the first one.

In the following we will determine two things: Firstly, which background factors do have a systematic effect on child labor migration, and what factors do not. The factors that do have a systematic effect on child labor migration will be referred to as “*significant*” factors, and the factors that do not covariate systematically with child labor migration we will call “*non significant*” abbreviated to “Ns”. Secondly, we will find out if the significant factors lead to *more* or *less* child labor migration.

The program finally tells us *how sure* we can be that what we found in each case is indeed a reflection of reality. It is common in a regression analysis to only accept relationships that are more than 90 or 95 percent sure. If there are higher uncertainties – that is, if the relationships were less systematic – we would normally say that the factor is insignificant for the phenomenon we are trying to understand. With the large number of randomly selected cases in this study and the analysis method applied, we can be reasonably sure that what we find will indeed reflect the reality of rural Burkina Faso.

About the variables

An large amount of information was collected in the survey on child migration from rural Burkina Faso. Some of the information was related to the child, some was related to the mother, some to the household and some to the village. In the preliminary analysis it became clear that factors such as religion had no particular impact on child labor migration. Although children of animists in cross tabulation seemed to be more exposed than children of Christian and Muslim parents, the effect disappears when we controlled for other factors. The religious variables are therefore removed from the analysis. Data was also collected about organized groups in the village, but no type of organizations seemed to have a systematic impact on child labor migration. Such variables are therefore also removed from the final analysis. We also looked at whether children of women who

were not married to the household head was at higher risk for labor migration, but found that the two were unrelated. In the final analysis we are left with 33 variables, 3 that describe the child, 5 that describe the mother, 2 that describe the father, 7 that describe the household and 16 that describe the village of the child. There were only 4 villages with a preschool in the sample and only 4 with secondary school, so these variables are not included in the analysis. Here are the variables used, with a brief explanation:

Variable list	Explanation
1. Child's age	Child's actual age, between 6 and 17 (mean age = 11.1)
2. Child is not child of hhh	The child is not the son or daughter of the household head, but of some other relative of his/hers, and in a few cases unrelated to the household head (13 % of children were not child of household head)
3. Child has never been to school	The child is not in school currently, and has neither been so in the past (67 % of the children have never been to school)
4. Mother Deceased	The mother of the child is dead (1.6 % of the cases)
5. Mother's age	The age of the mother (mean age = 39)
6. Mother is Mossi	The mother belongs to the Mossi, which is the largest ethnic group in Burkina Faso (58 % of the mothers are Mossi)
7. Mother can read	The mother is alphabetized (6.9 % of the mothers can read)
8. Number of children alive	The number of children alive from the same mother (Mean 4.8 children)
9. Father deceased	The child's father is dead (5.8 % of the cases)
10. Father is migrant	The father of the child does not live in the village or the same department, but elsewhere in Burkina Faso or abroad (6.2 % of the fathers are migrants)
11. Number of people in hh	The number of regular inhabitants in the household (Mean 13 people ⁵)
12. Number of mothers in hh	The number of women with children in the age group 0-18 in the household (Mean 2.2 mothers per household)
13. Hhh can read	The household head is alphabetized (19 % of household heads can read)
14. Female household head	The household head is a woman (around 11 % of the cases)
15. Household savings (0-3)	The joint savings of the household is: 0=under CFA1000, 1=CFA1000-20000, 2=CFA20000-100000, 3=CFA100000 and above

⁵ You may notice that this is more than the 9.5 members average that we referred to earlier. The reason is that in the regression we look at each child and their household, not at each household. There are more children in the large households, and that means that we count the larger households more times than the smaller households with fewer children. The same is the case for some of the other factors.

16. Number of annual ceremonies	The number of traditional ceremonies organized by the household over the last year (from 0 to 9 with an average of 2 per household)
17. Household wealth (1-28)	Household wealth was estimated based on asset count of land, live stock, transport means, house quality, and source of water and lighting (this estimate could give up to 29 points, but effectively varies between 1 and 28)
18. Village wealth (5-18)	Village wealth was estimated as an average of the wealth of the households sampled in the village (Effectively between 5 and 18 points)
19. Size of village (1-3)	The villages are rated as small, medium and large, with a quite equal share of the villages within each group
20. Distance to center of region	The distance from the village to the central city of the region (there are 13 regions in our division of Burkina)
21. Access to village is bad (1-3)	The village is accessible by land in 1=all year, 2=only dry seasons, and 3=not very accessible regardless of season
22. Village has car station	There is a station for cars (attracting travelers, traders, drivers etc. and often a hang out in villages. 6.7 % of villages have a car station)
23. Village has primary school	There is a primary school in the village (53 % of villages have a primary school)
24. No markets in village	There are no markets organized in the village, neither daily or periodically (44 % of villages never had markets)
25. Village has a football team	There is a football team in the village (57 % of villages had a football team)
26. Village has "crieur pubilque"	A "crieur publique" is a type of a "village journalist" that distribute news in many African villages without other news access, or in addition to other news sources (63% of the villages had a crieur publique)
27. Village has radio	There is a radio in the village (35 % of villages had a radio)
28. Village has TV	There is a TV in the village (9 % of villages had a TV)
29. Village has journal	There is a journal in the village (only 3 % of villages had a journal)
30. Village has NGO	There is an NGO operating in the village (in 44 % of the villages an NGO was active)
31. Village has access to formal credit	Formal credit is available to men and/or women in the village (25 % of villages had formal credit access for men, and 38 % for women)
32. Village has access to informal credit	Informal credit is available to men and/or women in the village (14 % of villages had informal credit access for men, and 28 % for women)
33. Village has commerce as main revenue source	Commerce is the main revenue source of the village as compared to agriculture, artisan activities and other production (commerce is main revenue source in 59 % of the villages)

Significant determinants for child labor migration

Table 9 shows a rough overview of the systematic effects that the various background variables have on the labor migration of children. The background factors for girl labor migrants were compared to the background factors for girls who stayed home, and the same was done for boys. In the first four columns we present the findings for the four subcategories of child labor migrants; boys who went abroad, girls who went abroad, boys who went to urban areas of Burkina Faso, and girls who went to urban areas of Burkina Faso.

In the next four columns we look at effects for combinations of these groups, since clear patterns are often easier to find in larger samples. We thus examine the joint group of boy and girl migrants on destination, and the joint groups of destination on gender. The final table shows the four subcategories combined; all child migrants on all destinations.

A white field means the background factor has no, or only a very weak, relationship to child labor migration. The black fields mean that a factor is positively related to child labor migration, meaning that when the factor increases the labor migration of children increases too. A logical example is the age of the child. For example we see that the chance that a child becomes a labor migrant increases the older the child is. Similarly, we see that the chance that a child migrates to work abroad increases if the father has died. The gray fields show that the relationship between a factor and child labor migration is negative. This means that if this factor increases, the labor migration of children goes down. One example is the distance from the village to the center of the region. We see that the higher the distance between his/her village and the center of the region, the less likely it is that a child migrates to work in urban areas of Burkina Faso.

We have placed the “+” and the “-“ signs into the black and the gray fields of the table. Where the sign is placed in parenthesis, it means that we can only be between 90–95 percent sure that what we have found indeed reflects reality. Where the signs are without parenthesis, the regression analysis tells us that we can be 95-100 percent sure that what we have found is a clear and systematic pattern.

Factors related to the child

The risk that a child becomes a labor migrant increases with his/her age, and this is not unexpectedly the case for boys and girls equally and for both domestic and international child labor migrants.

We also suspected that children who were not the direct child of the household head could be at higher risk for early expulsion to work. The effect was opposite of what we expected; the children who are not the direct child of the household head, but rather of other family members or not related, are at an overall lower risk of being sent away to work. The relationship to the household head is only important in the case of boys labor migration abroad, and affects neither girls nor child labor migration towards urban areas of Burkina Faso. However, the pattern for boys' international labor migration is so clear that it affects the full sample of labor migrating children.

Table 9: Factors that affect the labor migration of rural Burkinabe children 6-17 years old, on destination and gender.

(Black=the factor increases child labor migration, Gray=the factor decreases child labor migration, White=the factor is nor systematically related to child labor migration. Signs in parenthesis show a significance level of 0.1, while signs without parenthesis show a significance level of 0.01-0.05.

hh=household, hhh=household head)

	Abroad		Domestic		Both genders		Both destinations		All
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Abroad	Domestic	Boys	Girls	
Child's age	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Child is not child of hhh	-				-		-		-
Child has never been to school	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
Mother Deceased	(+)			+				(+)	+
Mother's age		+	(+)		+		(+)		(+)
Mother is Mossi		-	+		-			-	(+)
Mother can read				+		+		(+)	
Number of children alive				+					+
Father deceased	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
Father is migrant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Number of people in hh	(-)				-		-		-
Number of mothers in hh			+	+		+	+	(+)	+
Hhh can read									
Female household head					(-)				
Household savings (0-3)	(-)						(-)		
Number of annual ceremonies	+	+			+		(+)		+
Household wealth (1-28)						-		-	-
Village wealth (5-18)									
Size of village (1-3)		+						+	(+)
Distance to center of region	-	-			-		-	(-)	-
Access to village is bad (1-3)	(-)		-			-			-
Village has car station	(+)				(+)	(-)			
Village has primary school						(-)		(-)	
No markets in village	+				+	-			(-)
Village has a football team	+	+			+		+	+	+
Village has "cricur pubilque"	+			+	+	+	+	+	+
Village has radio		-			-			-	(-)
Village has TV		-				-		-	-
Village has journal						(-)		(-)	-
Village has NGO									
Village has access to formal credit				+	(+)	+		+	+
Village has access to informal credit									
Commerce is main revenue source		+			+			+	+

This finding supports the theory that child labor migration is a strategic choice by a family hoping that the child will come back with money for the family. A biological son is probably the child to be most trusted to serve this purpose, since non-biological children will be less loyal. Girls have lesser income earning opportunities, and are at higher risk than boys when migrating. It should be noted, however, that children who are staying in households other than the ones of their own parents already could be considered to be “migrants” to their current households. Whether they have come for convenience or for emancipation reasons, they are likely to now be staying in a household that has demonstrated resources and interest to receive additional children.

There have been concerns that children who have been to school feel overqualified for farming and therefore more frequently will leave the countryside to look for work in urban areas of Burkina. We found the opposite tendency in our sample: Children who have never been to school are over all categories more likely to leave home early in search of work abroad and in urban areas. This effect is slightly more uncertain for girls, but this is probably related to the low schooling rates of rural girls in general.

There are many ethnic groups in Burkina and impossible to control for all. However we observe that children of Mossi mothers (the dominant ethnic group) are at a higher risk for child labor migration than other children, although daughters of Mossi mothers are at lower risk of being sent abroad. The effect comes from the increased likelihood of sons of Mossi mothers to migrate to work in urban areas of Burkina Faso. There is most likely cultural reasons for the Mossi to send more sons migrating, and it should be noted that none of the regions most heavily affected are predominantly Mossi (boucle du mouhoun and south west).

Factors related to the mother

The loss of a mother was expected to increase the out migration of children, in particular taking various problems related to step motherhood into concern. We also find that losing the mother strongly increases the likelihood that girls migrate to work in urban areas of Burkina Faso, while it for boys increases the likelihood of international labor migration. It is common to expulse the children of diseased mothers from the fathers household, in particular where there are co-wives present. As far as possible, the children will be placed with relatives, but in the worst cases they will be left to them selves, and easily fall victims of exploiters and traffickers.

The age of the mother also turned out to be significant, as we see that the older the mother is, the more likely it is that girls go abroad to work and that boys leave to work in urban areas of Burkina Faso. Since we have adjusted for the age of the child, this effect must mean that older mothers have different preferences from younger ones, and not that older mothers in general have older children. Some of the effect may stem from the fact that older mothers are more likely to be widowed or married to older men who are no longer as productive as before. The household head may also favor younger co-wives, leaving the older wives with a heavier burden to provide for own children. They may therefore - more than the younger mothers - be in need of financial support from their children.

Curiously we also find that the daughters of mothers who are alphabetized are at higher risk of migrating towards urban areas in Burkina to work. Educated women tend to have higher appreciation for the role of education, and a much stronger desire to help their daughters develop through learning. We must assume that these women send their daughters to urban areas in the hope that they may obtain some kind of education and learning there. Even in

they will not be able to go to school, one often hopes that children can pick up social and technical skills simply by being surrounded by more educated people.

We also expected to find more labor migration the more children a mother had, assuming that others could help out at home while the older left, perhaps to make an income and support the rural household. We also find that having many siblings increases the chance that girls go to work in urban areas of Burkina, but we find no similar tendency for boys, nor for international child labor migration.

Factors related to the father

Not unexpectedly we find a strong relationship between a father's death and his children's labor migration. Interestingly, we find an exception for the migration of boys to urban areas of Burkina Faso, and it is reasonable to believe that the father's absence in some families strengthens the demand for boys to take his role in the household. After the father's death the responsibility for the children is assigned to the new family chief, often a brother of the father, and the destiny of the children will be for him to decide. He may keep some, while placing others with other relatives or acquaintances. Others again may be unwanted and left to migrate on own initiative.

Although only 11 percent of the child labor migrants had a father who is a migrant, this is only slightly more than for other children. However, surprisingly few of the labor migrating children seemed to have left for the same place as where the father was. Among the relatively few child labor migrants whose father was abroad, half had gone to urban areas of Burkina. In other words, the effect observed seems to come from the absence of a father rather than that the child had left to go and work with the father.

Factors related to the household

While one could expect that larger households sent more children away to work, we found the opposite to be the truth. That is, while the number of permanent residents in the household had no effect on the labor migration of girls nor on child labor migration to urban areas of Burkina Faso, the larger the household is, the less likely it is that we find boys who have gone abroad to work. The effect of this relationship is so clear that it affects the entire sample, and we find that household size in general reduces labor migration of children. The larger households tend to have more farms and more live stock, and therefore tend to be more child labor intensive, which may partly explain this finding. Family size may also be an indication of other resources that we have not been able to measure with our wealth indicator, and thus indicate more reasons to stay. The number of other mothers in the household, however, increases child labor migration of both boys and girls towards the urban areas of Burkina Faso, perhaps indicating domestic conflicts and favoritism. The number of mothers in a household has no effect on international child labor migration.

Surprisingly, we found no effect what so ever of the household head being literate. Looking at the statistical means for the two groups (households led by literate household heads and households led by illiterate household heads), there is only a slight difference in child labor migration, but as we see, this difference disappears completely when controlling for other factors.

There is a general belief that children from female-headed households are at higher risk than children of male-headed households. However, the effect of having a female household head is almost non-existing, with the exception of an overall negative effect on international child labor migration, meaning that children of female headed households, to the extent it matters, are less likely to go abroad to work. This finding is surprising, and contradicts the most common perceptions. When we look at the means for child labor migration from male headed and female-headed households, we find that 5.7 percent of children from female-headed households and 4.6 percent of children are labor migrants. The reason is probably that female headed households send more children, not because the household head is a woman, but because of other factors that are typical for female headed household. These effects of these other factors are caught up by other variables in this regression analysis (as for example poverty, death or migration of father, literacy of household head and few savings).

Child labor migration and poverty

The most common explanation for child trafficking and the labor migration of rural children is poverty. This was also the reason most quoted by the parents of the child labor migrants. Interestingly we find that household wealth has a much weaker effect on the children's labor migration than one could expect. Taking the other factors into consideration, household poverty only leads to increased labor migration towards urban areas in Burkina Faso, but is not systematically related to child labor migration towards other countries. Moreover, household poverty only affects the labor migration of girls. It should be noted that the internal distribution of wealth *within* the family tends to disfavor girls, and we could assume that the poorer the household, the more disfavored its daughters become.

As we now see, these statistical results contradict the statements of the parents, who, in more cases, claim that poverty is the main reason for sending children abroad than to urban areas, and in more cases give poverty as a reason for sending boys than for sending girls. It thus may seem as if the parents rate them self as poor based on a subjective perception of poverty, a perception that may be influenced by other factors, for instance by the ambition level of the family. One could assume that a family that chooses to send a child out to work has an ambition for becoming richer, and perceives its' own poverty relative to the wealth they wish for, not relative to their neighbors. One could also guess that the households that send children to urban areas or abroad have knowledge of such places, and more actively compares themselves to the richer households abroad and in the cities. Less knowledgeable and ambitious families may not look at themselves as poor, although they objectively speaking may have very little.

The average wealth of the people in the village turned out to have no effect on child labor migration, and the finding is supported by the measurement of the average wealth of families in the villages of the child labor migrants; score 10.1, compared to the villages of those who stayed; score 10.4, on an active scale from 5 to 18. A possible explanation is that many of the poorest villages with the strongest reasons to send children away towards better conditions are so remote and inaccessible that child labor migration becomes a hurdle. We will look at this more closely in the next paragraph.

Similarly we found a surprisingly weak impact of household savings on child labor migration. The household having more savings leads to a reduction of boys' labor migration towards other countries, but has no effect on girls' labor migration or on boys' labor migration to urban areas of Burkina Faso. However, a factor that may support the poverty

theory is the positive relationship between the numbers of ceremonies a household organize on an annual basis: The more ceremonies – the more child labor migration. High household spending on traditional ceremonies is a frequently quoted reason why children may have to leave school and/or help the family to cover the expenses for ceremonies through child labor. It is common to see rural families awaiting the return of a child from the Ivory Coast in order to be able to afford spectacular family ceremonies. The higher the social rank of the family is, the higher are the expectations to grand ceremonies. This may perhaps contribute to explain why family poverty does not seem to have a systematic relationship to international child labor migration, and labor migration of boys.

Finally we find - conspicuously - that access to formal credit increases the labor migration of girls. The effect is in fact so strong that it affects the entire sample, although it is not significant in the all over labor migration of boys. Burkina has a strong rural network of women's credits associations and we have repeatedly seen how women, once having access to credit, give priority to investing in their daughters. If this is the case here, we have yet another indication that child labor migration is perceived as opportunity seeking. No effect was found from informal credit arrangements.

Factors related to the accessibility of the village

We have already seen that village wealth had no effect on child labor migration. The size of the village, however, turns out to have a significant effect on the labor migration of girls: The larger the village, the more girls migrate towards other countries. We also see that the likelihood that children migrate to work decreases the further away the village is from the center of the region, and the worse the access is to the village. In the case of whether the village has a car station or not, we interestingly find that in villages with car stations, child labor migration towards other countries increase, while labor migration towards the urban areas of Burkina Faso decreases. In villages where commerce is the main source of revenue we find increased labor migration of girls, particularly towards other countries. It has been claimed that the daily dealing with money – as compared to the traditional barter economy – tunes people into thinking more in materialist terms, and increases their desire to earn cash. Furthermore, access to money may help to finance travel. Moreover, traders often tell stories of other places and their opportunities, provide possible vehicles for migration, and have in many cases been reported to post as intermediaries.

All these factors have to do with communication both in the sense of travel and in the sense of information. We could imagine that you need a certain contact with and certain knowledge of the outside world in order to even consider labor migration. Contact with other places through a road network and through travelers, may also be necessary to establish an idea of how to organize the migration, and what to expect at the other end.

Activities in the villages

The lack of an effect of having a primary school in the village is unexpected. We could however expect that schooling is both a reason for children to stay, and also a reason why children who complete primary school would want to try to find more sophisticated work in other areas. A weak deterring effect of having a primary school in the village is found in the case of girls, and on domestic migration overall, but the relationship is not strong enough to be significant for the whole sample.

The lack of markets in a village increases the labor migration of boys towards other countries, but decreases the labor migration of girls towards urban areas of Burkina Faso. Both these two effects are strong enough for us to find an overall impact on both domestic and international child labor migration, but since the effects are opposite for the two destinations we find no clear patterns for the all boys' sample or the all girls' sample. Markets in general represent different stimulus for boys and girls. For boys the markets represent "free spaces", forums for emancipation and liberty; emancipation and liberty that are perceived as legitimate and necessary for young boys. The lack of a market would increase the young boys' urge to leave the village in order to find such stimuli other places. Girls, on the other hand, are not expected to go through similar processes of individual emancipation. In markets they tend to have two functions; as sales aides for traders, or as buyers for mothers or employers. Their presence in the markets is therefore much more controlled both in time and space. The lack of a market thus first and foremost indicates a limited access to information, and thereby a smaller likelihood that the girls and their parents will consider labor migration as an option.

A most interesting factor is the "football factor". While we could have anticipated that football playing would give children a reason to stay in the village, we find the completely opposite effect. There is a strong relationship between having a football team in a village and increased child labor migration, in particular towards other countries. The recruitment of young boys to soccer teams in the cities is a prominent inspiration, and one can imagine how soccer playing in many respects represents an outlet for boys' youthful dynamism that empowers them and gives them the courage and self-confidence to leave.

Surprisingly, we found no systematic effect on child labor migration from having NGO presence in a village.

Access to information

The effect of access to news media on child labor migration is almost unanimously positive in the sense that it decreases child labor migration. Radio access decreases girls international labor migration, and the effect is systematic enough to affect the entire sample of child labor migrants. Access to TV has a similar effect on girls migration, and also reduces the domestic migration of girls. The access to a journal in the village is not significant in the case of each single subcategory, but affects the overall sample in a positive way, that is, the access to a journal reduces the domestic labor migration of girls, and of the overall sample of children. Again we must look to cultural expectations towards boys and girls to find a possible explanation, and we must assume that it takes much more to deter a boy from traveling, as long as cultural expectations value challenges and risks as part of an adulthood test.

Finally, it is a striking finding that the villages with a "*crieur publique*" almost systematically have a higher propensity to send children away to work. The reasons for this finding need to be further examined since the effect of this type of information provision is so clearly opposite of all other kinds of news communication. As communicators of public information or information from traditional chiefs, they should normally not encourage trafficking. However, one can imagine that parents or children would seek the private advice of the *crieurs*, since they often are the most informed people in the villages. It is thus possible that the *crieurs* unofficially or indirectly may be involved in the facilitation of child labor migration, or that their unofficial stories of the outside world sometimes paint a more optimistic picture of the prospects for child labor migrants than what other news media do.

6. Conclusion

Through the research presented in this report we have aimed to answer three core questions:

1. What is the extent of child labor migration from rural areas of Burkina Faso?
2. What are the high-risk areas for child labor migration in Burkina Faso?
3. What are the characteristics of child labor migrants, their families and villages?

With the sampling procedures followed, and with the large sample size, we are quite certain that what we have found statistically is likely to represent reality in rural Burkina Faso as well. Local variations may exist, but the mere fact that so many clear patterns were found in such a complex data set indicates that we have identified some general trends.

Many of the findings contradict or nuance the most common assumptions about why children are trafficked or migrate to work. The weak effects of family and village wealth, the even weaker effect of savings, and finally, the finding that credit access increases the labor migration of children forces us to rethink some of the most fundamental assumptions of a relationship between child labor migration and poverty. True enough, all rural areas in Burkina Faso are generally poor, and we may in fact be dealing with comparisons of “poor” and “even poorer”, rather than “poor” and “wealthy”.

However, one interpretation could be that child labor migration is less of a crisis coping mechanism or a last resort than we could assume. We could imagine that generally poor rural families see it as desirable, or even a good investment, to send a child to the city or abroad to work. If this is indeed the case, people in remote and inaccessible villages may also have the wish to send their children to more prosperous areas to work, but they lack both the information, communication, the social network and the initial resources needed to organize the labor migration of their children. This interpretation would also explain why children of the household head are at greater risk of being sent away to work than are the other children in the household, and why the daughters of literate mothers are at higher risk than daughters of illiterates.

In a parallel study from Benin we found similar results with regards to the relative wealth of rural families and the labor migration of their children. In Benin, in fact, the families that were above average wealthy in their village turned out to send more children away to work than did the families that were poorer than average in their village. Curiously, the football factor is similar in Benin to that of Burkina Faso. The explanation, derived from the workshop of interpretation and validation in Benin, found that the most interesting explanation given was that football play contributed to the empowerment of children, and nurtured in them a desire for adventure and the self-confidence to dare to leave. Football matches were also organized between villages, enabling communication and sharing of rumors and dreams between children over a larger area than the one village they came from.

The research has a range of implications for policy makers and program designers concerned with prevention of child trafficking, street child problems, and general exploitation of unaccompanied rural children in urban areas and abroad.

- First and foremost the research stresses the massive need for reiterated campaigns of IEC (Information, Education and Communication) in rural areas. The campaigns should emphasize basic needs for good child development, and in that context explain the risks and dangers of letting young children travel alone, with friends or with strangers.
- There is a strong relationship between lack of schooling and child labor migration. We are convinced that children often are sent away for educational purposes, even though they are not sent to formal schools. The research shows that the presence of a school in the village is not sufficient: The schools must also be realistically accessible, affordable and adequate. Structured work towards the objectives for the “Education for All” agenda should be strengthened, and rural areas given priority. School meals may be a way to encourage parents to send their children to school rather than letting them work or travel. Migration studies could also be considered as part of the geography curriculum, giving even young children realistic knowledge about the world outside.
- Improved living standards in rural areas and reduced differences between urban and rural districts would reduce some of the incentives for child labor migration. In that respect, rural development projects and improved farming techniques could contribute to improved living standards in the children’s own families.
- Committees of vigilance should be established in villages, starting in the regions found to be at highest risk.
- Local apprenticeship opportunities should be developed, targeting children at risk for trafficking and who are too old for formal schooling, starting in the areas found to be at highest risk.
- Legal reforms need to ensure that the children in practice have legal rights against exploitation and trafficking. Outstanding international conventions in the domain need to be ratified. Inter country protocol agreements between Burkina Faso, Gabon and the Ivory Coast need to be revisited.
- A national center for migration studies should be established, as there is an obvious link between child trafficking and the extensive labor migration from Burkina Faso in general.

NGOs can play an active role in supporting government efforts in many of these fields. We would like to suggest in particular:

- Support to schooling for rural children in the risk areas.
- Improving health conditions and services in rural risk areas.
- IEC campaigns and sensitization to prevent child trafficking, but also with regards to children’s rights, child development, and education needs, for instance based on central texts related to child rights and education rights.
- Development of leisure activities for children in risk areas, preferably activities that can help empower children and support their good physical and cognitive development. Leisure activities for children should be accompanied by sensitization

- of children with regards to their rights, and give realistic information about their vulnerability if they leave their family and community prematurely.
- Finally, the NGO's can support villagers in the establishment of committees of vigilance to ensure children a good childhood and protect them from risks and developmental harm.

This report is based on a large-scale household survey on child labor migration, and is therefore able to provide statistical macro information that has not yet been available. However, several sub-topics deserve further investigation and call for further research. Among them we would like to mention:

- Child labor migration organized by more or less legitimate Koranic schoolteachers, in lieu of Koranic education practices.
- Child labor migration between rural areas and commercial farming within Burkina Faso.
- Child labor migration towards mining sites.
- Child labor migration related to prostitution and sexual exploitation.

We would also solicit a more specialized research into the cultural driving forces behind rural child labor migration.

Annex 1

Village	Departement	Province	Habitants (1996)	Households sampled
Fetorane	Bourzanga	Bam	253	6
Sam	Bourzanga	Bam	1801	46
Loaga	Kongoussi	Bam	1443	37
Tamponga	Kongoussi	Bam	428	11
Ouazele	Sabce	Bam	428	11
Boubou	Tikare	Bam	1472	37
Zano	Tikare	Bam	612	16
Battanga	Zimtenga	Bam	521	13
Borogo	Doulougou	Bazega	1064	27
Guidgretinga	Doulougou	Bazega	298	8
Goudri	Kombissiri	Bazega	1240	32
Bondigui	Bondigui	Bougouriba	2465	63
Mebar	Diebougou	Bougouriba	839	21
Gomgombiro	Iolonioro	Bougouriba	228	6
Koulouh	Tiankoura	Bougouriba	130	3
Zabo	Bagre	Boulgou	3321	84
Saaba	Boussouma	Boulgou	1781	45
Yaganse	Komtoega	Boulgou	675	17
Moaga	Tenkodogo	Boulgou	243	6
Wanda	Zabre	Boulgou	1226	31
Bourma de Zoaga	Zoaga	Boulgou	585	15
Pakoungou	Zoaga	Boulgou	623	16
Lounga	Imazgo	Bulkiemde	821	21
Gouloure	Nanoro	Bulkiemde	964	25
Goumogo	Thyou	Bulkiemde	1319	34
Madiasso	Mangodara	Come	2893	74
Gouera	Soubakaniedougou	Come	1381	35
Dikontenga	Boudry	Ganzourgou	212	5

Koumseogo	Salogo	Ganzourgou	2055	52
Boungou	Bilanga	Gnagna	2317	59
Sekouantou	Bilanga	Gnagna	1799	46
Ouandangou	Bogande	Gnagna	2117	54
Boula	Coalla	Gnagna	655	17
Yassougou	Coalla	Gnagna	430	11
Lalguin	Thion	Gnagna	450	11
Koulpissi	Diabo	Gourma	2108	54
Boudierguin	Diabo	Gourma	30	1
Ziella	Diabo	Gourma	328	8
Komangou	Fada n'Gourma	Gourma	1489	38
Kamwain	Matiacoali	Gourma	357	9
Hamntiouri	Tibga	Gourma	688	17
Rikin	Tibga	Gourma	127	3
Bouende	Karankasso Sambla	Houet	886	23
Dan	Karankasso Vigue	Houet	3113	79
Konzo	Lena	Houet	296	8
Kagtoudin	Komsilga	Kadiogo	686	17
Vipalogo	Komki Ipala	Kadiogo	3590	91
Dondoulma	Tanghin Dassouri	Kadiogo	1733	44
Yamtenga	Ouaga Arrond.	Kadiogo	2480	63
Teoule	Kayan	Kenedougou	1575	40
N'Dana	Samorogouan	Kenedougou	735	19
Illa	Barani	Kossi	1528	39
Bagala	Bourasso	Kossi	982	25
Bokoro	Djibasso	Kossi	137	3
Kolonkani- Sirakoro	Djibasso	Kossi	575	15
Lonani	Kombori	Kossi	215	5
Roamga	Pouytenga	Kouritenga	96	2
Kera	Bondokuy	Mouhoun	1422	36
Kamadena	Dedougou	Mouhoun	738	19

Oualou	Tcheriba	Mouhoun	1526	39
Kapori	Po	Nahouri	208	5
Tambolo	Po	Nahouri	1503	38
Bouroum	Bouroum	Namentenga	5562	141
Horere	Nagbingou	Namentenga	1610	41
Tambizinse	Absouya	Oubritenga	447	11
Laotaore	Nagreongo	Oubritenga	350	9
Kouila	Ziniare	Oubritenga	1344	34
Darkoye	Gorom-Gorom	Oudalan	1012	26
Saouga	Gorom-Gorom	Oudalan	2510	64
Mia	Arbole	Passore	1374	35
Poedogo	Bokin	Passore	1067	27
Ouonon	Bokin	Passore	1179	30
Thie	Samba	Passore	1478	38
Ouedkiongo	Yako	Passore	817	21
Koubeo-Dioulo	Boussera	Poni	316	8
Sarmassi-Gan	Djigoue	Poni	114	3
Doumbou	Gaoua	Poni	892	23
Tolkaboura	Gbomblara	Poni	230	6
Tiemana	Kampti	Poni	184	5
Filande	Loropeni	Poni	587	15
Daboura Konkoro	Malba	Poni	103	3
Guinguine	Nako	Poni	812	21
Ouarba Zinkar	Nako	Poni	203	5
Kamao	Perigban	Poni	278	7
Lapou	Kordie	Sanguie	524	13
Bonyolo	Reo	Sanguie	4520	115
Koalio	Zamo	Sanguie	1618	41
Tiebo	Tenado	Sanguie	1134	29
Goenega	Barsalogho	Sanmatenga	1530	39
Samba-Mossi	Barsalogho	Sanmatenga	2951	75

Sabouri Natenga	Korsimoro	Sanmatenga	1737	44
Nimpoui	Korsimoro	Sanmatenga	777	20
Soubeira Nakoara	Ziga	Sanmatenga	1715	44
Moudjouma	Bani	Seno	42	1
Nobiol	Dori	Seno	1248	32
Wiboria	Falgountou	Seno	573	15
Gorgadji	Gorgadji	Seno	4147	105
Lamana	Seytenga	Seno	734	19
Livara	Bieha	Sissili	512	13
UP8	Bieha	Sissili	85	2
Lassane	Niabouri	Sissili	250	6
Sadouan	Silly	Sissili	1577	40
Ara	Arbinda	Soum	1882	48
Sanga	Arbinda	Soum	1128	29
Tourou	Di	Sourou	203	5
Koulare	Kassoum	Sourou	110	3
Sorona	Kassoum	Sourou	176	4
Gome	Toeni	Sourou	558	14
Largogo	Tougan	Sourou	240	6
Tannoi	Diapanga	Tapoa	478	12
Ouavousse Mossi	Kain	Yatenga	311	8
Touko	Kain	Yatenga	807	21
Pelkiswa	Oula	Yatenga	497	13
Zomkalga-Marance	Seguenega	Yatenga	1341	34
Sidtenga	Bere	Zoundweogo	930	24
Dassanga	Gomboussougou	Zoundweogo	4583	117
Boura-Toemissi	Guiba	Zoundweogo	2045	52
Dakiecma	Nobere	Zoundweogo	693	18
Kambo	Nobere	Zoundweogo	994	25
Doussi	Bagassi	Bale	981	25

Laro	Fara	Bale	2393	61
Siby	Siby	Bale	4523	115
Balave	Balave	Banwa	5046	128
Baye	Solezo	Banwa	5262	134
Benvar	Dissin	loba	1395	35
Waduielle	Dano	loba	253	6
Navrikpe	Dissin	loba	2555	65
Sahore	Gueguere	loba	163	4
Tambabanli	Foutouri	Komandjoari	143	4
Balboudi	Comin-Yaga	Koulpelego	347	9
Sambrado	Comin-Yaga	Koulpelego	444	11
Gasma	Bousse	Kourweogo	1527	39
Raongo	Niou	Kourweogo	1202	31
Outourou	Loumana	Leraba	495	13
M'Pogona	Sindou	Leraba	268	7
Soronga	Ouindigui	Loroum	129	3
Posso	Titao	Loroum	1385	35
Djimbara	Gassan	Nayala	1700	43
Massako	Gossina	Nayala	608	15
Issapogo	Yaba	Nayala	690	18
Sankoue	Ye	Nayala	2547	65
Kamateon	Batie	Noumbiel	603	15
Koule	Legmoin	Noumbiel	849	22
N'Kampira	Midebdo	Noumbiel	73	2
Datambi	Boundore	Yagha	1338	34
Batigobou	Titabe	Yagha	2548	65
Sapo	Bougnounou	Ziro	1223	31
Nadonom-Mossi	Sapouy	Ziro	351	9
Kera	Bassi	Zondoma	1470	37
Zondoma	Leba	Zondoma	1047	27
Total			176917	4500