

Addressing the Crisis of Orphaned and Abandoned Children in Bamako

By: Jennifer Campbell
(Kadidia N'Diaye)

Advisor: Madame Coulibaly Adiaratou Doumbia

Program Director: Modibo Coulibaly

Bamako, Mali

Fall 2008

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Modibo Coulibaly, Harber Mama, and Mahamadou Lamine Bagayoko for all of their help throughout the program and ISP time.

Thanks to my wonderful advisor, Madame Coulibaly, who came to meetings and was always there for support.

And finally, thank-you to the staff at RIOEV and UNICEF for their time, and a special thanks to Adama Sangare, Maly 'Bibi' Sangho, and Kadiatou Fatima Sidibe for answering my questions and allowing me to spend time at their organizations.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Table of Contents	ii
Introduction	1
Study Area	2
Research Methodology	3
Research Findings	4
Background	4
The Pouponnière	6
ASE-Mali	9
A Child for All	11
RIOEV	13
UNICEF	15
Analysis and Conclusions	16
Notes	19
Appendix A: Acronyms	20
Works and Interviews Cited	21

Introduction

The family constitutes the nucleus of life in the country of Mali. Within the family, great importance is especially placed on children. Children's central and vital role within the family is based on their ability to contribute both economically and domestically, whether it be helping with cooking and cleaning at home or assisting with the economic activities of the family, such as farming or selling goods. It is, therefore, especially striking and shocking to see children who have no home or family within this country which places such high value on them. The problem of orphaned and abandoned children in Mali is systemic and growing. However, it is indicative of an even greater issue, being that Mali's current state of economic development continues to rank it amongst the poorest nations in the world.

When I began my research for this project, I had a very broad idea of what I would be studying. My goal was to identify the organizations and services provided for orphans in Bamako, with a plan of comparing different institutional approaches to caring for orphans and examining the challenges these organizations face. What I soon discovered, however, was that the way one views and defines the term "orphan" in Mali is very different from the way orphans are viewed in the United States. The term "orphan" in the United States is defined as a child who has lost his/her family and, therefore, is forced to reside in an orphanage or institution. In Mali, however, the majority of the children who are living in institutions are not "orphans" by any U.S. definition, but rather children who have been abandoned. An orphan in Mali "is a child that has lost one or both of his/her parents" (UNICEF 2006, 22). Most often, these

children remain with extended family.

Given this distinction between orphans and abandoned children, I was forced to approach my research from a slightly different angle. While I still wished to study the institutions providing services to “abandoned” children, I realized that there were issues surrounding the care and keeping of “orphans” which I had not previously considered. Keeping these two distinct groups in mind, I set out to understand the major differences between orphans and abandoned children and what services and institutions are available to both these children and their families. I especially wanted to examine the challenges these institutions face in caring for children and how the situation might be improved.

Study Area

Mali is a landlocked country located in western sub-Saharan Africa. It continually ranks as one of the poorest in the world. Mali’s Human Development Index¹ score is 0.380, and it ranks 173 out of 177 countries evaluated. The average life expectancy is 53.1 years of age, and the adult literacy rate is only 24%. The average per capita income is 1,033 US dollars (Human Development Report). Roughly twenty percent of all children die before the age of five and forty-one percent are underweight. “Almost six percent of the deaths of children result from nutritional deficiencies” (ASE-Mali).

An orphan is defined as “a child that has lost one or both of his/her parents” and is under the age of 18. This broad category can be broken down into maternal orphans, paternal orphans, and total orphans; children who have lost their mother, their father, or both parents, respectively (UNICEF 2006, 22). It is estimated that around “143 million

children in the developing world have lost one or both parents” (Global Action for Children), and in Mali that number is estimated to be 632,000 children. Out of those 632,000 children, 278,000 are maternal orphans, 400,000 are paternal orphans and 76,000 are total orphans. Approximately 11.6% of Mali’s orphans are HIV/AIDS orphans, having lost one or both parents to the disease. In looking at an age breakdown of Malian orphans, the older a child is, the more likely he/she is to have lost one or both parents; 84,000 orphans are between the ages of zero and four; 220,000 are between four and nine; while 290,000 are between nine and fourteen (UNICEF 2006, 19-22).

Research Methodology

I chose to remain in Bamako for my Independent Study Project research. As Mali’s capital city, Bamako, is home base for numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other organizations which deal with orphans and abandoned children, including the government-funded home for abandoned children and the private orphanage. In addition, as the country’s largest urban center, it has one of the highest concentrations of orphans in all of Mali.

My research consisted almost entirely of formal and structured interviews. I met with two different NGOs involved in work with orphans and other vulnerable children. I also conducted formal interviews with the directors of three different institutions for abandoned children in Bamako and spent time observing at two of them. I spent two days volunteering at ASE- Mali, the private orphanage, where I was able to observe its operation firsthand and begin to understand all the challenges they face in caring for young children. I also spent time observing at the Pouponnière, which is the government

funded “orphanage.” While I did not volunteer there, I did have the opportunity to work and travel with the handicapped children under their care to AMALDEME, where they undergo various types of physical and mental therapy. By conducting formal structured interviews, I was able to discuss what specific challenges the different organizations face when working with orphans and vulnerable children, while my time spent at ASE-Mali and the Pouponnière allowed me to gain firsthand insight into these challenges. For my secondary source research, I have used information and statistics from the world wide web and from the Awa Keita Center.

While I was fortunate to have the ability to spend time working with Mali’s abandoned children, I was unable to directly observe systems of support for orphans, as the majority of these orphans live with extended family and are not subject to living in institutions. In addition, my original bias as to the very definition of an orphan skewed my field research heavily in the direction of abandoned children and the institutions supporting them, as opposed to orphans and orphan support services.

Research Findings

Background

Traditionally, in Malian society as well as in other parts of Africa, an orphan is welcomed by extended family members. In fact, “extended families and communities care for more than 90% of all double orphans in sub-Saharan Africa” (Global Action for Children). Taking care of orphans is seen as a community responsibility, with elders seeing to the child’s education and maternal and paternal aunts and uncles acting as adoptive parents. In the case of paternal orphans, 74% live with their mother and 71% of

maternal orphans live with their father (UNICEF 2006, 39). However, more often orphans are viewed as an economic strain on their families and it becomes increasingly difficult to care for them. Because of the traditional system in place of caring for orphans, the concept that the government or NGOs would have to step in is a relatively new development. “Up until now, children at risk were looked after by associations...and community principles” (Plus News Global). A child who has lost one parent has only a 50% chance of finishing school; that percentage drops drastically for total orphans, who have only a 10% chance. Orphans face limited access to healthcare and are also more at risk to abuse, sexual violence, and child trafficking. Half of all children living on the street are orphans and orphans comprise 60% of all incarcerated youth. HIV/AIDS orphans are especially at risk of being stigmatized within their communities and, sometimes, even within their own families (UNICEF 2006 34-41). Global Action for Children cites that HIV/AIDS orphans are especially vulnerable to “economic hardship, lack of love, attention and affection, withdrawal from school, psychological distress, loss of inheritance, increased abuse and risk of HIV infection, malnutrition and illness, and stigma, discrimination and isolation.” Many of these risks are not unique to HIV/AIDS orphans, but are challenges faced by all orphans.

Abandoned children are those who have been deserted by one or both of their parents. Abandoned children are most often infants who end up living in institutions such as orphanages. Between 140 and 150 children are abandoned every year and brought to institutions such as the Pouponnière or ASE-Mali (UNICEF 2006, 45). It is common for young women living in rural areas to come to Bamako to work as maids in

order to earn money for their wedding dowries. Many end up pregnant, often the result of sexual violence, and are unable to return to their fiancés with another man's child. Their children are left abandoned in the street, sometimes in the garbage, until they are found by the police or other authorities and brought to an institution (Konfe 1986, 7). While an active effort is made to find the mother, the search is often rendered futile. The majority of abandoned children living in institutions find homes through foreign adoption or are sent to live at the SOS village in Sanankoroba.²

The Pouponnière

The Pouponnière, or the *Centre d'Accueil et de Placement Familial*, was opened in 1956, and is located in downtown Bamako. The Pouponnière is directly linked to and funded by the *Direction Nationale de la Promotion de l'Enfant et de la Famille*, the government ministry dedicated to issues relating to women and children. The Pouponnière is a three-story facility, with infants on the second and third floors. The first floor is home to the few toddlers there as well as the center's handicapped children. The Pouponnière's mission is "the reception, the looking after, and the education until the age of five of abandoned children of unknown parents, of orphans without support, and of children of mentally ill mothers."

According to the director of the Pouponnière, Nene Ouattara, approximately 90% of all the children brought to the center are abandoned. She explained that the majority of these children are abandoned because women who have come to Bamako in search of work become pregnant, as oftentimes they are the victims of sexual violence. They cannot take care of a baby, so most of the time it is simply abandoned (Ouattara). Most

of these abandoned babies are brought in by the police, although they may also be brought in by the *Promotion de l'Enfant* when they discover a child not being properly cared for in its home. When an abandoned child is brought in to the center, the police work for about three months looking for the mother. If the mother is not located, that child is then eligible for adoption.

Children at the Pouponnière remain there until about the age of five. By this age, most of those children who have been abandoned have been adopted, most of the time by French couples. Adama Sangare, who works at the center, said, "It's great when children can be adopted by French parents because they are very loving and very caring." The orphans and children of mothers with mental disabilities are returned to their families. If conditions within these families are not deemed stable and secure enough for the child, he or she is sent to live at the SOS village in Sanankoroba. The children with HIV/AIDS and mental and physical disabilities, however, are not considered "adoptable" and may not be sent to the SOS village. These children are forced to remain at the Pouponnière.

There are currently about one hundred children at the Pouponnière, and two or three new children are brought in to the center every day. In each room, there are approximately ten babies with one woman to change, feed and look after all of them. Each time I visited, there seemed to be plenty of volunteers from abroad, so it is clear that the Pouponnière is always in need of extra sets of hands. Insufficient funding also seems to be a problem for the center. Even the Pouponnière's brochure, which states that the children there are considered "pupils" of the state and are provided for in the National Budget, explains that this credit is insufficient and unfortunately does not cover all of

their expenses.

The fifteen children with mental and physical disabilities living at the Pouponnière present a special challenge. There is a certain stigma surrounding these children within Malian society. “For certain families (being handicapped) is a fatality and not an illness. They designate the child as a carrier of the evil eye...It is said that he/she fell from the arms of the mother and is abandoned” (L’Association LEO). Handicapped orphans are not considered adoptable by the state and, unlike the system in place for the other children at the Pouponnière, after the age of five there is no structure in place for the children with disabilities. Only those children with physical disabilities are able to attend school. Adama Sangare, who is specially tasked to seeing to the needs of the Pouponnière’s children with handicaps, told me “there are absolutely not enough services available for handicapped orphans. From the ages of zero to five it is not a problem, but after that there is no structure in place for them. The state says they should stay at the Pouponnière (Sangare).”

While the Pouponnière receives no help from outside NGOs, the center has been fortunate to receive funding for its children with mental and physical handicaps from the French NGO L’Association LEO, Leo being the name of one of the center’s disabled residents. Since 1999, the LEO has given the necessary funds to support the handicapped children. LEO has two main objectives, first to improve the conditions for handicapped children at the Pouponnière and, second, to create a specific structure for sick and handicapped children. With the financial assistance of LEO, the Pouponnière was able to open up a new space for children with disabilities on July 22, 2003. L’Association LEO

pays for all medical and nutritional expenses and also ensures that handicapped children receive regular therapy. Every Friday, children with mental handicaps attend therapy sessions at the *Association Malienne de Lutte contre les Deficiences Mentales* (AMALDEME). At AMALDEME, the children work with specialists on speech and physical therapy, along with other children who have been brought in by their parents. After every visit, each child is evaluated on his or her improvement. While the services offered by AMALDEME are undeniably vital for the handicapped children at the Pouponnière, Sangare lamented that it is not enough. “Parents can pay to bring their children everyday as a way of seeing results. We cannot afford that at the Pouponnière. We don’t have the means” (Sangare).

ASE-Mali

ASE-Mali is a private, non-profit organization that cares for abandoned children and children from extremely poor families. It was founded in 1993 by Maly Sangho, who everyone affectionately calls Bibi. Bibi’s father left her family at an early age leaving her mother to care for nine children. Bibi recalls that life as a paternal orphan was very difficult. Oftentimes there was no money for food or Bibi’s education. Bibi’s struggles as an orphan inspired her to open a center that would provide food, education, and lots of love and affection for Mali’s many abandoned children (Sangho).

ASE-Mali differs quite starkly in appearance from the Pouponnière, seeming much less like the institution that it is. Located in a house that Bibi rents in ACI 2000, upon entering the property one is completely surrounded by the smiles and laughter of women and children. Unlike the Pouponnière, ASE-Mali is home to not just abandoned

children Bibi takes in, but to many young mothers who have brought their infants, as well as several interns and Bibi herself. Currently, there are thirty-eight children at ASE-Mali, including fourteen infants. The babies occupy the largest room in the house on the ground floor, while older children and caretakers live in several bedrooms on the second and third floors. Caring for so many children is a collective effort. The women who come to the center, called *Maman Lumière* (Light Mothers), work in shifts - morning, afternoon, and night. There is not enough funding to furnish these women with salaries, but they do receive a small stipend for food and travel expenses (ASE-Mali). While the police have brought abandoned children to Bibi, she is also approached by young women who have found themselves pregnant and incapable of caring for their babies. “I tell them I will take the baby, but only if they stay here, work a little, earn some money, and then keep the baby when they leave” (Sangho). During the time I spent working at ASE-Mali, I met four or five young girls working and living there, caring for other children all while carrying their own babies on their backs.

Abandoned children’s journeys at ASE-Mali are similar to those living at the Pouponnière. When an abandoned child is first brought in, a ninety day effort is made to locate the mother. If this search is unsuccessful, then the child is eligible for adoption. Most of “Bibi’s children” are adopted. When there is no space for children at the center, she tries to find host family placements for them nearby. The children living in host families are always welcomed as part of the family living at ASE, and are provided with food and education there (Sangho). In addition to providing a home for abandoned children, during the week there is also a *Jardin d’enfants* (preschool) for

ASE's toddlers and other neighborhood children at the center.

Bibi is absolutely the driving force behind all of ASE-Mali's activities. She knows all of the children's names and makes constant rounds into the nursery to check-in and give children hugs and affection. Her love and passion for helping Mali's vulnerable children and women is tangible. While the center is, aesthetically-speaking, the nicest of its kind in Bamako, Bibi does recognize and lament the lack of resources. "There is a room meant for two or three children, that holds fourteen, there are beds meant for one child that hold two or three...the system is insufficient, the space is insufficient,³ the material resources are insufficient" (Sangho). She explained that, in Bamako, there is *la volonté* (the will) to care for abandoned children, but the rest is insufficient and nonexistent. In order for the situation to truly improve, the government needs to grant large enough spaces to care for children, but most importantly, there needs to be a form of guarantee. A form of guarantee for not only abandoned children, but also for the mothers of abandoned children, that there will also be services for them. "There was a fourteen-year old girl who had a premature baby that she could not care for and she was turned away from the hospital. There has to be a form of guarantee" (Sangho). While Bibi's resolve and determination to provide bright futures for abandoned children has indeed made a difference, without a solid system in place to help young pregnant women, the problem of abandoned children will persist.

A Child For All

A Child for All, Mali is a non-profit organization, similar to ASE-Mali, that is to open in Bamako in the near future. The founder, Kadiatou Fatima Sidibe, is currently

finishing graduate work in the United States and is working with the Malian government to find a field site for her center. Her center will be home not only to abandoned children, but also orphans whose families do not have the means to care for them as well as other vulnerable children. A Child for All's mission is "to ensure comprehensive, quality care for orphaned and vulnerable infants, children, and adolescents... by providing emotional, nutritional and medical support for each orphan; a safe nurturing environment with warm and loving care providers; quality academic and vocational education; and providing assistance to adoptive couples in their adoption process" (A Child for All).

Reflecting the traditional system for caring for orphaned children, the center advocates a more non-institutional approach to child care. According to Sidibe, "it is extremely important for vulnerable children to have family that cares for them, some place they can call home and people they can rely on" (Sidibe). The center's goal is to find adoptive families for each child or place them in foster care families. The concept of a foster family, while certainly more in line with local cultural beliefs, presents many challenges, especially financial challenges. Sidibe explained that, in families that are caring for two or three children already, the foster child constitutes a financial strain, and while foster parents try to treat all children equally, "the economic situation makes it such that the first to be affected is the orphan child" (Sidibe). A Child for All hopes to help Malian foster families economically by providing micro-credit loans to support themselves and the foster child. This holistic approach to caring for orphaned and abandoned children aims at eliminating one of the great economic challenges which

caring for these children presents. It is Sidibe's hope that "if those families could be empowered (help them make a living, start a business, educate them on how to be better productive at the farm, etc...not necessarily throw money at them), I think that they will be more capable of taking care of these children that they are entrusted with" (Sidibe).

RIOEV

RIOEV, or *Réseau des Intervenants auprès des Orphelins et autres Enfants Vulnérables*, is a Network for orphans and vulnerable children in Bamako. The network consists of over forty different organizations, including NGOs, government associations, and religious structures, that work in some capacity with orphans and other vulnerable children (OVC). In addition to orphans, vulnerable children include those who are infected or affected by HIV/AIDS, migrants, children who have been incarcerated, victims of sexual abuse, street children and mentally and physically handicapped children (Yalcoue and Moub). This network is comprised of over 40 various member organizations which are "like a family... with one common goal" which is improving the lives of orphans and vulnerable children (Yalcoue).

Founded in 2003, RIOEV's main objective is "to strengthen the institutional and legal frameworks to better address the needs of OVC" (RIOEV). In addressing the needs of OVC, RIOEV works within a very decentralized framework. "Each member of RIOEV has its own work, its own role" (Yalcoue). RIOEV's role is to improve and reinforce its member organizations' material and institutional capacities as far as children are concerned. In the majority of cases, this equates to financial assistance. For instance, at the *Centres d'Ecoute Communautaires*, RIOEV appropriates funds which are used to

buy equipment for children's dancing and drawing activities. RIOEV also works through Niesigiso and Kondo Jigima with their micro-finance programs by helping to give twenty mothers of vulnerable children credit so they may more easily earn money. In working to assess how and where to send funds, RIOEV must rely heavily on regional assistance. This begins with local groups who are doing hands-on work with OVC. At the next level, regional teams and assemblies also report back to RIOEV on specific community and regional needs (Yalcoue and Moub). One of the goals of RIOEV is to bring these different actors together in order to better educate them to address the issues of OVC.

While these are still the primary objectives in addressing the needs of OVC, beginning in 2005, RIOEV has received funding from the Global Fund to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. Since then, RIOEV has expanded its objectives to better fit with the implementation of the Global Fund. The Fund's five-year program aims to "reduce the sexual, blood and maternal transmission of HIV/AIDS and STIs in Mali, and to mitigate the impact of the disease, particularly familial and socio-economic by providing, in particular, support to women, orphans, and vulnerable children" (RIOEV). In working to implement this objective, RIOEV has developed a five-point plan. This plan includes the "creation of a legal framework for OVC, advocacy with elected officials and the media, research... to improve understanding about OVC in Mali, strengthen technical capacities of the groups working with OVC, and development and strengthening of family and community responses for the social care and medical support of OVC" (RIOEV).

RIOEV's objectives are broad and aimed at helping a much more expansive group of children in Mali than just orphans. One would hope that their decentralized approach would empower local actors who work directly with orphans and their families. But RIOEV's continued financial support is only available to those of its member organizations, and financial resources are always limited. With so many projects under its wing, it is difficult to say, without spending time at each of them, how truly effective and successful they are in implementing their strategy.

UNICEF

UNICEF is the United Nations Children's Fund (formerly known as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund), and their central office in Mali is located in Bamako. While UNICEF does not have a specific program pertaining to orphans or abandoned children, all work surrounding OVC is done through their *Programme de Protection des Enfants contre les Abus, Exploit et la Négligence* (Program of Protection of Children against Abuse, Exploitation, and Negligence). This program focuses on issues in multiple sectors, including health and education. Within the program, UNICEF works closely with state services, especially the Ministry for the Promotion of the Family, Woman and Child. Through this connection, UNICEF encourages the state to put forth legislation promoting children's rights (Diarra).

It is UNICEF's firm belief that the best place for a child is within the family. For those children who have lost one or both of their parents, UNICEF advocates that the child stay within extended families. While institutions, such as the Pouponnière, are important for those children who have sustained abuse, institutions help to perpetuate the

problem of creating an environment for children who are vulnerable that is outside the safety net of the family. In speaking with Cheick Oumar Diarra, a UNICEF employee in Bamako, about what could be done to alleviate the need for institutions, he explained that this process has to start with the education of adults. “The women who come to Bamako to work and can’t care for a baby should be well-informed and educated...by working with communities and finding a means for these girls to keep their babies” (Diarra). The greatest challenges in caring for orphans and abandoned children include limited resources for institutions, as well as limited resources for these children’s school and healthcare. There is also the challenge of enforcing legislation that has been passed concerning children’s rights and decreasing the stigmatization faced by orphans infected or affected by HIV/AIDS (Diarra).

Analysis and Conclusion

Caring for Mali’s orphans and abandoned children is a vast issue filled with challenges. For most orphans, there is an extended family network on which they can rely. But this is a fragile network since, in a country with as many economic challenges as Mali, caring for a child that is not one’s own can constitute an enormous financial strain. Because orphans are most often left within the care of relatives, there does not seem to be a large institutional response in seeing to their needs. While RIOEV provides resources to numerous organizations working with orphans, their network umbrella covers not only orphans but all vulnerable children. Without devoting a significant amount of time with some of RIOEV’s member organizations or with families who have welcomed orphans into their homes, it is difficult to determine whether or not these

services are sufficient.

Contrary to my original belief when I first started my research, the children residing in the institutions one thinks of as orphanages are not actually orphans at all, but rather abandoned children. In Bamako, there are currently two institutions that promote the care of abandoned children, with a third to open in the near future. At the Pouponnière, the government supported orphanage, it is clear that while funding is always a primary concern, for most of the center's children a positive future through adoption is possible. But for those children with mental and physical disabilities, there is no future laid out for them. There are absolutely no services available for these children, and funding is insufficient to care for their many needs.

ASE-Mali's approach to institutional childcare contrasts starkly to that of the Pouponnière. ASE-Mali has created an environment that feels more like a family, a luxury not afforded at the Pouponnière, primarily due to its small size. And because of the nature of her space, Bibi is also able to take in the young girls who would otherwise be unable to care for their children. While ASE-Mali certainly offers the nicest facility for abandoned children in Bamako, they are plagued by a lack of space and financial resources, a fact lamented by Bibi who says that in order to improve the situation for these children, there needs to be a form of guarantee. A Child for All, an NGO organization that has yet to open its doors, is planning on placing vulnerable children into foster care families, a practice closely aligned with cultural beliefs about extended families caring for children.

UNICEF, while not condemning institutions, advocates that the best place for

children is within the family. While it is hoped that this may be the case for all children, the pandemic of poverty in Mali makes this goal unrealistic, and what few institutional resources there are for abandoned children serve an important purpose. The economic and social realities that result in child abandonment remain the root problem for Mali. Development, education, and the alleviation of poverty are vast issues which will not be solved quickly or easily in Mali. And, until these issues which result in child abandonment are eradicated, there will always be a need for institutions.

In my research I found two distinctly different institutional environments. While government funding supports the Pouponnière, I believe it is only through NGOs like ASE-Mali and A Child for All that real nurturing care and fostering can occur. “It takes a village to raise a child,” and within the “village” of Bamako the NGO care facilities offer the abandoned child’s best hope.

Notes

1. “The HDI provides a composite measure of three dimensions of human development: living a long and healthy life, being educated, and having a decent standard of living” (Human Development Report)
2. The SOS Village in Sanankoroba creates homes and families for OVC. Ten children are placed in a home with a “mother.”
3. ASE-Mali recently received a donation to build a new house in Bamako. The construction on the house that Bibi herself will own is set to begin soon.

Appendix A: Acronyms

AMALDEME: Association Malienne de lutte contre les Déficiences Mentales

NGO : Non-governmental organization

OVC : Orphans and vulnerable children

RIOEV: Réseau des Intervenants auprès des Orphelins et autres Enfants Vulnérables

UNICEF : United Nations Children's Fund

Works and Interviews Cited

- ASE-Mali. *About ASE-Mali*. 18 Nov. 2008 <<http://asemali.org/englishpage.htm>>.
- A Child For All. *Home page*. 21 Nov. 2008 <www.acfacorp.org>.
- Diarra, Cheick Oumar. Personal interview. 26 Nov. 2008.
- Global Action for Children. *Orphans and Vulnerable Children*. 17 Nov. 2008
<http://www.globalactionforchildren.org/issues/orphans_and_vulnerable_children>.
- Human Development Report. *Human Development Report :Mali*. 17 Nov. 2008
<http://hdrstats.undp.org/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_MLI.html>.
- Konfe, Korotoumou. *Les Enfants Abandonnés au Mali: Etude Comparée de leur développement psychomoteur a celui des enfants vivant avec leurs parents -cas de la Pouponnière de Bamako*. Masters' Dissertation, 1986.
- L' Association LEO. *Home page*. 12 Nov. 2008 <www.orphelin-handicape-mali.org>.
- Moub, Valerye. Personal interview. 25 Nov. 2008.
- Outtara, Nene. Personal interview. 10 Nov. 2008.
- Plus News Global. *Mali: Defining a national care plan for kids at risk*. 17 Nov. 2008
<<http://www.plusnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=38659>>.
- RIOEV. *Presenting RIOEV*. 19 Nov. 2008 <www.reseauoev.org>.
- Sangare, Adama. Personal interview. 10 Nov. 2008 and 20 Nov. 2008.
- Sangho, Maly. Personal interview. 24 Nov. 2008 and 28 Nov. 2008.
- Sidibe, Kadiatou Fatima. E-mail interview. 25 Nov. 2008.
- UNICEF. *Les Enfants Orphélins et Vulnérables au Mali face au VIH SIDA: Analyse de Situation et Stratégie d'Intervention*. UNICEF, 2006.
- Yalcoué, Suydou. Personal interview. 25 Nov. 2008.

