MOBILITY MAPPING AND FLOW DIAGRAMS:

Tools for
Family Tracing and Social Reintegration Work
with Separated Children

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OVERVIEW

In the past decade, child welfare practitioners have adapted Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) tools and techniques to address a wide range of issues relevant to children in difficult circumstances. New approaches—specifically, the adaptation of mobility mapping and flow diagrams for family tracing and social reintegration work—developed by the Unaccompanied Children Reunification and Reintegration Program of the International Rescue Committee—Rwanda (IRC-Rwanda), are presented here. IRC-Rwanda's shift from traditional social science methodologies (such as interviews and questionnaires) toward a more participatory, action-oriented approach revolutionized its fieldwork. The adapted PLA tools have helped the IRC-Rwanda staff reunite more than 600 children, previously living in institutions, with their families and have enabled the children to integrate into those households. Previously, tracing on behalf of separated children had been impossible because of inadequate information.

This document contains two parts:

- Using Historical Mobility Maps as Documentation and Tracing Tools for Separated Children
- Using Mobility Mapping and Flow Diagrams in Social Reintegration Work with Separated and Orphaned Children

Part I presents IRC-Rwanda's adaptation of the historical mobility map as a special documentation tool for "hard-to-trace" children that helps provide information about their lives prior to separation. Part II builds on the first by discussing mobility maps and flow diagrams as family assessment tools for use in reintegrating separated children into households.

The circumstances of a separated child affect whether the methods described in either or both parts of this document may be useful to a field-worker. The methods described in the first part have been instrumental in the successful tracing of immediate family members or other relatives of separated children. Research findings that support the usefulness of drawing to facilitate recall among younger children are also presented. Methods presented in the second part have facilitated the reintegration of children into households in an impoverished environment. IRC-Rwanda is also using these tools in its pilot efforts to reintegrate street children with their families.

Mobility maps and flow charts can be used by experienced and novice practitioners who deal with children in difficult circumstances. Concrete examples and simple step-by-step instructions are provided in both parts of this document. The author hopes that the presentation and use of these tools will spur further innovations in work with marginalized children.

Participatory Learning and Action is an evolving approach to local empowerment through the "full participation of the people in the processes of learning about their needs and opportunities, and in the action required to address them." As an outgrowth of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), PLA is grounded in the belief that people have the ability and responsibility to acquire

¹ *PLA Notes*, no. 25 (February 1996): i.

the knowledge and to devise solutions to the problems that most affect their lives. To this end, PLA provides a set of tools to facilitate unbiased, qualitative information-gathering, reflection, analysis, and decision making for a variety of purposes, including social research, an "integrated vision of community action," and community mobilization. As a result, PLA tools help communities develop well-informed plans and carry out, monitor, and evaluate their efforts.

Flexible, dynamic, and empowering, PLA tools inspire innovation and creativity. An expansive and ever growing "tool box" enables local people to use most PLA techniques to "visualize" their ideas through diagrams, maps, and drawing. Visualizations of social processes are important for generating discussion, new perspectives for insiders and outsiders, and innovative local action. The visual approach and open communication permit the participation of illiterate and literate community members, the old and young alike, individuals, and small and large interest groups. Because of their inclusiveness and ability to stimulate discussion and new perspectives, PLA tools help generate community consensus. (Appendix A includes a list of PLA resource documents).

Since the adoption of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989, child welfare practitioners have experimented with and adapted numerous PLA tools in their work with children. *PLA Notes 25: Special Issue on Children's Participation* provides several examples of participatory work with street and community children, and it explores children's experiences in the health sector, civil society, and economic development. PLA has also been widely introduced to HIV/AIDS prevention work with youth and as a means to promote children's rights.

With funding from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund (DCOF), in 2000–01 the IRC-Rwanda adapted two PLA tools, the mobility map and the flow diagram, for use in its unaccompanied children's program. Mobility maps, often drawn on paper or constructed on the ground using locally available material, are used to indicate common destinations that particular community members visit. IRC-Rwanda has used mobility maps with separated children and with family members of institutionalized children to obtain information about social relationships, economic and social activities, and memories associated with different places. Similarly, flow diagrams are used to explore supportive relationships by outlining a family's social safety net through exhaustive questioning about who family members approach when problems arise. Those tools have played a crucial role in helping IRC-Rwanda trace children's families and in helping separated children reintegrate into families.

² This and other issues of *PLA Notes* can be purchased at http://www.earthprint.com/show.htm.

PART I: USING HISTORICAL MOBILITY MAPS AS DOCUMENTATION AND TRACING TOOLS FOR SEPARATED CHILDREN

Experience since the Second World War suggests that in an armed conflict typically 1 percent to 5 percent of all directly affected children are separated from their families.³ With the assistance of a well-managed family tracing operation, most separated children can be reunified with their immediate family or relatives in the early stages of an emergency. Over the past decade, the international community has learned a great deal about how to organize family tracing efforts for separated children. Guidelines have been adopted, standard approaches agreed upon, and best practices identified. (Appendix A includes a list of key resources.) In the field, that progress has translated into concrete results. In the Great Lakes during the 1994 Rwandan genocide and related conflicts, more than 56,000 children were reunified.⁴ In Sierra Leone, more than 6,900 separated children have returned home since 1999.⁵

Despite such impressive results, it is inevitable that some separated children will not be traced, particularly if they are too young to provide sufficient information about their identity or home. Ideally, once a child in that situation has been identified, immediate efforts should be made to collect information from other people in the vicinity in the hope that they may offer clues that could lead to the child's reunification. Unfortunately, such effort is sometimes either unsuccessful or just not done, resulting in difficult and costly tracing efforts, institutionalization, or an alternative solution such as fostering. In order to maximize the opportunity for each child to grow up in her or his own family, an urgent need exists to evaluate, reflect, and develop new ways to prevent separation, and to shorten the time needed for reunification. In this spirit, valuable lessons of postwar Rwanda are presented for application in future emergencies and deinstitutionalization efforts.

DCOF is strongly committed to reestablishing and maintaining the connection between children and their families. DCOF provided support for tracing and family reunification (in addition to other services) in Rwanda since 1994 and in Sierra Leone since 1998. Reports and publications of DCOF are available at http://www.displacedchildrenandorphansfund.org/.

The Rwandan Context

The 1994 genocide, population displacements, and armed conflict in Rwanda separated from their families or orphaned a vast number of children. One immediate response was to establish children's centers to accommodate children without family care. Already-established orphanages were expanded, and many new centers were built. In a parallel effort, a network of

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³ See, for example, E. Ressler, N. Boothby, and D. Steinbock, *Unaccompanied Children: Care and Protection in Wars, Natural Disasters, and Refugee Movements* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁴ M. Merkelbach, "Reunified Children Separated from Their Families after the Rwandan Crisis of 1994: The Relative Value of a Central Database," *International Review of the Red Cross*, no. 838 (June 30, 2000): 351–67.

⁵ Source: Secretariat, Ministry of Social Welfare, Sierra Leone.

documentation and tracing services was developed, which eventually enabled many of those children to reunite with members of their immediate family or other relatives.

In the first 4 years following the 1994 genocide, more than a dozen international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) participated in tracing work, with millions of dollars of funding support. The NGOs divided their work regionally, maximizing results and resources. However, in-country tracing activities dramatically decreased following the 1996–97 repatriations. With more than 56,000 children reunified with their families and a significant drop in the number of children in institutional care, the pool of traceable children declined.

In 1997, after the mass return of Rwandan refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Tanzania, approximately 14,000 children were living in 86 children's centers in Rwanda. By the end of 1999, the major child tracing programs in Rwanda had been phased out and closed. As of May 2000, about 3,600 children were living in the remaining 33 centers. Documentation, tracing, and other efforts had led to the closing of children's centers and the return of children to their families and communities.

Some of the children remaining in centers were considered untraceable, primarily because they had been separated when they were very young and were therefore unable to provide much information about who they were and where they had come from. A larger number were considered socioeconomic cases—children who knew where family members lived, but who were prevented from reunification by the family's poverty. Tracing work was generally perceived by the government, United Nations organizations, and agencies working with separated children as a closed chapter in Rwanda, and agencies shifted their attention and resources into other development and child welfare work.

During the Rwandan emergency, people who worked with separated children learned a great deal. New approaches such

Breakthrough in Rwamagana

IRC-Rwanda's conviction that more could be done for the untraceable children grew out of its experience in 1999, when it was asked by the Government of Rwanda to find care arrangements for the 144 children in the Fred Rwigema Transit Center in Rwamagana and to close the center. The majority of the children had been in care for at least a year, many for much longer, and they were considered difficult to trace or place. Thirty percent of the children were classified as untraceable or closed cases and had been enrolled as candidates for foster care. IRC-Rwanda adopted new strategies, and within a year, 90 percent of these children were reunified with either a parent or a relative. Recognizing the implications of this work for other children in institutional care in the country, the government requested IRC-Rwanda to replicate and expand this work to other centers.

as mass tracing and a multiagency tracing network enabled tens of thousands of children to be reunited. In addition, lessons were learned about preventing separations during large population movements. It was also recognized, not for the first time, that when special centers are established to accommodate separated children, families under extreme economic pressure send children to present themselves as unaccompanied as a way to obtain assistance and cope with family poverty.

In the quiet aftermath of the Rwandan crisis, after the lead agencies for tracing families of separated children had closed shop and donors had shifted their funding to other countries, new and important lessons about family tracing emerged from the work of IRC-Rwanda. The IRC-Rwanda team recognized that if it was to succeed in finding family members for untraceable children, new and better ways to document those children had to be developed. Historical mobility mapping proved to be a valuable tool for obtaining information that children were not otherwise able to provide. Other elements of IRC-Rwanda's successful tracing efforts included adopting a more aggressive tracing approach, engaging in more targeted fieldwork for difficult cases, and expanding the use of radio tracing (a previously underused strategy in Rwanda).

IRC-Rwanda demonstrated that many children considered to be untraceable could be reunified with family members through innovative documentation techniques and aggressive tracing strategies. From 1999 to 2002, IRC-Rwanda was able to reunify more than 180 untraceable children and 370 children who were living in centers primarily for economic reasons. Its work was limited to only a few of the remaining centers, but with support from DCOF, it is continuing its work and expanding to other centers.⁶

Documenting Difficult Tracing Cases

Standard documentation techniques rely heavily on "talk" interviews. Once a child has been identified, he or she is interviewed by a trained social worker, who records information on a standard documentation form. This kind of interview, which typically takes 30 to 60 minutes, aims to solicit general information on the child and family (such as name, age, nationality, place of origin, details of the separation, information on the child's current placement and care, and the child's wishes and plans). Such information can be used for mass tracing (where large community meetings are held and names of separated children and family members being sought are read) or in case-specific active field tracing efforts.

Although older children can often provide key tracing information, children who are young, traumatized, or mentally handicapped many times cannot. A variety of strategies was developed to document these children and to carry out tracing on their behalf. Secondary sources are interviewed for information on the child's separation and previous life; photographs are used for photo tracing; and "reminiscent" techniques, such as photo books, games, and drawings, are used as "memory joggers." As in detective work, each new clue can be scrutinized and each lead pursued, but effective documentation for children "without an address" remains one of the biggest challenges of the tracing process.

In 2000, faced with a large number of difficult tracing cases, IRC-Rwanda piloted a new tool, the historical mobility map, to complement or provide an alternative to standard documentation interviews. This mobility mapping allowed social workers to break through seemingly insurmountable information barriers with many untraceable children. In 58 percent of the cases

⁶ IRC-Rwanda also traced the families and reunified more than 150 children from Congo Brazzaville. The latter effort required videotaped messages from family members and other alternative strategies to combat the high level of propaganda and misinformation by Hutu extremists about the risks of repatriation.

in which mobility mapping was used, a significant new piece of relevant tracing information was discovered, and several children were successfully traced. (Appendix C includes examples of the results in some randomly selected cases.) Even at this late date, historical mobility mapping could be used on a much wider scale for children who remain separated in Rwanda.

A Case Study: Jean's Story

Jean does not remember all the details of his separation. Only 4 years old at the time, he talks about the gunfire, fear, and chaos. He can provide few details about how he lost his brothers in the crowds fleeing Rwanda for Congo or how in the forest, days later, a Congolese stranger offered him refuge with his family. Jean stayed there for 5 years, helping with daily chores, until another man in a four-wheel drive vehicle came to take him back to Rwanda. The man worked for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and he had identified Jean and other unaccompanied Rwandan children for repatriation. In 1999, Jean returned to a country he barely knew and was placed in a large children's center, but finding his family proved difficult. Like so many children who are separated at a young age, Jean was not able to provide much information about his home and family. He knew his grandfather's and brothers' names and that they lived near the lake in Kibuye, but such information remained too general for tracing purposes. For that reason, ICRC selected Jean for its photo-tracing program. A booklet with Jean's picture, along with pictures of 180 other children "without address," was widely distributed in early 2000, but there was no response.

In December 2000, Food for the Hungry (FHI), another agency with an impressive record in radio tracing, took up Jean's case. Relying on his physical description and limited family information, FHI aired a basic announcement, but no family members came forward. With his prospects dimming, it appeared that Jean was destined to be fostered, if lucky, or to grow up in a children's center.

In September 2001, IRC-Rwanda began to work in the center where Jean lived and offered him one last chance to find his family. Jean was asked to draw a picture of his old house and neighborhood. With colored pencils and paper, he drew a very simple map showing his home, a nearby river, and a road. (See Figure 1.) Although Jean had been unable to respond to questions during standard interviews, he was able to draw his home and its surroundings. His picture prompted discussion, and he began to provide new details about his life before separation. Jean talked about his grandfather's cows, the rocky terrain where he lived, and the avocado trees by the side of his house.

⁷ In the interest of confidentiality, children's names have been changed in this document.



Figure 1. Jean's drawing of his home and neighborhood.

Recognizing this new information as significant, the IRC-Rwanda caseworker immediately sent Jean's picture and documentation to the field for tracing. Guided by those simple but critical new clues, the field-worker began searching for local tributaries and popular watering holes for cattle. Only one location matched the description in Jean's map. Following that lead, the caseworker went to the river and began questioning livestock owners and passersby. Within 1 day, Jean's family was found!

Now 12, Jean lives happily with his grandfather and siblings, all of whom thought he was dead. He does not talk about his experience in Congo but will share his enthusiasm for his new fishing skills. Just as he did before the war, Jean visits the old watering hole often. That memorable place and one simple drawing opened the door to Jean's return home and separated his future from that of the thousands of other children still living in institutional care in Rwanda.

Another case study and map are found in Appendix B.

Historical Mobility Maps

A historical mobility map is a child's mental picture of his or her life before separation translated onto paper. The "mobility" dimension comes into play by asking a child to show in the picture places where he or she used to go. Although the actual drawing can be used to identify and decipher tracing clues, the map's primary purpose is to stimulate the child's memory and generate discussion between the child and a tracing worker. Using the map, a tracing worker can explore diverse topics, and, in many cases, draw out information useful for radio tracing and active field tracing. Maps often reveal a child's daily tasks (chores and play) and significant relationships, as well as distinctive local features, structures, or geographic characteristics. They can reveal nicknames, places frequently visited, and favorite memories. Even when the information revealed does not lead to reunification, it can provide children with knowledge about

where they came from and important emotional connections with their past. Such information contributes to their identity development. It can also provide child care workers or foster parents new opportunities to establish emotional connections with separated children.

Why Mobility Mapping Works

One of the advantages of mobility mapping is that it is more relaxed than a formal interview. It is enjoyable for most children, tends to focus on positive memories, and avoids the retraumatizing experience of reviewing the details of separation. Children draw with brightly colored pencils, and there are no right and wrong answers. They become the experts, and through their drawing and responsible process are able to express themselves freely. Furthermore, social workers use only a semi-structured question guide and, therefore, are less focused on filling in forms and more focused on the child and the information coming to light. In addition to specific information that may provide clues to pursue in the field, miscellaneous information gathered about a child's background, people and events remembered, and favorite or typical activities can be used as part of a child's description in radio tracing efforts.

Constantin's Story

Like thousands of Rwandan children, Constantin had been separated from his family in 1994 at age 6. Efforts to trace his family had failed, and he was placed in a children's center. After 3 years in the center, Constantin, unable to recall his home address or parents' names, met with the IRC tracing team and drew a map of his home. During the interview, Constantin provided new information. First, he mentioned that he had always been especially fond of bananas. Second, he gave IRC the name of a neighbor who used to supply him with bananas. In February 2000, IRC sent out a radio message that included a physical description of Constantin and mentioned the name of his banana-supplying neighbor. His uncle heard the message and recognized the neighbor's name. With a glimmer of hope, the uncle went to the children's center, and when Constantin was brought out, the two immediately recognized each other. After hugs and tears, Constantin's uncle informed the boy that his parents had been killed in the genocide. He went on to say that Constantin's grandmother was still alive and that his return was a true blessing.

Research and the observations of experienced child interviewers indicate that drawing helps children remember. A 1995 study conducted by New Zealand researchers Butler, Hayne, and Gross found that drawing helps young children recall and provide information about their experiences. The first part of the study tested 3- and 5-year-olds' ability to recall details about a shared experience (a trip to a fire station). Children were individually interviewed 1 day and 1 month after their trip. Half of the children participated in exclusively verbal interviews (the "talk" group); the other half were interviewed about their drawings (the "drawing" group). The

⁸ S. Butler, J. Gross, and H. Hayne, "The Effects of Drawing on Memory Performance in Young Children," *Developmental Psychology* 31, no. 4 (1995).

study found that the children in the drawing group not only consistently shared more information about the fire station than the children in the talk group but also provided information that was just as accurate.

In a second experiment by the same researchers, children were asked to recall and tell about a time when they strongly felt a particular emotion (really happy, sad, scared, or angry). Each child was asked to draw and tell about one emotional event but only to tell about another. The children's parents were subsequently involved in a structured, two-part process to assess the accuracy of their children's reports. Children reported twice as much information with the same level of accuracy when they were asked to draw about an experience than when they reported only verbally. The researchers concluded "children given the opportunity to draw included more descriptions about the setting of the event9—a finding that is significant for documentation and tracing purposes.

Although that research focuses on children in a first world context, IRC-Rwanda's results in Rwanda and the experience of its staff in other situations support the conclusion that drawing helps children recall more information about past events than a strictly verbal interview.

A Step-by-Step Guide

The drawing exercise is simple, requiring nothing more than paper and pencils and a social worker's skills. The steps are described as follows:

- 1. After establishing a rapport with the child, explain that you would like to learn more about him or her to help trace family and relatives. Explain that one way to do this is to draw pictures (maps) of where the child lived before the separation. You can show other children's maps or present your own drawing as an example.
- 2. Provide the child a piece of paper and a pencil or colored pencils (with an eraser). Draw a small house in the middle of the paper. (The house can be drawn by the child or by the social worker.) Explain that this represents the his or her house. Now ask the child to draw all the places around the house that he or she used to go to. (Depending on a child's age and level of understanding at the time this exercise is being carried out, it may be better to ask a child to draw a "picture" rather than a "map" because the latter may be an unfamiliar concept. The picture becomes a map in essence.)
- 3. After you have verified that the child understands the exercise, allow him or her time to draw without interruption. Be patient and encouraging. This exercise can take up to an hour, depending on the level of detail in the drawing.
- 4. Once the child finishes, ask about all the places on the map. If the child is literate, ask him or her to label each place; if the child is not literate, label the places for him or her. Now ask if the child has forgotten any place or person. (Use probing questions such as "Did you ever visit a neighboring town?" "Where did you play with friends?" "Where did

⁹ J. Gross and H. Hayne, "Drawing Facilitates Children's Verbal Reports of Emotionally Laden Events," *Journals of Experimental Psychology* 4, no. 2 (1998): 163–79.

your father go to work?" Ask the child to add each place and person to the map as they are mentioned. (At any time in the exercise, a child may mention a place not originally drawn on the map. Always allow the child time to add each new place or person. This activity should not be rushed.)

- 5. Once the drawing is finished, ask the child to mark all the places that he or she liked best with a particular color of pencil or sticker.
- 6. Compliment the child on his or her effort.
- 7. It is now time to interview. Begin by explaining to the child that you would like to learn more about his or her drawing and that you would like to ask some questions. Ask if it is all right for you to write down what the child says.
- 8. Begin with the best-liked places that the child listed. Following is a short, recommended discussion guide:
 - "Tell me about this place. Why do you like it?"
 - "What did you do there?" (Ask probing questions for information about activities, the reason for visits, etc.)
 - "Who did you visit there?" (Ask probing questions for information about relationships, nicknames, etc.)
 - "How often did you visit this place?" (Determine whether it was frequently, sometimes, or rarely.)
 - "What is your favorite memory of this place?"

 (Note: In conducting an interview, the interviewer can follow the above guide but should not be restricted by it. Follow-up questions are encouraged. The point is to help the child talk about any information that may be useful for either radio tracing, which can require the smallest clues, or active field tracing.)
- 9. Repeat step 8 with all other places indicated on the map.
- 10. When the interview has been completed, review with the child what you have learned from the map and explain how this information might be used for tracing. Thank the child for his or her time.
- 11. When possible, make a copy of the map for the child. Maps can be revisited several times, and the child can be re-interviewed if the social worker feels that more information can be obtained.

Mobility mapping can be used with any child who is old enough to talk but too young to provide full details about his or her family. Also, when older children have been unable to provide sufficient information for effective tracing, mobility mapping may facilitate the recall of additional information. Although mapping was introduced in Rwanda several years after children were separated from their families, it should be implemented as soon as possible. If a child is uncomfortable with drawing, a social worker can help draw the map with the child's input. When used in combination with other documentation methods, historical mobility mapping can be a powerful tool.

Points of Reflection

IRC-Rwanda's recent tracing successes and the research by Butler, Hayne, and Gross offer convincing evidence of the potential of drawing to stimulate information recall and discussion. Better communication and more information increase the possibility of reunification. There are, however, a number of questions to consider before introducing mapping into standard tracing methodologies:

- Is mapping a cost-effective documentation technique? Mapping requires more time per child, additional training for workers, and a higher skill level among those who use it. Mapping is most effective when the results can be used in radio tracing and active field tracing.
- Can information from mapping exercises be organized to feed into a tracing database? A significant percentage of family reunifications could result from either positive database matches or mass tracing.
- Although current training material concerning separated children mentions drawing as a documentation technique to be used with children "without address," it does not provide in-depth information on how to use drawing techniques. ¹⁰ IRC-Rwanda's results and Butler, Hayne, and Gross's research shows that new ways to incorporate this methodology into standard tracing work need to be explored and promoted. In particular, leading tracing agencies should study how, when, and with whom mapping is most valuable.

IRC-Rwanda's experience offers hope for children who would otherwise have been raised by foster parents or within the confines of an institution. It also raises important questions about when a case should be closed or filed away. There is much to learn about how to tap into a child's memories and how to most effectively use the information at hand. In the end, a commitment to search for new ways to trace children's families and to share lessons learned will lead to better results and happier children and families.

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¹⁰ Save the Children (U.K.) published a comprehensive training manual, *Working with Separated Children: A Training Manual*, in 1998. Drawing is mentioned, but few details on how to conduct drawing exercises are provided.

PART II: USING MOBILITY MAPPING AND FLOW DIAGRAMS IN SOCIAL REINTEGRATION WORK WITH SEPARATED AND ORPHANED CHILDREN

There is much more to family reunification than locating a child's family. When the period of separation has been relatively brief, reintegration into the family may be relatively simple. But even in such cases, and more so when the separation has been lengthy, careful attention is required to the child's and family's acceptance of each other and the family's capacity and willingness to provide for the child's basic needs. The two PLA tools described in this section, the mobility map (see Figure 2) and the flow diagram, are useful in facilitating a child's reintegration into a household. They may be used in the following situations:

- Separated children are returning home after successful tracing.
- A deinstitutionalization process is returning children to their families.
- Child soldiers are returning home after demobilization.
- Street children have expressed a desire to return home.
- Other situations in which children are becoming part of a poor household.

Part II includes a brief description of how the tools were used in Rwanda, a step-by-step guide on the use of mobility maps and flow diagrams in promoting the social reintegration of separated children, and examples of how the tools are used in different types of children's programs.

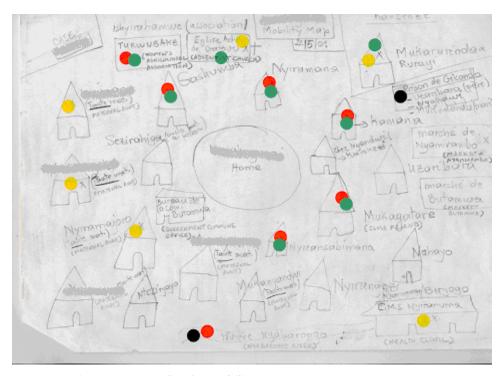


Figure 2. Example of a mobility map.

IRC-Rwanda's Unaccompanied Children's Program

The Context

The information presented in this section is primarily drawn from the field experience of IRC-Rwanda's unaccompanied children's program during 2001–02. Introduced by IRC-Rwanda as alternatives to questionnaires, the mobility map and flow diagram revolutionized its fieldwork by providing more accurate and useful information to promote social reintegration of children who were living in institutional care. Those children included some whose families had been successfully traced, some who had been separated for primarily socioeconomic reasons, and some who had returned to an institution after an earlier reunification had broken down. Mobility mapping and flow diagrams played pivotal roles in making the reintegration process more participatory, community based, and effective. Those tools helped engage community members substantively and actively from the beginning of the reintegration process.

Orphanages and Family Separation

By 1997, 3 years after the war and genocide in Rwanda had led to the creation of many children's centers, it was recognized that approximately 70 percent of the more than 5,000 children remaining in centers were there primarily for socioeconomic reasons. The location of the children's families was known, so tracing was not an issue. In fact, many children remained in centers because of a failed or refused reunification. Some had originally been sent to a center by a parent or relative and had been told to present themselves as an orphan or a separated child.

This pattern was by no means unique to Rwanda. When institutional care is provided in a community under severe economic stress, children are pushed out of families to take advantage of the services provided and to reduce economic demands on the household. For example, in Uganda in 1992, in the wake of war and as AIDS was beginning to kill large numbers of adults, Save the Children (U.K.) and the Ugandan Department of Probation and Welfare carried out a survey of children in institutional care. The study found that about half of the residents in the country's orphanages had both parents living, another 20 percent had one parent living, and another 25 percent had known relatives. It was determined that the overwhelming majority of those children could, with limited support, leave institutional care for a family. An effective program, implemented by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Save the Children (U.K.) and supported with funding from DCOF, reduced the number of centers and the number of children residing in them. The program also improved the quality of the centers that remained.

In many other countries where institutions had been created as a response to armed conflict, orphaning caused by AIDS or other factors, this well-intentioned, if often misguided, response of institutional care attracts children out of families into what those families hope will be better living conditions. At a cost per child of at least US\$500 per year, orphanages become an expensive way to fight poverty. Research by the World Bank in Tanzania, for example, found that institutional care was about six times more expensive than foster care. 12

¹¹ Save the Children (U.K.).

¹² World Bank, *Confronting AIDS* (Washington, D.C., 1997), and personal communication with author.

A New Approach to Reunification and Reintegration

At least since the Cambodian emergency in 1980, most family reunification programs for separated children have followed a five-step process: identification, documentation, tracing, verification, and reunification. IRC-Rwanda's program built on that approach and expanded its reach to all children residing in institutions, regardless of the cause of separation. The program developed new ways to obtain information, and it introduced additional steps to facilitate reintegration. Both tracing cases (children who have not yet located a living family member) and socioeconomic cases (children who have family but who remain in an institution because of poverty or social reasons) have been included in the program. The following chart (Figure 3) and accompanying text box summarize IRC-Rwanda's six-step approach.

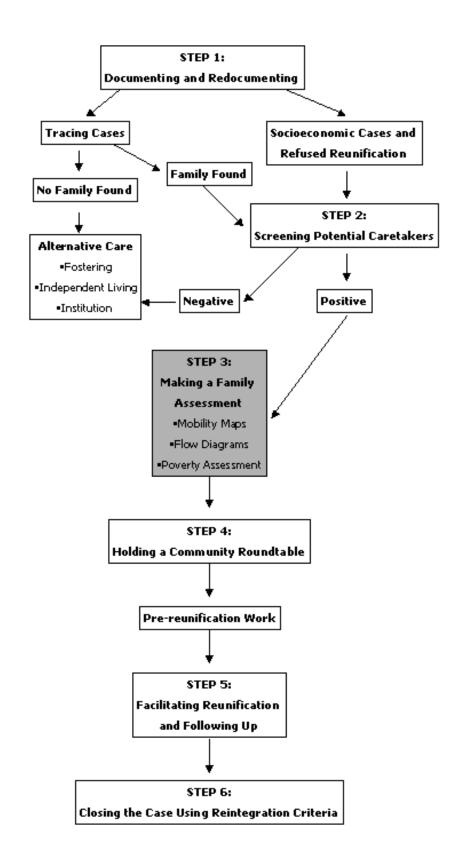


Figure 3. IRC-Rwanda's 6 Step Approach to Reunification and Reintegration

IRC-Rwanda's 6 Step Reintegration Approach

- **STEP 1. Documenting and Redocumenting:** Children are documented or, if necessary, redocumented as either tracing cases or socioeconomic cases. Redocumenting consists of updating old tracing documentation forms (particularly for younger children), completing new forms for children with lost documentation (a common case in Rwanda), or redocumenting tracing cases as socioeconomic cases. Socioeconomic documentation, a new form developed by IRC-Rwanda, includes children's and center staff member's perspectives on separation and opportunities for return.
- **STEP 2. Screening Potential Caretakers:** Field-workers visit family members to explore and discuss the reasons for continued separation, frequency of contact, and motivation for a child's return.
- **STEP 3. Making a Family Assessment:** The family situation is reviewed with mobility mapping, flow diagrams, and a poverty assessment tool. Family and community resources and assets are emphasized in the assessment. With the family's permission, the information is then shared with and confirmed by local authorities.
- **STEP 4. Holding a Community Roundtable:** If the assessment determines that reunification is in the child's best interests and if the child and family wish to reunite, the child, family members, and other key resource persons are invited to attend a community roundtable discussion to plan for the child's return. Together with a designated community representative, IRC-Rwanda acts as a co-facilitator in the discussion. Participants discuss how to ensure the child's successful reintegration, roles and responsibilities, and contributions. When necessary, IRC provides additional support, sometimes in the form of economic or shelter assistance. This plan is used as the basic working agreement.
- **STEP 5. Facilitating Reunification and Following Up:** The child is reunified, and IRC-Rwanda and a designated community representative together follow up on the case.
- **STEP 6. Closing the** Case: The case is evaluated against specific reintegration criteria and closed when all the criteria have been satisfied. Family members, IRC-Rwanda, and local authorities all sign the case closure document. Depending on the child's age, he or she also signs.

As discussed below, mobility maps and flow diagrams play a fundamental role in informing and guiding the reintegration process.

Mobility Maps and Flow Diagrams Versus Questionnaire-Based Interviews

Questionnaires and interviews are standard tools used by social workers to assess the situation of a family and child. However, IRC-Rwanda's experience with participatory programs suggests that mobility maps and flow diagrams can be more useful.

When IRC-Rwanda first started the program, it used a questionnaire-based socioeconomic assessment of each family's situation as part of the overall family assessment (step 3). That methodology proved limiting; it set up a negative "us versus them" relationship with the household; and it failed to produce accurate, useful information. Field-workers solicited information from household members and children without their having a clear understanding of how it would be used. Household members quite reasonably assumed that if IRC-Rwanda judged them to be poor enough, it would provide them with material assistance. The situation created an incentive for family members to withhold or distort information, and it gave the impression that the principal responsibility for making reintegration successful was with IRC-Rwanda.

Recognizing those problems, the agency replaced the questionnaire-based interview with a more transparent process that used mobility mapping and flow diagrams. The information that those tools provide is used in a community roundtable discussion and planning session. The new process has generated more accurate, useful information; changed family and community perceptions of IRC-Rwanda's role; and motivated active community participation in support of reintegration. Some of the reasons for the power and effectiveness of these tools and this process are discussed in the following section.

Flexible, Accurate, and Useful. Open-ended and flexible, mobility maps and flow diagrams allow field-workers to pursue important leads for relevant information. Although they do not follow the logical progression of IRC-Rwanda's questionnaire-based approach, they usually capture more completely and accurately much of the same information that the questionnaire sought, but indirectly. In fact, field-workers have consistently reported that mobility mapping and flow diagrams help generate more complete information and a better understanding of each household's situation.

Personal and Household-Specific in Nature. Through the mobility maps and flow diagrams, specific resource persons (such as extended family members, neighbors, or church leaders) who already have a strong relationship with the child or household are identified and invited to participate in a community roundtable planning session. The tools facilitate a more personalized and informed planning process that builds on existing obligations and does not assume that the broader community is already motivated to help individual families and their children. Those methods also avoid placing the agency at the center of the process and ascribing responsibility to the agency for providing everything necessary for reintegration to work. The approach differs significantly from traditional reunification programs that work mainly through existing social welfare structures and local authorities. Through mapping and diagrams, a household's existing social networks are galvanized and take on the primary responsibility for overseeing and ensuring the effectiveness of the child's reintegration.

Participatory. Like other PLA tools, the mobility map and the flow diagram are more participatory and inclusive than a questionnaire-based interview. Illiterate caretakers, children, and community representatives can immediately express and understand the rich information

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¹³ A third tool, the poverty assessment, is also used to screen families for economic assistance. For more information on the poverty assessment tool and IRC-Rwanda's methodology, see "Community-based Reunification and Reintegration: An Innovative Approach for Work with Separated Children in Post-Conflict Rwanda" (currently in draft).

contained in drawings. As a result, involved parties are immediately able to begin analyzing opportunities and constraints relevant to a child's return. Furthermore, because maps and diagrams are more inclusive than standard social research methods, they help engage family and community members from the beginning of the process. The participatory approach of these PLA tools sends a subtle but important message to households and communities that they, not the agency, are the experts and the primary ones responsible for resolving family and community concerns.

Mobility Maps And Flow Diagrams: A Step-By-Step Guide

Mobility maps and flow diagrams are complementary tools that help field-workers identify and understand significant social and economic relationships particular to each family. A mobility map is done by having a family member (usually the head of the household and, later, a child living in the household) draw a simple picture showing places and people visited. The map is then used as the basis for a semistructured discussion and interview. A flow diagram identifies people whom family members turn to for assistance with different kinds of problems. Identifying the chain of resource persons is an excellent way to verify and explore information gathered during the mobility map exercise. The simplicity of mobility maps and flow diagrams makes them easy to use in the field, and they produce information useful to social workers and program managers alike. The following sections describe how the tools are used.

Mobility Map

A mobility map shows a family's social network. Although the drawing itself provides important information, its value is primarily as a stimulus for discussion that allows a field-worker to gather information. In contrast to a historical mobility map, which is used to gather information about the past for tracing, a mobility map is used to assess a household's present situation. It reflects recent contacts, activities, and travel, which can shed light on a household's capacity to integrate and care for a child.

Using the map, a field-worker discusses with family members each place and person identified and the potential significance of that place or person to the household's economic functioning and ability to reintegrate the child. The map can also help identify potential opportunities for improving a household's economic productivity and, thereby, its capacity to provide for the needs of an additional child. The organization concerned with the child's placement may be able to use such information to identify one or more intervention points for economically strengthening the household or for mobilizing community support. A map may also uncover problems or limitations not previously recognized. Information generated through mobility mapping can include, but is not limited to, the following:

- Type, level, and frequency of the family's economic activities
- Economic assets (such as land, animals, or remittances)
- Participation in community affairs (such as religious bodies and social groups)

- Membership in solidarity groups (such as associations and informal rotating credit groups)
- Family and community conflict
- Identification of extended family members, neighbors, and other community members whom the family relies on in times of need or crisis (the informal social safety net)
- Extent of social integration or isolation within a community
- Daily activities of any other children in the household (such as schooling, household tasks, economic tasks, and play) and indications of the well-being of those children
- Extent and nature of contact with formal social support services (such as health clinics, microfinance services, and religious groups)
- Extent and nature of contact with government officials
- Extent and nature of travel

When a field-worker compares information gathered through mapping with information from other methods, such as observation and cross-interviewing with neighbors and local authorities, a more accurate and complete family picture comes into focus.

For IRC-Rwanda's reintegration work, mobility maps are used with more than one family member—usually the head of the household and a child living in the household. When an institutionalized child has had regular contact with family members, he or she is also asked to map community contacts. Maps are particular to each individual, and one family member's map may differ significantly from that of another. When used in combination, the maps reveal a complex, holistic family network and identify opportunities for economic strengthening of the family. That also holds true for flow diagrams.

Roger's Case

Unlike most of the separated children in the IRC program, Roger became an orphan before the genocide. When his mother died, he moved in with his grandparents. Even though Roger was born out of wedlock, the grandparents accepted him, providing him with the love, affection, and opportunities he needed to develop into a healthy boy. Yet, when Roger's grandparents were killed during the genocide, he was placed in a small child center with virtually no contact between himself and his surviving family.

In 2000, IRC began working in the center where Roger lived. Because Roger was not considered a tracing case, no agency had previously addressed the unique circumstances of the boy's situation. After several initial contacts with family members, IRC identified an uncle who was ready and willing to accept Roger. But the work did not end there. New mobility maps and flow diagrams were done, revealing several areas of concern about the family's life. For one, Roger's uncle was HIV-positive and becoming sicker by the day. Additional family members were identified, but not all accepted Roger. Family members also identified another key resource person, a local priest, who acted as strong moral support to both the family and the child.

When Roger's uncle died later that month, leaving Roger under the unstable responsibility of the uncle's sick wife, caseworkers called a community roundtable meeting to discuss Roger's future. The priest agreed to act as the intermediary, and the IRC caseworker organized the meeting. The results were very positive. During the meeting, family members discussed and outlined a new plan for roger: his paternal uncle offered to act as his tutor, providing him a place to live, while another uncle and aunt assumed full financial responsibilities for his educational needs. In addition, the priest made a firm commitment to follow his case and provided ongoing support to the family. In the end, the program's role was limited strictly to playing a facilitation role between roger, his family, and key resource persons. Most impressively, it took less than 2 months to find a viable solution once the new tools and approach were applied.

The steps that follow describe how to help children and adults draw mobility maps for family assessment purposes:

- 1. After establishing a rapport with the child or family member, explain the purpose of the exercise.
- 2. Provide a piece of paper and a pencil or colored pencils (with an eraser). Draw a small house in the middle of the paper. Explain that this drawing represents his or her house. Now ask the person to draw around the house all the places and people that he or she sometimes visits. (For children or adults who are not comfortable drawing, the field-worker can draw the map according to the person's instructions or help the person create a map on the ground using objects to represent places and people.)

- 3. After ensuring that the person understands the exercise, allow him or her time to draw or complete the diagram without interruption. Mapping can take from 20 minutes to 1 hour depending on how detailed the map is.
- 4. Once the map has been completed, ask the person to name all the places indicated on it. If the person is literate, ask him or her to label each place. If the person is not literate, label the places, explaining that this will help you remember each place. Take care to avoid a subtle putdown of "I can read and you can't."
- 5. Now verify that he or she has not forgotten any place or person. (Use probing questions such as the following: "Do you ever go to a neighboring town?" "Are there some days of the week or the month when you go to particular places?" "Are there places that you go to at different times of the year?") Ask the person to add other places or people to the map as they are mentioned. (At any time in the exercise, if the person mentions a place not already drawn, always encourage him or her to add it.)
- 6. Once the labeling is finished, ask the person to mark each of the places that he or she likes best with a particular color, using a colored pencil, marker, or sticker. (e.g., green)
- 7. Now ask the person to mark the places that he or she most dislikes in a different color. (e.g., black)
- 8. Then ask the person to mark the places that he or she visited most often (e.g., red) and least often (e.g., yellow), using a different color for each.
- 9. Once the map has been completed, it is time to interview. Begin by explaining that you would like to learn more about the drawing and would like to ask some questions. Ask if you can write down the responses.
- 10. Begin with the places that the person listed as "best-liked" places. Use the following discussion guides:
 - "Tell me about this place." "Why do you like it?"
 - "What do you do there?" (Probe for activities and reason for visits.)
 - "Whom do you have contact with there?" (Probe for description and significance of each relationship.)
 - "How often do you visit this place?" (Determine whether it was frequently, sometimes, or rarely.) "Please explain."
 - "Have there been any changes in places you go to or people you visit over time?""Please explain."
- 11. Follow the same line of questioning for "most-disliked" places.
- 12. If the child or family member is not too tired, ask him or her to describe all other places on the map.
- 13. In conducting an interview, follow the above guide, but do not be overly restricted by it. Use follow-up questions for clarification and to gather additional information. The point is to generate as much conversation as possible in order to develop a complete picture of the social network and economic activities of the person and household.

The Flow Diagram

A flow diagram identifies the chain of resource persons approached when the household member or the child to be reintegrated is in need. Flow diagrams, more focused than maps, identify specific avenues for social support when the individual or household needs medical care, money, or moral support. (See Figure 4.) The diagrams are an excellent way to verify and explore in greater depth the information gathered during the mobility map exercise. Flow diagrams provide information that serves as a basis for a simple interview with family members. The following steps describe how a flow diagram is made:

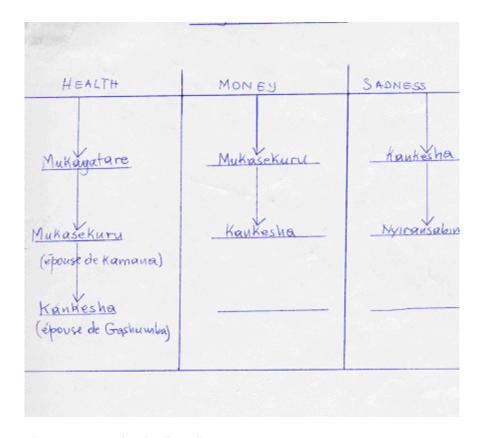


Figure 4. Example of a flow diagram.

- After establishing a rapport with the child or family member, explain that the purpose of
 the exercise is to help you understand whom the interviewee turns to for help when there
 is a problem. Often, people turn to different individuals for different types of problems.
 For that reason, you will address three areas of need: money, health, and emotional
 support.
- 2. Begin with health problems. Ask the family member whom they ask for help when they have a health problem. Write that name at the top of a paper.
- 3. Proceed by asking whom would he or she turn to if the person listed were unable to help. Continue this line of questioning, writing the names in descending order until the family member's options are exhausted.

- 4. Next ask whom he or she would approach in the event of a financial problem. Once again, write this name down and then exhaust other options for assistance.
- 5. Conduct the same line of exhaustive questioning for emotional (or moral) support.

During the interview, you may ask probing questions such as "What type of support is provided?" "Why do you approach certain people?" "What are some past examples of support?"

Flow diagrams are an excellent complement to mobility maps and can often identify or confirm the importance of resource persons. In some cases, a new individual may be mentioned and should be added to the map.

The information gathered by the mobility maps and flow diagrams can be shared with the key resource people, who are invited to participate in the community roundtable discussion. The maps and diagrams can yield information about families' social support networks, household members' economic activities, remittances from relatives, and children's educational opportunities. That basic information stimulates discussion of the assets, opportunities, and needs within each family and the community. Additionally, the community roundtable provides an environment in which each participant realizes that his or her contribution, no matter how small, can make a difference when combined with the contributions of others.

Although mobility maps, flow diagrams, and community roundtables can be used to facilitate successful reintegration, the tools are equally useful in determining whether reunification would be in the best interests of the child. That decision is made jointly by family, community leaders, government officials, and IRC members. In the absence of a formal legal framework for placement work, this participatory approach results in a mutually agreeable placement plan and helps safeguard each child's best interests.

IRC-Rwanda introduced the mobility map as an improvement on standard questionnaire-based interviews to obtain information for tracing and to assess the socioeconomic situation of families. It was also adapted for other purposes within IRC-Rwanda's children's programs, including the following:

- To identify transitional foster families for institutionalized adolescents preparing to reintegrate into the community (see Appendix D for a sample map)
- To assess the social networks of street children to help them find alternatives (see Appendix E for a sample map)

Other organizations have also expressed interest in adapting and using mobility maps in their work with marginalized or at-risk children. For example, an HIV/AIDS NGO in Burkina Faso, Initiative Privèe et Communautaire de Lutte Contre le VIH/SIDA, has introduced mobility mapping to organizations that support the home-based care of people living with HIV/AIDS. In that setting, a mobility map could be used to help a parent living with HIV/AIDS to plan for the future care of his or her children.

CONCLUSION

The examples cited in this paper highlight the versatility and utility of mobility maps and flow diagrams in obtaining useful information and new perspectives on the background and current situation of children and families. The strength of both tools lies in their capacity to illuminate the situation of a child and family in a flexible but structured way. Information gathering that is structured around drawings by members of the household contributes to a personal, informative interview and builds rapport between the worker and the child or household. Equally important, both tools help launch a participatory, community-based reintegration process, and they help place the agency in an appropriate supporting role rather than as the party responsible for providing all resources to make things work.

Mobility maps and flow diagrams are not new in development work, but their use with separated children is both new and promising. Drawings and diagrams have proven to be appropriate and effective for use with children and adults in participatory fieldwork. They, unlike other methods, can empower an illiterate informant who is asked to take the lead in describing the household and identifying its capacities and resources. The inclusive nature and flexibility of maps and diagrams generally yields richer and more relevant information than standard interviewing. They also provide a firm foundation for well-informed decisions about how best to move forward in reintegration work. These tools also show promise for creative use in various kinds of work with vulnerable children.

APPENDIX A: RESOURCE DOCUMENTS

Works Related to Separated and Orphaned Children

- De Lay, B. "A New Approach for Community-Based Reunification and Reintegration Work of Separated Children in Rwanda: The International Rescue Committee's Experience" (in draft).
- International Save the Children Alliance. *Promoting Psychosocial Well-being among Children Affected by Armed Conflict and Displacement: Principles and Approaches*. International Save the Children Alliance, 1996.
- Merkelbach, M. "Reunified Children Separated from Their Families after the Rwandan Crisis of 1994: The Relative Value of a Central Database. *International Review of the Red Cross*, no. 838 (June 30, 2000): 351–67.
- Ressler, E., N. Boothby, and D. Steinbock. *Unaccompanied Children: Care and Protection in Wars, Natural Disasters, and Refugee Movements.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Uppard, S., C. Petty, and M. Tamplin. *Working with Separated Children: A Training Manual.* Save the Children (U.K.), 1998.
- Williamson, J., and A. Moser. *Unaccompanied Children in Emergencies: A Field Guide for Their Care and Protection*. International Social Services, 1987.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *Refugee Children: Guidelines on Protection and Care.* UNHCR, 1994.

Works Related to PLA and Research with Children

- More than 40 documents on the use of PLA and related methods in development and relief work are available from the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) at http://www.iied.org/bookshop/sd_spla.html>.
- Boyden, J., and J. Ennew. *Children in Focus—A Manual for Participatory Research with Children*. Radda Barnen, 1997.
- Butler, S., J. Gross, and H. Hayne. "The Effect of Drawing on Memory Performance in Young Children," *Developmental Psychology* 31 (1995): 597–608.
- Gross, J., and H. Hayne. "Drawing Facilitates Children's Verbal Reports of Emotionally Laden Events." *Journals of Experimental Psychology* 4, no. 2 (1998): 163–79.
- Johnson, V., J. Hill, and E. Ivan-Smith. *Listening to Smaller Voices: Children in an Environment of Change*. ACTIONAID.
- Petty, J., and others. A Trainer's Guide for Participatory Learning and Action. IIED Participatory Methodology Series. 1995.

PLA Notes: Notes on Participatory Learning and Action (formerly RRA Notes), no. 25, Special Issue on Children's Participation (February 1996).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *Action for the Rights of Children*. UNHCR 2000.

APPENDIX B: BEATRICE'S STORY

Beatrice was 8 years old in 1994 when Rwanda was engulfed by war, genocide, and chaos. Psychologists say that, when human beings are faced with a sudden traumatic decision, the instinctual response is "fight or flight." Beatrice's family chose to flee. And so they ran—like so many others before them and so many others after them—into the verdant jungles of the Congo. Almost immediately, Beatrice was separated from her family. Along with a 22-year-old cousin and the family's housekeeper, Beatrice managed to make her way to a refugee camp.

In 1996, as part of the mass of people being repatriated to Rwanda, Beatrice was separated from her cousin. And then there were two—10-year-old Beatrice and her housekeeper. They went to a place called Nbogo. For several months things were all right, but then a disagreement caused Beatrice and the housekeeper to part ways.

Now 11, Beatrice then moved into the household of a supposed friend of the family. He gave Beatrice a choice: if she wanted to go to school, she would have to marry his son—quite a decision for an 11-year-old girl to make. Then the man raped Beatrice and tossed her out of the house. Scared, lonely, depressed, and outraged, she made her way to a local leader, who took her in. The leader's wife mistreated Beatrice. The girl was overworked, not allowed to go to school, and generally abused. One day, Beatrice lashed back, telling the wife that she was not a servant. The very next day, the family dropped Beatrice off at Rulindo Unaccompanied Children's Center.

Later, IRC-Rwanda's unaccompanied children's program came to work at the Rulindo Center. Before then, all efforts to trace Beatrice's family had failed. The girl had not been able to respond to standard tracing interviews. In a simple exercise, caseworkers sat down with Beatrice and asked her to draw her old neighborhood. She did not remember much, but she did recall a crucial piece of information. She was able to name and give the location of her old housekeeper. With Beatrice's mobility map in hand (Figure B.1), the team went to the housekeeper, who was able to give the name and location of Beatrice's cousin. Although the girl's parents were dead, her beloved cousin was still alive and living in Kigali! As it turns out, the cousin had sent out several radio messages in the hope that she would find Beatrice.

On March 24, 2001, Beatrice and her cousin were reunified after 6 years of separation. Their meeting was, as expected, tearful and heartwarming. "Oh, you're all grown up. How you've changed!" were the first words from Beatrice's cousin. The two girls then huddled together for the first time in years, discussing the past, the war, their lives in the interim, and the future. After many years of wandering, abuse, and neglect, Beatrice will be cared for in a nurturing and loving environment. She will continue her education and try to build a better future for herself.

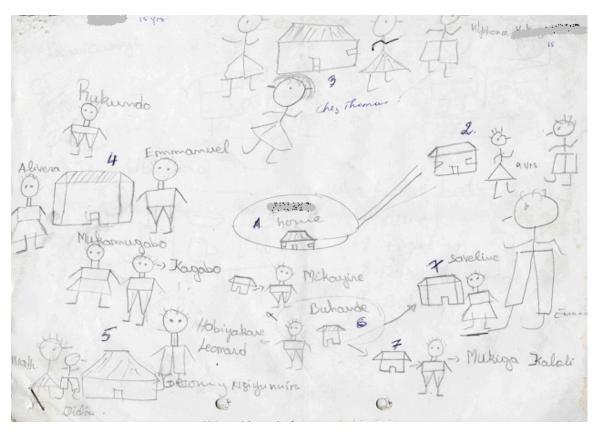


Figure B.1. Beatrice's mobility map.

APPENDIX C: RAPID REVIEW OF HISTORICAL MOBILITY MAPS EFFECTIVENESS IN DISCOVERING NEW TRACING INFORMATION

IRC- Rwanda Case Number	Age at Time of Separation (Years)	Time between Separation and Mobility Mapping (Years)	Map Quality	Did the Map Provide New Tracing Clues?	Description of New Information
JAM 117	5	8	Poor	No	_
JAM 093	3	4	Average	Yes	Additional details about separation
JAM 059	7	8	Average	Yes	Neighbors' names
JAM 049	5	10	Poor	No	_
JAM 038	4	6	Poor to average	No	_
JAM 013	3	5 (?)	Poor to average	Yes	Neighbors' names
JAM 174	5	4	Average	Yes	Stepfather's name and the place where the family lived in exile
JAM 170	6	8	Good	Yes	Description of household items
JAM 155	4	5	Poor	No	_
JAM 152	4	6	Poor	No	_
JAM 133	4	4	Average	Yes	Aunt's name
JAM 251	4	3	Good	Yes	Details about mother and geographic location
JAM 300	4	6	Average	No	
JAM 001	4	3	Poor	Yes	Details about father's occupation
JAM 103	6	7	Average	Yes	Details about

					separation
JAM 193	5	7	Poor	No	
JAM 141	6	8	Average	Yes	Details about where grandmother lives
JAM 158	5	7	Average	No	_
JAM 299	10	6	Good	Yes	Details about neighborhood market and surrounding neighborhood

Note: The above table represents the findings from a random sample of maps from two centers.

APPENDIX D: MOBILITY MAPS: A TOOL TO IDENTIFY FOSTER FAMILIES FOR ADOLESCENTS

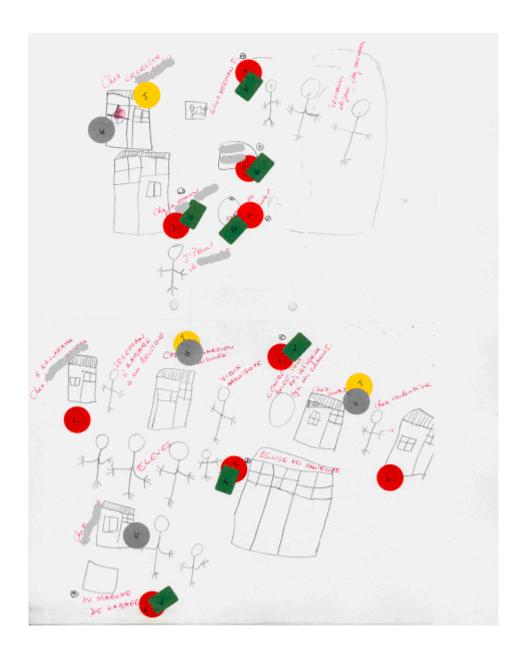


Figure D.1. A mobility map adapted to identify transitional foster families for institutionalized adolescents preparing to reintegrate into the community.

APPENDIX E: MOBILITY MAPS: AN ASSESSMENT TOOL FOR STREET CHILDREN

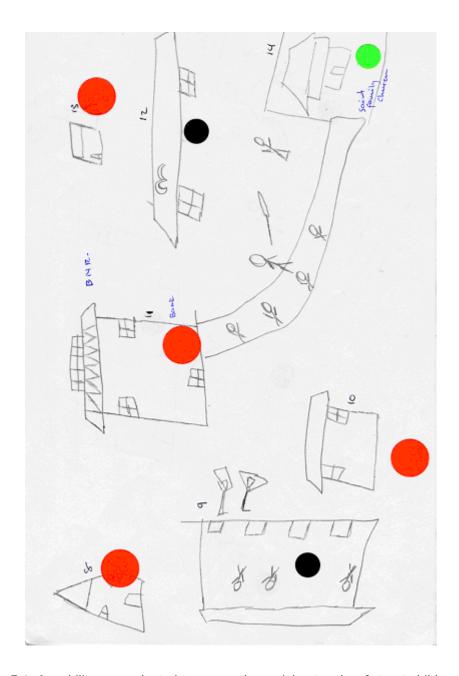


Figure E.1. A mobility map adapted to assess the social networks of street children to help them find alternatives.