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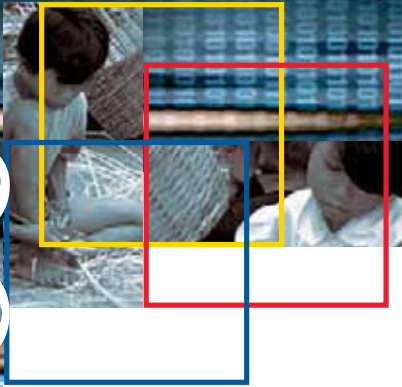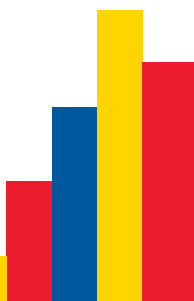
Manual on Child Labour
Rapid Assessment Methodology

Statistical Information
and Monitoring Programme
on Child Labour (SIMPOC)

ILO
International
Labour
Office

unicef

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

Manual on child labour rapid assessment methodology

Acknowledgements

Preface

Extreme forms of exploitation of girls and boys at work persist. Hidden and illegal or criminal exploitation is particularly difficult to research. Although a substantial body of data and documentation on child labour exists, considerable gaps remain in our understanding of the wide variety of forms and conditions under which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour which, by their very nature, are often hidden from public scrutiny.

Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation and the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, together with hazardous work in general, are all defined as worst forms of child labour. An important priority for both the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is promoting the Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182). As Paragraph 5 of accompanying Recommendation No. 190 states: "Detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency".

To address the situations of children who work, in particular those boys and girls who work in the worst forms of child labour, we need to expand our knowledge of the work they do, the context in which it occurs and how and why the children are exploited.

Since the early 1990s, the ILO and UNICEF have been developing the rapid assessment methodology with the aim of assisting countries in collecting the most complete bank of information possible regarding child labour. The methodology was revised in 1999, following pilot studies, and has provided an invaluable framework for the many rapid assessment studies undertaken since. These have aimed to fill gaps in our knowledge and at the same time, further test and refine the methodology.

Rapid Assessment investigations of the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas, including a range of immoral, illegal and criminal activities. Focusing on carefully selected research locations and forms of child labour, investigators have addressed the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; trafficked children; children involved in drug trafficking; children engaged in hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; children who are sexually exploited for commercial purposes; and children working in the streets. Rapid assessments have also investigated links between child labour and HIV/AIDS.

The current version of the manual incorporates the field experience of these many rapid assessment studies. It further benefits from numerous country-specific cases based on first-hand experience. The manual reflects the latest terminology and definitions as well as the latest approaches to gender and other key child labour issues.

This revised manual is intended to serve as an up-to-date practical guide for users ranging from researchers affiliated with workers' and employers' organizations to non-governmental organizations, community-based organizations, ministries and other government agencies. The manual can also serve as a resource kit for experienced research institutions, international consultants and trade unions. It is hoped that the manual and rapid assessment research to follow will provide valuable input for national — and international — level policy-making.
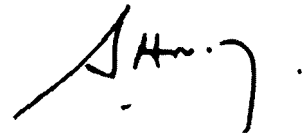
In summary, this revised manual will improve the collection of child labour data by enriching quantitative surveys with solid qualitative information. In doing so, this

publication will contribute importantly to the global database on child labour, particularly its worst forms.

On behalf of ILO/IPEC and UNICEF, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to our many partners for their valuable contributions to this publication.

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Acronyms

CAFF	Children associated with fighting forces
CBO	Community-based organizations
CDW	Child domestic workers
CSE	Commercial sexual exploitation
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration
FGD	Focus group discussions
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
Lao PDR	Lao People's Democratic Republic
NGO	Non-governmental organizations
RA	Rapid Assessment
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
TBP	Time Bound Programme
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFCL	Worst forms of child labour

Introduction

Background of the RA Manual

The International Labour Office (ILO) estimated that 211 million children in the 5 to 14 year age group were working in economic activities throughout the world in 2000; 73 million of these were younger than 10 years old. Among children in the 15 to 17 year age group, 141 million were economically active. No significant sex differences were found in the global incidence of children at work, except in the teenage category, where more boys than girls were working. This disparity may be due to the fact that girls often work at home with their families and therefore go uncounted. Boys outnumber girls in hazardous work across all age groups; about one-half of the working boys were in hazardous situations, compared with a little more than two in five working girls.[1]

Working children, child labour, and WFCL. "Children at work in economic activity" refers to almost all production activities undertaken by children, whether:

- for the market or not;

- paid or unpaid;

- full or part-time;

- on a casual or regular basis; or

- in the formal (organized) sector or the informal sector.

Work in family enterprises and in household-based production activities is included, as is domestic work performed for an employer in another household.

Many of these activities limit or prevent school attendance. Some may be exploitative or morally reprehensible, thus qualifying as "child labour" that needs to be eliminated under the terms of the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182). Convention No. 182 requires ratifying States to take immediate and effective measures to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour (WFCL).[2] Boys and girls may be working under conditions that violate the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and/or the provisions of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, in particular the right to be protected "from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development" (Article 32).

Immediately prohibited for all persons under the age of 18, under the terms of one or more of these international standards, are all forms of child slavery as well as child exploitation in the sex industry or in illegal activities. These "*unconditional* worst forms of child labour" affected an estimated 8,400,000 children in 2000. An estimated 171 million children aged from 5-17 years engaged in economic activities often characterized as hazardous. In that same year, 55 per cent of "very young" child labourers (i.e. those younger than 12 years of age) were working in hazardous occupations or situations.[3]

Better understanding the problems. To address the situations of working children, in particular those engaged in the WFCL, we need to know much more about:

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[1] ILO/IPEC. *Every child counts*. Geneva, 2002. Section: Summary of highlights.

[2] See the glossary of technical terms of this manual for the text of Article 3 of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention.

[3] ILO/IPEC. *Every child counts*. Geneva, 2002. Section: Summary of highlights.

- the children themselves;

- the work they perform;

- the context in which they do it; and

- how and why they came to this work.

Although almost all countries collect national statistics about population and the labour force by means of censuses and labour force surveys, these data rarely cover working children, particularly the youngest ones. In 1992, the ILO began to design special methodological surveys for conducting national investigations of child labour. Pilot surveys were tested in Ghana, India, Indonesia, and Senegal. The results, published in 1996, included the recommendation that household-based surveys be implemented and supplemented by surveys of establishments or employers, street children, and schools. Household-based surveys were subsequently conducted in a number of countries. In 1998, the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) was launched as part of ILO/IPEC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour) to establish, with financial contributions from donor countries, a more solid information base for appropriate methodologies.[4]

Statistically household-based surveys proved very useful for producing comprehensive data relating to working children. But they could not provide enough detail regarding the daily lives and problems of working boys and girls or other kinds of qualitative information. It is now widely accepted that a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches best lead to an understanding of child labour; these methodologies complement one another in interpreting a complex reality. This understanding can lead to more successful programme and project formulation or other kinds of intervention. Qualitative methods are especially useful concerning the more "hidden" forms of child labour, where formal quantitative methods may be difficult to use and where intensive informal investigations may prove more fruitful. For all kinds of work that children do, however, it has been found that qualitative approaches add a new dimension, one that complements quantitative methods. Whenever possible, at the same time, it is generally understood that data should be collected and disaggregated by age and sex, while gender differences must be accorded a place in both data collection and interpretation.

Evolution of the RA manual. In the early 1990s, aiming to assist countries in obtaining better and more complete information, the ILO and UNICEF began to develop a rapid assessment (RA) manual for those wishing to research the more qualitative aspects of child labour. The RA methodology, already used in the social sciences and in health research for some years, has provided an evaluative method for assessing environmental and disaster-related impacts and has helped in the design of poverty-alleviation projects. Only recently, however, has it begun to be used by child labour researchers. It quickly became evident that an RA can be completed in a relatively short time at comparatively low cost, and its findings can complement those of larger-scale surveys. In the 1990s, pilot studies based on an early version of this manual were commissioned by the ILO and UNICEF in Bangladesh, Colombia, and Pakistan. Other researchers, drawing upon RA ideas from various sources, began to research limited geographical areas and specific occupations in their own countries. In 2000, a revised manual was issued,[5] and the RAs were further tested in a large number

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[4] Refer to the following SIMPOC manuals for a complete review of these methodologies: ILO/IPEC. *Child labour statistics; Manual on methodologies for data collection through surveys.* Geneva, 2004, including Part III, Chapter 13, on Rapid Assessments; ILO/IPEC. *Manual for child labour data analysis and statistical reports.* Geneva, 2004; and ILO/IPEC. *Child labour survey data processing and storage of electronic files: A practical guide.* Geneva, 2004.

[5] ILO/UNICEF. *Investigating child labour: Guidelines for rapid assessment — A field manual.* Geneva, 2000. A draft to be finalized following field tests. Retrieved on January 2005, from http://www.ilo.org/public/english/ standards ipec/simpoc/guides/index.htm.

of child labour contexts thought to qualify, under the terms of the new Convention No. 182, as instances of WFCL.

The current manual has benefited from these RAs, particularly from the approximately 40 investigations that meticulously tested the methodology, and from an intensive conference devoted to the RA methodology at ILO headquarters in December of 2002. The newer version also incorporates many comments and suggestions from researchers who used the earlier manual in the field.

Although the manual is intended to provide a methodology for researching all kinds of "children's work" and "child labour" (see Section: Glossary of technical terms), it should be emphasized that the RA approach has thus far been extensively tested mainly for WFCL.

Who will use this manual? The manual is intended to serve several kinds of users:

- The primary users will be researchers affiliated with worker and employer organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), and Ministries and other government agencies, especially in developing countries who will benefit from having a practical guide to assist them in conducting RA investigations.

- It is also intended to serve as a resource kit for experienced research institutions, international consultants, and trade unions.

- It will serve as an information source for policy input for constituent members and for staff of international organizations at headquarters and in the field.

- For those in academia and for university graduates, the manual offers an innovative research methodology.

- Finally, it is also expected to be useful for programme managers, implementers, and practitioners who will use the RA data to propose or introduce successful interventions, policies, and programmes.

Structure of the manual. The manual consists of three parts followed by a series of annexes.

- In Part I, the RA methodology is described in general terms, including its sources of information, uses, and limitations.

- Part II presents many of the activities involved in RA research, including:
  - seeking sponsors and stakeholders;
  - finding a research focus;
  - planning and conducting the research;
  - working in teams;
  - collecting information from (and with) children;
  - analyzing the findings;
  - writing a report; and, finally,
  - presenting it to those who can act on it, as well as to the general public.

- Part III targets specific child labour populations about whom it is often difficult to collect information:
  - child domestic workers (CDW);
  - boys and girls engaged in commercial sexual exploitation;
  - children exploited in drug trafficking and by military units;

- victims of child trafficking; and
- boys and girls impacted by HIV/AIDS.

- Following Part III, the manual includes a glossary of technical terms, as well as a bibliography and a list of web links for further consultation.

- The annexes focus on methodological or substantive issues not presented in the main text. The first of these annexes provides technical guidelines for conducting an RA, while the second provides training slides. One module presents ethical guidelines that must be observed while conducting an RA, together with one on the "lessons learned" from selected pilot studies conducted using the previous version of the manual. The annexes also provide modules on quantitative approaches for supplementing the information obtained from RAs, as well as indicators derived from various RA contexts.

PART I: About rapid assessment research

1. What is rapid assessment (RA)?

In brief:

- RA is an innovative methodology that employs several research strategies simultaneously.

- It aims at a relatively rapid understanding of a specific problem or issue.

- Compared to other research methodologies such as large-scale surveys, RA makes limited demands on resources of time and money.

Duration. RA research projects usually extend just six months from start to finish, although they can take longer when investigating harder-to-access forms of child labour. This not only helps to contain research costs, it can also meet urgent needs for relevant findings on the part of research sponsors.

Applications. Subsequent findings and interpretations can provide a basis for formulating action-oriented strategies and implementing intervention policies, or for conducting further research on the same problem elsewhere. They can also be used for effective awareness raising and public information campaigns.

Research locations. RA research is usually used in local or regional contexts, or in urban areas where populations with specific problems are known to exist.

Methodological approaches. RA is generally described as being primarily a qualitative methodology. This is because it emphasizes the research tools of observation and interviewing, but without long-term participant engagement in anthropological fieldwork. Nevertheless, it frequently integrates quantitative data, and can also produce comparative results.

In any particular RA, the relative proportions of qualitative and quantitative information collected depend upon the researchers' emphasis and the given research possibilities. The RA method offers great potential for uncovering rich veins of previously unknown information about a relatively limited issue or population; this can lead to new and insightful understanding of a particular reality.

Appropriateness for child labour research. The same RA methods may be used to target similar or related groups and populations. This offers a means of (a) identifying the extent of an issue or (b) amplifying or verifying the findings of earlier research. For this and other reasons, RA makes an excellent child labour research methodology. It offers the possibility of looking at, among other things:

- the causes of and the pathways into child labour;

- the actual work that boys and girls do;

- their living and working conditions; and

- their own perceptions of their situations.

Economies of time and money. RA can achieve all of this in a rapid, low-cost manner. Research on the same child labour issue, or on a population of working girls and boys in one area, can then be repeated in other areas as a way of determining which indicators and variables are most crucial to understanding and intervening in that specific child labour situation. Such research may thus provide a basis for a variety of recommendations.

Effectiveness. Extensive pilot testing of the RA methodology in the investigation of child labour has shown that — with careful planning and preparation as well as thoughtful attention to procedural guidelines — an impressive array of findings and interpretations can emerge. This has proven true even in difficult research circumstances. The RA methodology also makes it possible to address child labour issues and problems in a gender-sensitive manner, since it includes the experiences and insights of the working boys and girls themselves — both during the course of the research and in the formulation of recommendations for action later. It can even encourage participation among children, where they take part in the research endeavour itself, thus approaching an ideal of child-centred research.

In some research settings, a quantitative component can be integrated with this methodology.[6] It is also possible to internally validate the information collected in observations, interviews, and focus group discussions (see Section 11). In this way, RAs can generate policy recommendations on a local and regional level or provide inputs for national policy-making.

The box below provides an example of how qualitative and quantitative research have been used to complement one another. When quantification is impracticable, however, researchers must try to identify what, in the context of their own particular research, is specific only to the given situation and what, on the other hand, might have larger significance and broader applications.

Box 1: Using both qualitative and quantitative information: An example from Tanzania

The importance of both quantitative and qualitative information can be seen from the *Tanzania rapid assessment on child labour in the informal sector:*

"For the purposes of this study, both qualitative and quantitative information was required in order to create the basis for determining priorities for national action. A qualitative approach was employed for the purpose of getting the perspectives and feelings of the respondents … while the quantitative component was equally important to provide statistical data on the actual numbers of children involved in various activities in the informal sector and their basic characteristics. On this account, both qualitative and quantitative information supplemented and complemented each other to make the study findings richer."

Source: ILO/IPEC. Kadonya, C.; Madihi, M.; Mtwana, S. *Tanzania — Child labour in the informal sector: A rapid assessment. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 14.* Geneva, 2002, p. 7.

In summary, the RA methodology:

- serves as an effective research instrument where time and financial means are limited; it is especially adapted for relatively short-term and low-cost research;

- is well suited to research in small, well-defined geographical areas such as local rural communities or urban neighbourhoods;

- employs mainly direct observation, interviews, and focus group discussions, while incorporating other modes of data collection;

- provides a means of integrating quantitative and qualitative data while producing "actionable" results;

- can provide verification and comparability across child labour realities and in different contexts; and

- offers a way, in some circumstances, of obtaining child labour population magnitudes by using complementary quantification techniques.

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[6] This approach is described in Annex 5: Module on quantitative approaches for supplementing RA findings.

2.   Child labour: What do we need to know?

More information is needed about the following:

- the many economically productive or "work" activities engaged in by working boys and girls;

- the reasons these children are so engaged; and

- the conditions within which these activities are undertaken.

More specifically, we need to know more about:

- the socio-cultural context in which girls and boys work;

- the causes and consequences of this work for the children, their households, and their societies;

- whether the working and living environments of boys or girls can be improved and whether they need help;

- whether some working children also attend school;

- whether, among those who do either work or attend school, but not both, how the choices were made and why, who made them, and whether subsequently the children are happy; and

- to what extent idle children — those neither working nor attending school — are at potential risk of eventually entering an exploitative labour situation.

It is also important to collect and consider information regarding a broad range of protective measures. Until more is known, we cannot really understand either girl or boy child labour, nor can we design and implement effective amelioratory projects or programmes.

These large questions, among others, form a framework for child labour research. Even within a single area, however, research may be undertaken for different reasons and have a variety of specific focuses. Even in a limited area, time constraints make it impossible to research all the relevant issues. Thus choices must be made.

There follows some of the matters RA researchers may want to target:[7]

- deriving an initial estimate of the incidence of child labour in an area, the age and sex distribution of the working children, and a preliminary understanding of the kinds of work performed by the various categories of children;

- understanding the social, economic, and cultural dynamics that have led the girls and boys into their economic activities and into the work force, keeping in mind that the dynamics may differ for boys and girls;

- ascertaining the actual working conditions of the girls and boys in a particular occupation, including:
  - the work processes engaged in and their physical effects,
  - hours,
  - rates of pay,
  - the social identity and behaviour of employers and their relations with the working children,

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[7] For a comprehensive listing of relevant issues for RA researchers, consult Annex 1: Module on supporting technical guidelines, Section 5; and Annex 6: Module on indicators derived from RAs.

- ○ the children's living conditions,
- ○ their extent of free choice among the working children, their mothers, fathers, or guardians, in choosing their work and determining their working conditions;

- learning about the children's households and communities, their migration history, their work and life histories, their parents' or caretakers' history and background, and the factors that led the boys or girls into work;

- investigating the relationship between school and work for boys and girls, the attitudes of boys and girls (and of their households) towards education, the feelings about the schools in the area being researched, and the availability and accessibility of the schools;

- exploring the roles of trade unions and local authorities with regard to the employment and lives of working boys and girls in the area;

- identifying which populations of working boys or girls experience problems, where these problems lie, and establishing suitable bases for initiating programmes and interventions by governments, NGOs, and other agencies, including an appraisal of existing resources and agencies that can help; and

- obtaining and considering information regarding protective measures in the light of:
  - ○ government commitment to safeguarding rights to protection,
  - ○ prevailing social attitudes and practices,
  - ○ open discussion/engagement in the civil society regarding child protection issues,
  - ○ legislation and enforcement,
  - ○ capacity of parents, service providers, police, and others,
  - ○ children's life skills, knowledge, and participation,
  - ○ monitoring and reporting, and
  - ○ services for recovery and reintegration.

Information is also urgently needed regarding both the physical and psychological hazards to which many working boys and girls are exposed, the reasons they are exposed, and whether they work under bonded or forced conditions.

Unfortunately — because such child labour is often the hardest to access — we tend to have the least information about the most dangerous, unhealthy and morally demeaning work activities. Some researchers may wish to target this specific group of boys and girls, which may include children in various kinds of exploitative or disadvantaged situations about whom we need to learn more. These children include:

- many children (mainly girls) working in domestic service in the homes of others;

- children involved in commercial sexual exploitation (mainly girls);

- children working in isolated rural areas;

- boys and girls in illegal factories that make dangerous products;

- boys and girls in bonded labour; and even

- those whose labour is exploited in various ways by their own families.

Researchers urgently need information to assess the extent to which girls and boys are performing these kinds of work, the predominant pathways that lead to these occupations, and the chances for either achieving improved conditions for these children or the removal of the children from these work places and their subsequent rehabilitation.

3.   Difficulties in researching child labour

Researching child labour can prove a daunting challenge, although certain child occupations are less difficult prospects than others. Working street children in the urban core of many countries, for example, have already been the focus of both RA studies and doctoral dissertations based on long-term anthropological fieldwork. These children are visible, hence may be readily identified and approached.

Most other working children are more difficult to locate and research. This is the case, for instance, for boys and girls working in:

- isolated rural environments;

- urban workshops; or

- inside homes.

A wide range of factors determine whether or not specific populations of children are easily accessible; these are addressed in more detail in Part II, Section 6.

Hidden labour. Some categories of working children are engaged in forms of child labour commonly referred to as "hidden". Among these are boys and girls who are:

- sexually exploited;

- live-in domestic workers (mainly girls) in the homes of others;

- engaged in armed conflict (both boys and girls);

- involved in criminal activities or engaged in drug trafficking;

- trafficked for illicit purposes; and

- engaged in bonded labour.

Part III of this manual is devoted to the special problems involved in doing research on hidden child labour, most of which qualifies as WFCL as defined in ILO Convention No. 182.

Mobile work populations. Some RA researchers are challenged by child labour populations with high geographical and/or occupational mobility.

Some boys and girls move from work site to work site or from residential community to various work sites and back again. Others work permanently on sites widely dispersed through a territory. Still others are involved in rural-urban migration, either seasonal or permanent. Researchers sometimes follow children from one work site to another or from a rural community to an urban neighbourhood and, perhaps, back again. This can involve travel over long distances, sometimes involving serious transportation problems.

Geographical shifts may be complicated by occupational shifts. Many children are engaged in certain WFCL only on a transitory basis. For example, the engagement of both boys and girls in commercial sexual exploitation may coincide with the tourist season, in seaside or urban areas, whereas their usual occupation may be agricultural, in a rural environment. In other cases, girl children migrate to urban areas as live-in domestic workers in others' homes, and only later become sexually exploited.

Physical hazards. Physical hazards can pose risks to the health, perhaps even the lives, of researchers. Some of these dangers are associated with research into the WFCL, where both boys and girls run equivalent risks on a regular basis during their work. While researching garbage dumpsites, for example, researchers may accompany the boys and girls onto the

sites to talk with them and gain their confidence. In doing so, however, they risk parasitic and bacterial infections, as do the children they are researching. In one study of children scavenging dumpsites in Guatemala, an additional source of danger was the violent youth gangs who dominated the sites. Many of the research assistants and enumerators eventually resigned out of fear, and other researchers had to be recruited and trained.[8]

Other examples of potentially high-risk research situations include the following:

- children, both girls and boys, engaged in armed conflict;

- trafficked boys and girls, where criminal violence may be practised by traffickers/exploiters;

- children (mainly boys) who work in carpet manufacturing areas, where employers or their guards may use violence to threaten and keep away potential observers and interviewers;

- drug traffickers and runners (both boys and girls) engaged in the illegal drug trade;

- boys and girls engaged in agricultural work in areas where farm or plantation employers may have a monopolistic or "mafia"-like hold over a specific crop or processing facility; and

- deprived neighbourhoods and communities with contaminated water and inadequate sanitation, posing a health risk to researchers as well as to the local inhabitants.

Researchers in any of these situations, and others, must, if they can, try to minimize the harmful aspects of the research. Where this is not possible, they must decide whether to incur the risks or withdraw altogether.

Despite the extensive field-research experiences that can be drawn upon at this time, not all the research procedures or steps listed below in Section 6, or those discussed in more detail in Part II, can be conducted with all populations of working children. It is necessary to determine which populations of children, disaggregated by sex and age, are doing what kinds of work and what is the best way to access them. Not all RA research will be equally successful at uncovering the information the sponsors of the research need to know, or in finding satisfying conclusions to posed questions. Despite ingenuity, flexibility and creativity, there will often — perhaps inevitably — be questions left unanswered and issues left hanging due to the methodological and ethical challenges of having children as central units of observation, information, and analysis.[9] Box 2, below, presents an illustrative case from an RA investigation into trafficking girls in Nepal.

Box 2: Limits of our understanding: Observations from Nepal

In the Nepal RA report on trafficking in girls, the authors conclude that:

"A range of factors contribute to the problem of trafficking. ... To understand trafficking, there must be consideration of economic, social, cultural and political factors at individual, family and local community levels. There must also be critical examination of the most commonly accepted explanations of trafficking. This report has attempted to do both. However, it is still not clear which of the many explanations mentioned is most plausible, or which one of the many causes discussed can be said to be the leading cause of trafficking in Nepal..."

Source: ILO/IPEC, Bal, K.; Subedi, G.; Gurung, Y.; Adhikari, K. *Nepal — Trafficking in girls with special reference to prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 2. Geneva, 2001, p. 39.

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[8] ILO/IPEC. García, F.; Duque, V. *Guatemala — Trabajo infantil en los basureros: Una evaluación rápida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 34. Geneva, 2002.

[9] See Part II, section 10: Some guidelines for interviewing; and Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations.

4. Why the RA approach?

The RA approach, drawing on a variety of research traditions and techniques, offers a unique way of accessing information about working children.

Adaptability. Rather than providing a blueprint, this manual offers resources upon which researchers can draw and adapt in ways appropriate to specific conditions. The basic adaptability of the RA approach offers distinct advantages:

- The methodology can be used, for example, by researchers working under the supervision of an experienced lead researcher who do not have extensive experience of formalized research procedures. The approach is well suited to obtaining the detailed knowledge researchers or their sponsors need to know, including the differing labour conditions among girls and boys.

- Since the scope of RA research is usually local or regional, it can be adapted to research areas where there are substantial concentrations of working boys and girls, and it can be adjusted quickly to take into account differences in sectors, industries, or in local child labour situations. It can focus on the (changing) micro-level and meso-level causes and determinants of child labour, as well as on the sexual division of labour that differentiates girl and boy children as they are raised socially and then introduced to work. These levels of research, rather than larger units, may ultimately provide the best explanations as to why girls and boys work and point towards the best ways to help them. Programmes and projects are often introduced at local and community levels, so understanding the dynamics of child labour at these levels, including gender differences, can be most useful for creating alternatives.

The adaptability of the RA methodology is very important. What works in one research environment may not work in another. What works today may not work tomorrow. No rigid guidelines may be provided for researching all child labour situations, not even for most of them. The child labour reality, as well as the capabilities and objectives of researchers, depend on many factors. No set of prescribed research activities can cover them all.

Cumulative experience. Some of the resources and suggestions made in this manual may seem obvious. In other cases, they will fill gaps in a researcher's understanding of how to investigate a particular child labour situation. The manual incorporates lessons learned from the fieldwork of approximately 40 RA research teams accumulated over the last several years — some of it conducted in difficult, sometimes inhospitable environments.[10] Nevertheless, each new research endeavour will prove different, and researchers must be willing to adapt the methodology to their own situations.

Box 3: RA: A brief history

The origins of the RA methodology can be traced to rapid rural appraisal (RRA) research methods. The latter emerged in the late 1970s for application in rural development-related research, primarily in the field of agriculture. Standard marketing research techniques were not always easy to apply in developing countries, and the RRA approach was a means of overcoming some of these limitations (Crawford, 1997). RRA was also applied in the area of food and nutrition to investigate, identify, and diagnose rural problems, as well as to evaluate nutrition programmes and projects (Kachondham, 1992).

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[10] See Annex 4 for the Module on lessons learned.

In the 1980s, the concept of obtaining reliable information quickly and economically, applying a more problem-oriented and purposive approach (such as RA) rather than traditional anthropological methods, drew the broader attention of the health field. This resulted in a 1990 conference organized by the United Nations University, bringing together researchers, health-care personnel, practitioners, and international organizations to review rapid collection methodologies and further examine their relevance to the field of health. Thus were developed rapid assessment procedures (RAP) for the planning and evaluation of health-related programmes. These were initially used by the United Nations University Research Programme to understand the nature of primary health-care services.[11] Adapted versions of this methodology have been used over the years to explore such topics as migration, poverty alleviation, and disaster-related impacts.

The rapid environmental impact assessment (REA) methodology, for example, is a qualitative process currently used by humanitarian agencies to quickly determine if a disaster or subsequent relief operation poses threats to the environment.[12] In the 1990s, a joint ILO/UNICEF decision was made to create an RA methodology focusing on child labour research. Guidelines were drafted and pilot tested as the methodology was documented and refined.

The current **RA manual** is a product of this process, and reflects the vast strides made in qualitative child labour research over the past decade.

5. Who conducts an RA?

A range of people and organizations, including the following, will probably be involved from the beginning, in one capacity or another, in RA research on child labour:

- those such as government agencies at various levels and international organizations who need the findings and will use them or promote their use;

- those who have been working directly, for example with NGOs, in the local child labour field;

- the personnel actually engaged in the research (the three above categories may sometimes overlap); and

- boys and girls knowledgeable about the issues concerned and who are willing and able to assist the researchers in their investigations and, where this is advisable, with presentation of findings to the public after completion (see Part II, Section 10.8: Research with children).

The first two categories might function together as the research sponsors, since they may share a concern about a child labour problem or issue. They can be expected to:

- share existing information about the target group with the researchers;

- give their approval to the research proposal, if they have not created it;

- help fund the research;

- approve selection of the principal members of the research team;

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[11] Scrimshaw, N.; Gleason, G. *Rapid assessment procedures: Qualitative methodologies for planning and evaluation of health related programmes.* International Nutrition Foundation for Developing Countries, Boston, U.S.A., 1992.

[12] Red R-IHE. *Rapid environmental impact assessment in disasters*, 2005. Retrieved on January 2005, from http://www.alertnet.org.

- provide research suggestions and participate in related informational meetings;

- help disseminate the findings; and

- present recommendations for action programmes.

The actual research team will comprise:

- one or more individuals with professional research training and/or specialized experience;

- less experienced assistants and interviewers; and, insofar as is possible,

- the children.

The team should be multidisciplinary, as described below in Part II, Section 5.

6. RA information sources

Although RA is a sequenced research process, the specific research components in any given RA will vary according to both the focus of the particular research and available resources and opportunities in a given geographical area.

Information sources used by RA researchers include the following:

- Before fieldwork begins, researchers collect and analyze existing information about the area. (Relevant sources are described in Part II, Section 2.)

- Actual research employs a selection of research techniques, including at least some of the following:

  ○ ***Observing in areas where children are at work*** — systematic observation of child workers and of various workplaces in the area being researched, seeking visual information about relevant activities and conditions.

  ○ ***Mapping*** — making approximate drawings, or "maps", of the area to be researched, showing its physical layout and the relative locations of various types of child worker.

  ○ ***Household door-to-door surveys*** — in selected areas.

  ○ ***Focus group discussions*** — discussions with small groups of adults and/or children. These may be pre-arranged or spontaneous.

  ○ ***Individual interviews and conversations*** — interviews and conversations with working children and, where possible, with employers, parents, teachers, and others relevant to their work and life. Interviewing children requires special skills and a careful approach, and is further discussed both in Part II and the annexed "Module on ethical considerations".

  ○ ***In-depth discussions with key informants*** — these are usually very important sources of information. To varying extents, they may serve as "interpreters" of the situation for the researchers. Their information must, like all data, be cross-checked for accuracy.

  ○ ***Further information gathering*** — questionnaires administered to selected samples may be used in some settings either to obtain specific information or to cross-check the accuracy of information already obtained by other means. They can also be used for collecting information on a broader scale, for example when administered through larger organizations such as school systems.

A variety of research techniques are discussed at greater length in Part II.

RA methodology combines a selection of qualitative and quantitative tools. Qualitative techniques are emphasized, but some instruments in the above list will yield quantitative data or magnitudes, responding to questions such as these: "How many boys and girls are working in this area, compared to the total number of children living here?" and "How many are working in a particular activity or occupation?" It is possible to determine how much they work and at what ages; whether they combine work with school; whether they live at home or elsewhere; and so on. The instruments described in Annex 5: Module on quantitative approaches for supplementing RA findings, can provide further quantification.

These methodological tools may prove less productive for researching hidden populations of working children. Nevertheless, combining the various tools can generate useful information. In Box 4, below, the authors of an RA investigating child domestic labourers in Kathmandu, Nepal, describe their methodology, express certain misgivings, and explain why they believe their methodological choices were both appropriate and successful. The Kathmandu study also shows how various research tools can be used effectively in combination.

Box 4: Use of a sample survey: An example from Nepal

Research components employed in the Nepal rapid assessment on child domestic workers included focus group discussions (FGD), key informant interviews, observation, and a door-to-door survey of 2,237 households in eight Kathmandu sub-wards. Fieldwork was undertaken in three Kathmandu wards, and the RA was completed in three months.

Despite reservations as to whether the WFCL — in this case child domestic labour — may be adequately understood through the use of household surveys and door-to-door questionnaires, the sample survey was a major component of the overall research process. Based on previous experiences with researching domestic child labour in other urban areas of Nepal, the household survey proved to be a powerful tool, especially when combined with other RA tools, in generating reliable data quickly.

The use of the sample survey further minimized the problems of purposive sampling, as all domestic child labourers within a given area were targeted for interviews.

Finally, the idea of conducting a household survey on domestic child labour proved relatively easy to promote among local community leaders, thus ensuring their cooperation.

Source: ILO/IPEC, Sharma, S.; Thakurathi, M.; Sapkota, K.; Devkota, B.; Rimal, B. *Nepal — Situation of domestic child labourers in Kathmandu: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 3. Geneva, 2001, p. 4.

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7.   RA limitations

Limited populations. One drawback of an RA is the fact that it is applied to small populations in limited areas — its results cannot be generalized to other populations of working girls and boys, even those working in the same occupation in nearby provinces or regions. Unlike a national survey — which uses samples statistically representative in some way of the general research population — RA produces findings that apply in a more limited context. RA does not use large population samples drawn from even larger universes; neither does it rely on the administration of large-scale, structured questionnaires or produce data susceptible to the kind of computer manipulation used for large-scale projects such as a national census or nationwide household or establishment/enterprise surveys.

The RA is not intended to do these things. Its advantages are speed, economy, and local applicability. The method produces depth quickly and at low cost.

But RA findings may be further generalized where researchers choose their locations carefully and see that selected occupations and working child populations are as representative as possible. They must recognize, however, that their findings apply with certainty only to this limited population and context. For comparative or control purposes, information may still need to be gathered separately about the boys and girls working in non-researched areas, even those in the same occupation immediately contiguous to the area researched. It cannot be assumed without further investigation that their living and working conditions, family situation, schooling and literacy rates, or the push-pull factors that encouraged them to work are identical to those of the children who have been investigated, although they may be similar.

Some RA researchers have overcome this limitation by expanding their range of research, both geographically and in terms of persons contacted. An RA study of children working in drug trafficking in Brazil, for example, was conducted in 21 different communities.[13] The study of the informal sector in Tanzania referred to in Section 1, above, was conducted in three main urban centres chosen because they were large and expanding urban areas with growing populations and places where children were taking an active role in informal sector activities.[14] A study of urban children working on the streets in Turkey's three principal population centres did likewise.[15] In these cases, researchers "built in" comparison when designing their approach. Only further research, however, can confirm that other similar settings will produce the same findings — the same patterns, the same behaviour, and the same problems found in these studies.

Research subjectivity. Researcher subjectivity is an important issue in any research. The research team must remain alert to the danger that unexamined presuppositions, biases, or cultural blind spots may cloud their findings. Ways of approaching the ideal of objectivity include these:

- sensitivity training;

- having team members present and discuss research findings frequently while the research is in progress, with the entire team acting as a check on individual researcher interpretations; and

- cross-checking, triangulation, and the use of control groups.

These techniques are discussed in more detail in Part II, as are other aspects of the relationship between interviewers and their subjects. For instance, some interview subjects — whether children or adults — tend not to always respond with truthful or objective information. Informants and interview subjects may also hold assumptions and biases that unknowingly colour the information imparted.[16]

Not yet fully capturing health hazards. In many cases, RAs have provided more accurate data on health risks to child labourers than have other survey approaches. Nevertheless, the child-labour research community agrees that the methodology can still be improved to the point it can fully capture these hazards. To this end, more health-qualified personnel are now being included on RA teams.[17]

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[13] ILO/IPEC. De Souza e Silva, J.; Urani, A. *Brazil — Situation of children in drug trafficking. A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 20. Geneva, 2002.

[14] ILO/IPEC. Kadonya, C.; Madihi, M.; Mtwana, S. *Tanzania — Child Labour in the informal sector: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 14. Geneva, 2002.

[15] ILO/IPEC. Aksit, B.; Karanci, N.; Gündüz-Hosgör, A. *Turkey — Working street children in three metropolitan cities: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 7. Geneva, 2001.

[16] See also Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations.

[17] See Part II, Section 5.1: Choosing the principal researchers; and Part II, Section 5.7: A note on health.

8. Applied RA findings

RA findings serve many purposes, some of which are listed below:

- They have proven especially effective in publicizing the conditions of boys and girls in the WFCL, and can encourage Governments to consider adhering to the international Conventions and agreements aimed at improving the situations of child labourers.

- They can serve to raise awareness and publicize the conditions of working children in general, as well as of divisions of labour both between working boys and girls and between adults and children. This can help to shift perceptions of child labour, in many cases influencing public policies and programmes, even helping to create child-protection agencies that would not otherwise exist.

- They provide inputs for policy design, programme planning and implementation, and guideline development for mobilizing resources and targeting funding to the neediest sectors of the working child population.

- They can be used for planning preventive measures and alternatives for the children.

- They can encourage NGOs, international agencies, Governments, and other actors to become more engaged in combating child labour. In some cases, communities that were formerly unaware of the issues have now begun to perceive child labour as a problem. On many levels, such recognition is a prerequisite of effective action.

- RA reports can stimulate further research, sometimes in other communities, providing a progressively more comprehensive picture of child labour in different geographical areas or occupations.

- The research process also serves to strengthen the technical capacity of researchers, whether from universities, government agencies, NGOs, trade unions, or employers' organizations. RA experience helps them to become experts in determining what they need to know about child labour and in training additional researchers.

- RA reports provide valuable additions to the knowledge base regarding child labour and its dynamic in the country or region researched.

The following box reports RA research applications and their positive consequences in countries around the world.

Box 5: Applied RA findings: Some examples

Publicizing information about the factors leading children into the WFCL and the conditions in which they work can encourage government acknowledgement of the issues and amelioratory action:

- RA findings have provided a useful means of discussing the ratification process for the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182) in countries that have not yet ratified it. (At least four countries are now considering ratification, including the **Lao PDR** and **Myanmar**.)

- In countries such as **El Salvador** and **Brazil**, RA reports lead certain government agencies such as those concerned with the welfare of younger girls and boys and adolescents to incorporate RA findings in future planning and activities.

- In **Costa Rica**, official bodies have been led by an RA to design policies to combat commercial sexual exploitation.

- In **Brazil**, the National Anti-Drugs Secretariat has shown interest in policy-making based in part of the findings of the RA on drug trafficking.

- In **Romania**, a policy paper based on RA findings on working street children has contributed to an update of the National Policy and Plan of Action on the Elimination of Child Labour, drafted in 1998.

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Publicly available child labour data can lead to greater awareness and more mobilization activities:

- The RA of girls and boys working in dumpsites in **Guatemala** reported both children and researchers under threat from violent gangs. Related research findings have resulted in steps taken by the municipal authorities to ensure safer dumpsite management. The RA findings have also encouraged Guatemalan public institutions and NGOs to create action programmes to eliminate this WFCL, while the Government has withdrawn its special work permits for children younger than 14 years.

- In **Nepal**, the relevant RA report has led the media to assist in raising public awareness of issues related to the trafficking of girls for commercial sexual exploitation.

- RAs have given rise to national or regional seminars addressing children engaged in specific occupations. An RA on drug trafficking in **Brazil** brought the issues to the attention of the entire country, inspiring a national seminar on the topic.

- In **Ecuador**, the findings of the RA on children who work on flower plantations have informed several workshops attended by government institutions, unions, and flower companies. These workshops aimed at designing intervention strategies to ensure the elimination, on a medium-term basis, of child labour on the flower plantations.

- In **Jamaica**, multiple awareness-raising activities relating to sexual exploitation followed the associated RA report.

Information from RAs can often influence public policy and encourage national action plans:

- By the year 2003, at least 20 countries and regions in different parts of the world where RAs have been conducted have subsequently introduced national action plans and other programmes.

- The action programme among working street children in **Romania**, based on RA findings, has been successfully concluded, having improved the lives of more than 500 children.

- RA findings on children working on sugar cane plantations in **El Salvador** were used in the design of an action programme financed by the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB).

- The findings of the RA on commercial sexual exploitation in **Costa Rica** have been used in the design of the IPEC Time Bound Programme (TBP).

- In **Ethiopia**, the findings of the RA on CDWs were used in the design of the national child labour strategy and plan of action implemented by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

- In **Thailand**, the results of RAs on CDWs and child labour in illicit drug activities have been included in the background of the National Plan of Action on the Elimination of Child Labour.

RA reports can stimulate further research. Their findings have encouraged some NGOs to become active in researching child labour:

- An Italian NGO decided to conduct an RA on hazardous child labour in sugar cane in **Bolivia** as a follow-up to the findings of two other RAs on this occupation.

- **Nepal** has used a series of RA reports on child porters, rag pickers, and CDWs to design and implement baseline surveys, two of which were conducted to estimate the national incidence of rag pickers and both short- and long-distance porters.

- The experience of the RA on drug trafficking in the **Philippines** aided in the implementation of RA/participatory action research on children from three communities in Metro Manila — part of a sub-regional programme in three countries (Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand) that aims at designing recommendations for national policy on combating child involvement in drug trafficking.

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- RA findings from **Thailand** were used as a basis to conduct further research on the use of children in drug trafficking.

RAs can play an important role in building a country knowledge base concerning children engaged in hidden and often illicit activities:

- Many RAs have provided detailed insight into activities (a) where children are engaged in commercial sexual exploitation, drug trafficking, armed conflict, domestic work, and other generally concealed occupations, or (b) where they have been trafficked and are working in a bonded or forced capacity. These activities were often little understood before the RAs were conducted. Subsequently, official agencies, government representatives, and others have now begun to address these problems. The RA on sexual exploitation in **Jamaica** is one example of the successful integration of RA findings into a national database.

PART II: Doing RA research

Introduction

Part II presents the components, or steps, in effective RA research, as well as some issues that need resolution by the researchers.

- Section A outlines necessary planning from initial idea to formulation of a research plan. It considers tasks such as finding sponsors, assembling a research team, timing, and budgeting.

- Section B presents most of the activities involved in the actual research.

- Section C discusses the analysis and presentation of research findings.

The RA methodology is best viewed as a series of recommended steps and activities. The respective emphasis will vary from one RA to another, depending on a number of factors.

Actual RA researchers will not necessarily follow the order in which this part of the manual presents the material. In given cases, some steps will take longer; others may be modified; still others may not be practicable. The research teams will likely need to adapt the material, particularly when researching harder-to-access or highly sensitive child labour populations (discussed further in Part III).

Whenever possible, however, RA procedures should be standardized. This makes comparison of data across different settings more possible. Standardization should be a consideration at all stages of the research, from survey design and sampling to data processing, research reporting, and dissemination.

A. Planning and preparation

Prior to conducting an RA, time must be invested in establishing the following bases for successful research:

- clear goals;

- a carefully thought-out methodological design;

- a strong and committed team; and

- financial, moral, and professional support.

1. Why conduct an RA?

RA research investigations into child labour typically begin with a suspicion. Individuals or groups in official government positions or linked to a research institute or an NGO may have reason to believe that a "child labour problem" exists in one or more localities or regions. They may also be aware that it contravenes international or national Conventions or legislation.

There may already be a broad national awareness that girls and boys are being hired and put to work in ways that adversely affect their well-being, their schooling, and the national reputation. A general feeling in the country, or at least in the local communities, that "we must learn more about our child labour in order to do something about it" certainly makes it easier to obtain local and national support, receive funding, and conduct the research.

An RA promotes national discussion and focuses national attention, making it more difficult for those who oppose such research, whatever official or governmental positions

they may occupy, to hinder its success. Information from an RA can then be used effectively to counter opposition, including, sometimes, outright denial of a child labour problem. (See Part I, Section 8, Box 5: Applied RA findings: Some examples; and Part II, Section 3.2: Determining the end users.)

2. *Collecting background information*

A workable research plan for any RA presupposes the collection of background information. Some of this data will be in written form; more will come from conversations and in-depth interviews with knowledgeable individuals. Useful sources of information include these:

- historical accounts of the area, its population, main industries, and labour force;

- national surveys and censuses, which are particularly valuable where they contain information regarding work done by households and their various members;

- reports and other material provided by international organizations, NGOs, government agencies, trade unions, or employer and business associations concerning the economy and the labour force (and, if possible, specifically concerning the child labour force);

- industry and company reports that provide trade and export statistics as well as describe the productive structure of the industry (especially for industries in which children are known to work);

- studies of specific occupations or population categories, including racial, ethnic, and religious minorities, where relevant, if these factors might have a bearing on child labour;

- local and regional government and public officials in various capacities, including, depending upon the kind of suspected child labour, the judiciary and police;

- community activists and authorities, personnel of women's organizations, NGOs, local social-work agencies, trade unions, religious groups and charitable associations, former child labourers, children frequenting NGOs, and students;

- school and education departments for information about school attendance and absenteeism in the local child population, informed hypotheses about absenteeism, the size of the local child school-age population, and suggestions concerning the occupations in which working children are engaged and why;

- newspaper and magazine articles for an understanding of the local, regional, and national social and political situation; and

- information about national and local legal frameworks relevant to child labour and about the enforcement of laws and rulings at the local and regional levels.

The more informed the researchers are at the outset, the better the research design. For RAs dealing with special subjects, it may be essential to obtain specific contextual information. If researchers intend to investigate boys and girls engaged in armed conflict, for example, they need to understand the nature of the ongoing hostilities and their causes, the history of child participation, the anticipated gender and ethnic distribution of the children concerned, and their linguistic affiliation. With research on CDWs, on the other hand, they need to understand the general social and cultural perceptions held about such workers. Child migration to an urban area for work must be understood against the backdrop of the history and general pattern of rural-urban migration in the area. If the research requires this kind of knowledge, researchers should become familiar with its broad outlines beforehand. (Collection of background information for researching "hidden" populations or the WFCL is discussed in Part III.)

3.   *Research design and budget estimation*

3.1   Research goals and focus

Specific research goals and a focus can be better determined in the light of this background information. Clearer answers become apparent to such questions as: Why is this RA being conducted? What kind of information is being sought and why?

Given the typical time constraints in RA research, these matters need to be clarified at the outset. It is impossible to address the entire range of questions for which answers might be desirable, so research priorities and methods must be established at the beginning. The focus may undergo fine tuning as work proceeds, but the researchers should be able to clearly specify their research objectives at this stage.

Effective research design also presupposes answers to these questions:

- Are investigations to be confined to a specific industry, a specific occupation, a specific population of child workers, a specific geographical area or community, or a specific kind of workplace?

- Will research focus only on children in rural areas, on children working in the streets, on children working in their own homes, on children working in a "hidden" (or harmful) occupation, or on children working in servitude?

- Will it focus only on boys or only on girls? The response to this question must leave room for flexibility. Researchers studying commercial sexual exploitation in Sri Lanka, for example, found that many of the respondents in the study area were boys. [18] Researchers investigating the same subject in the Caribbean found that, compared to girls, boys represented a small minority of the children engaged in this activity. [19] In both cases, the non-majority sex was difficult to access.

- Will the research address mainly mobile and/or migrant child labour that travels throughout a region in response to work opportunities, or mainly that which is currently migrating, or that which is being trafficked either to or away from the area? Such choices determine, among other things, the selection of research areas, observational settings, individual interviewees, and planned survey questions.

- Is the subject of research a potentially difficult or dangerous occupation? If so, what kinds of personal risk are the researchers willing to take and to what extent?

- Will the research address a minority population? What special research issues or problems will this present?

- Need researchers conduct a health assessment, a nutritional assessment, or some other kind of "measurement" of the target working children?

Choice of personnel for a multidisciplinary research team (a subject addressed in Section 5) will be determined partly by the answers to these questions, as will the required equipment. For example, if the research aims in part to assess harmful workplaces, the team should include occupational safety specialists and, perhaps, health specialists (various kinds of measuring instruments will also be needed). In the absence of such specialists, non-specialist researchers will have to be trained to examine the child respondents for physical or developmental problems.

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[18] ILO/IPEC. Amarasinghe, S.W.; *Sri Lanka — The commercial sexual exploitation of children: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour, No.18. Geneva, 2002.

[19] Bowrin, L. *Caribbean Child Labour Project: Use of rapid assessment findings for awareness-raising activities*, Presentation for the Technical Seminar on Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour. Geneva, 2002.

3.2 Determining the end users

The requirements of end users will govern many of the choices discussed above. Who these end users will be, and the ways in which the research output will likely be utilized, are primary considerations in shaping research design.

- For instance, if the expected end use of an RA is local awareness-raising on the part of local NGOs and social service agencies, the researchers might want to design their approach in ways that encourage more community and even family participation in the actual research process.

- On the other hand, if the aim is to provide the necessary information for planning intervention programmes to be designed at the national or regional level, the researchers may try to collect more data about:
  - magnitudes, processes, and influences coming from above the community level;
  - the effect of prior programmes, if any, on children and their work and families;
  - the attitudes of employers and local authorities to possible programme introductions;
  - the roles of the school system; and
  - the general context of the child labour concerned.

In brief, successful research design must be adapted so as to obtain the kind of information most relevant to end users.

3.3 Logistics

Researchers conducting an RA must consider important logistical factors. Travel for lead researchers, team members, and interviewers may be required throughout the research area, and, perhaps, to the rural places of origin of children now working in urban areas or who have returned to their villages. It may be necessary to follow children and their families who migrate to different parts of the region or move around frequently. The travel and movements of the research team around the area must be planned and provided for, and sufficient personal flexibility must be built into the research design to permit researchers to follow the working children or, if necessary, to move from site to site over extended areas.

These travel requirements must also address any restrictions on movement in the area or other difficulties affecting female researchers specifically. Other logistical matters include living conditions for the researchers, especially for female researchers (whether a single woman can stay in the area safely is an especially important consideration).

3.4 RA duration

A successful RA on child labour — from the research planning stages to completion of the final report — requires a recommended six months. While the time frame for each activity will vary from study to study, two months is generally sufficent for the planning of details and the research design, followed by two months of fieldwork and a final two months of data analysis and report preparation. More time may be required when investigating hard-to-access forms of child labour, since accessing respondents and building rapport is likely to be more challenging in these situations.

3.5 Research budget

The research budget of an RA must include appropriate allocations for travel, as discussed in Section 3.3, above, as well as direct payments to researchers and interviewers

for their services. Past RAs have demonstrated that the major costs are fieldwork and the technical team. Fieldwork costs increase further where it is necessary to travel to distant places to interview the children or to access hard-to-locate populations. Costs for the technical team increase if specialist consultants such as child psychologists and occupational safety specialists are hired.

Other costs must also be written into the budget. A partial checklist of typical budgetary requirements follows.

Checklist 1: Budgetary requirements

- Expenses of doing background research (personnel, library fees, writing up the information).

- Salaries for researchers and interviewers, and training costs where needed.

- Insurance, where the nature of the investigation makes this necessary.

- Logistical and other expenses for interviewers, including fieldwork costs such as overnight stays at research sites; access fees to sites for observation where required; bar and café expenses and taxi fares, where research settings are late-night or in dangerous areas; audiovisual aids and materials.

- Costs of drawing up, pilot-testing, and reproducing questionnaires, if used.

- Costs of household surveys (person-days of work, plus transportation), if conducted.

- Costs for focus groups where used, including transportation, refreshments, and any minor compensatory payments that participants may require.

- Similar costs for individual respondents where incurred, including compensation for food and for any time off from work, where this has been arranged.

- Costs of any validation procedures to assure the accuracy of the data collected. In many RAs, such validation and verification is crucial, and requires special attention or additional contacts.

- Cost of translators during fieldwork, if used.

- Costs of coding and processing data and findings (person-days of work, and processing costs).

- Costs for any seminars or informal presentations of findings as the research progresses (materials/supplies, transportation, and refreshments).

- Costs for reviewing, analyzing, and writing up findings (person-days of work).

- Translation costs for the final report (or a summary report or brochure outlining the findings).

- Costs of formal presentation to end users and other interested parties (venue, transportation, and refreshments).

- Costs of a feedback forum for respondents (particularly working children), where this is part of the RA process.

- Post-research costs of publication and distribution.

Budgeting in advance for all phases means the research will more surely prove comprehensive and effective.

As part of this, "in-kind costs" must be anticipated as well — costs not normally included in the budget because they are not monetarily remunerated. Volunteer work by individuals and/or organizations, including stakeholders and others participating in planning and/or dissemination meetings, result in very real additional costs.

A cautionary note: with some RAs, insufficient time has been allocated for research, leading to financial shortfalls in the later stages. The lesson here is that money must be allocated, in advance, for all phases of the research — including analysis and publicization of the findings as well as formal presentation to end users and others who can benefit from them.

Record-keeping is another important task during research. Document what is being done and how it is being done. This process will later prove to be important for monitoring and evaluation purposes.

There follows a checklist of what to include when planning an RA.

Checklist 2: Planning the RA

- Background information
- Goals
  - Purpose of the research
  - Kinds of knowledge needed
  - End users and their requirements
- Methods
  - Methods selected according to nature of target population and end user requirements. Data collection must be as disaggregated as possible by sex, age, ethnicity, religion, and other variables
- Scope of the investigation
  - Industry/occupation/region/workplace/school
- Determining specific target group(s) of child workers
  - Gender/minority status if relevant/age group/school attendance/accessibility for interviews
- Anticipated research site(s)
  - Urban/rural area, concentrated work sites or dispersed, few or numerous
- Required people on research team
  - Researchers
  - Interviewers
  - Specialists (health/occupational safety/ psychology/other)
  - Designated record-keeper who documents the research process
- Special research problems or issues
  - Detail any special planning to deal with them (target population, etc.)
- Total projected research budget
  - Budgetary checklist, finances available

Where the research has multiple goals, methods, target groups, etc., the checklist should be augmented by "offshoots" containing this information, perhaps in tabular form. Alternatively, more than one checklist can be used.

4. Seeking sponsors and supporters

During the planning process, those most interested in the RA and its findings should strive to increase sponsorship. Sponsors can not only help finance the RA, they can also lend their moral or professional support to the research while influencing others to do likewise. In the end, several different sponsors may become involved. Part I, Section 5, identifies

several kinds of potential sponsors, including government agencies at various levels, international organizations, and locally active NGOs; it also examines some ways in which they might help to further the research effort.

Early support and collaboration from individuals in positions of responsibility in the region is especially important; these people can use their influence to enhance the success of the RA. Potential end users should also be involved in the early stages, affording them some feeling of ownership of the research and encouraging them to become stakeholders. Where they are involved early, they are more likely to use their position and influence to direct the research findings to actual programmes and projects. Secondly, having learned something about the RA research process, potential end-users may be interested in sponsoring further research or follow-up quantitative studies to obtain magnitude data to complement the completed RA. The research team should avoid seeking sponsorship from agencies or organizations known to have incompatible goals or agendas, however, so as to avoid disagreements between them.

Box 6 includes an example of NGO sponsorship and collaboration in research.

Box 6: NGO's role in RA research: An example from Romania

The NGO Salvati Copiii ("Save the Children") played an important role in conducting RA research among working children in Romania. This NGO has been collecting data on Romanian working children since 1997, and had already done several surveys before using the RA methodology to conduct fieldwork on working street children in Bucharest, providing most of the personnel for the research team (two psychologists and an external consultant were added). The results of this and other, similar research in two other Romanian cities provided the basis for action programmes that successfully withdrew 500 children from the streets and reintegrated them into their families or the educational system.

Source: ILO/IPEC, Alexandrescu, G. *Romania — Working street children in Bucharest: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 19. Geneva, 2002.

Before beginning, consultative meetings or seminars should be undertaken with those supporting agencies and individuals with the greatest stakes in the research and any ensuing programme. These meetings should discuss all aspects of the intended research and its broader national context. Participating agencies should specify what kind of information it is they need. And, although they may also propose research personnel, the researchers must assert their operational independence.

The RA researchers should also maintain contact with statisticians and national statistics officials, since the concomitant exchange of ideas and related experiences can only assist the research. Proposals to go beyond qualitative information — i.e. to try measuring the extent of the child labour problem — can be especially valuable. The RA team should involve others who will put forth the methodology and results, and from whom interviews can potentially be drawn. In the Dominican Republic, for example, interviewers engaged in an RA on CDWs included some of those who conducted interviews for the SIMPOC national survey.[20]

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[20] ILO/IPEC. *Un estudio exploratorio sobre el trabajo infantil doméstico en hogares de terceros en República Dominicana.* San Jose, 2002.

5. Selecting and training research personnel

5.1 Choosing the principal researchers

Selection of appropriate lead researchers is an important early step. These men and women should be familiar with the "terrain" and the social environment, knowledgeable about child labour, and, preferably, already possess a network of community contacts. The most successful RAs tend to be those led by individuals who already have some years of experience working in the country or local area being researched. Researchers already familiar with the local environment have easier access to the fieldwork setting, including the working girls and boys themselves. Much time can be saved if the researchers are known and trusted by local residents, both male and female. In some cases, for example the RA on drug trafficking in some communities in Brazil,[21] the lead researcher's pre-existing contacts may be so important that, without them, no research would be possible. Some research personnel, furthermore, may already have affiliations with agencies concerned with local problems and issues, as in the Romanian case described in Box 6 above.

Lead researchers. What qualifications do the lead researchers need? They should have an overall understanding of the research process and be sympathetic to the goals of the RA. These women and men should already have had some research and fieldwork experience in qualitative methods. They may be affiliated with universities, research institutes, or other professions, or formally qualified as social scientists, social workers, statisticians, or economists.

Primary research personnel. Wherever possible, the primary research personnel should come from different backgrounds, together comprising a multidisciplinary team. For example, the primary researchers on an RA team researching the sexual exploitation of children in Madagascar included professional women and men from sociology, medical sciences, engineering, communications, social demography, law, and Malagasy literature.[22]

Gender balance. The team should also include equal proportions of women and men. Not only does this provide an example of gender neutrality, it also helps to penetrate certain milieus where the sex of the researcher may affect research outcomes.

Specialist members. Ideally, RA teams will recruit a child labour specialist/analyst as a key player on the research team. But identifying someone with these qualifications in the given country may not be possible. An alternative is to recruit education and health specialists instead.

Research design should take into account, where relevant, the likelihood of work-related accidents and physical or psychological damage.[23] Such hazards — for example, lead poisoning when working with batteries — are not always readily recognizable or even visible, so personnel with specialized skills and training may be needed to design a health assessment research component. Persons with training in occupational safety and health (OSH) are best equipped to do this. Where they are not available, medical personnel such as doctors and/or nurse practitioners can be used instead.

Standard school health examinations will not identify occupational problems as such. Labour inspectors, however, can help to assess the occupational risks associated with children's work.

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[21] ILO/IPEC. De Souza e Silva, J.; Urani, A. *Brazil — Situation of children in drug trafficking: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 20. Geneva, 2002.

[22] ILO/IPEC. Ravaozanany, N.; Razafindrabe, L.; Rakotoniarivo, L. *Madagascar — Les enfants victimes de l'exploitation sexuelle à Antsiranana, Ttoliary et Antananarivo: Une évaluation rapide.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 25. Geneva 2002.

[23] See Part II, Section 5.7: A note on health.

Health assessments of working children, so far, have only been done in relatively few studies, but the demand for them is increasing.

All children who have been engaged in WFCL, including those who have been involuntarily trafficked, need to be assessed for psychological and intellectual damage. Child psychologists know what to do when a child breaks down during an interview or seems otherwise seriously disturbed. They can also assess the psychological effects of the kind of child labour in question. Furthermore, psychologists can train interviewers to recognize and deal with painful and otherwise sensitive material during interviews, and to know when to seek specialized assistance for a disturbed boy or girl.

5.2 Qualifications of research assistants and interviewers

People skills. The central part of RA research involves interacting with and interviewing children and adults. This requires what are commonly referred to as "people skills":

- RA field workers of both sexes must be skilled at working in the local language and in making contact with boys and girls and talking with them in a sensitive, understanding way.

- They need experience with girls and boys of various ages, and must have a sense of how to connect with them, however disadvantaged, poorly educated, poorly clothed, or unwashed they may be.

- Sometimes lack of trust of the part of the children makes them difficult to approach. In such situations, the sex of the interviewer may be important.

Interviewers should be trained in sensitivity to the concerns of girls and boys of various ages, and to child rights and gender issues. They must also have a feeling for families, poor families in particular, and even more they should understand the burdens faced by women, who — as many RAs of child labour have shown — are often trying to bring up children in the most adverse circumstances, including the absence of fathers. [24]

Other qualifications. The lead researchers will aim to select assistants of both sexes, keeping in mind that it is important to make respondents feel comfortable during interviews. For purposes of reference, a written profile of desirable qualifications should be established, including the following items:

- some university or higher education;

- experience with qualitative research methods;

- a working knowledge of the local language or dialect; and

- an ability to understand the goals and modalities of the research.

Other considerations

- When choosing assistants, the lead researchers should also consider the sex and age distribution, i.e. the most appropriate balance to the given circumstances.

- The kind of child labour to be investigated needs to be considered, together with an assessment of the qualifications likely to be most effective. Where older female members of households are to be interviewed, for example, the lead researchers must assess, in assigning interviewers, how important same-sex interviewer-interviewee relations may be in that community or locality.

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[24] See Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations.

- Researchers and interviewers should dress in a way that allows them, as much as possible, to blend in with the local population.

- In many situations, they should also be willing to work or play alongside the boys and girls to make contact and gain confidence. A number of RAs have shown this approach to be a useful "ice-breaker".

Training for research assistants should take the above-mentioned skills into account, and aim to compensate for shortcomings in qualifications among the team members. (See Section 5.3: Training researchers and interviewers.) Box 7, below, provides a description of desirable characteristics in a researcher from the Mekong Sub-region RA.

Box 7: Qualifications of a good researcher

Several years ago, an ILO/IPEC report summed up the more intangible skills required of research personnel. The report notes that researchers must be:

"committed, culturally sensitive, have good listening and interviewing skills, 'be open to unheard voices', be friendly and non-judgemental, and work with heart and loving the topic."

We might add to this list the virtue of having a large measure of patience.

Source: ILO/IPEC. *Mekong Sub-region — Combating trafficking in children for labour exploitation in the Mekong Sub-region: A proposed framework for ILO-IPEC action and proceedings of a Mekong sub-regional consultation.* Geneva, October, 1998, p. 27.

It may also be preferable, in certain contexts, if interviewers are ethnically similar to the children being researched. In some situations (Box 8 provides an example), it is essential to engage interviewers of the same religion.

Box 8: Research qualifications for sensitive research assignments

RAs are often conducted in sensitive areas and, as such, require researchers with specific qualifications. For example, on the island of Mindanao, in the southern Philippines, research was being undertaken on boys and girls serving in military units, and where the local population was Muslim. The children concerned belonged to combat units of the MILF, a Muslim rebel group, and non-Muslim researchers would not have received permission to interview them. They might also have had difficulty in understanding how, for these children, fighting in the rebel units was seen as an act of religious devotion rather than as "labour" — and so deeply felt that even the Muslim researchers were surprised by it, as is evident in the following quote:

"It was an awesome experience to see how children at their very young and seemingly gullible status have reached such a high level of commitment for a cause that is greater than themselves. To the enumerators, although they may not share in the children's sentiments, it was an eye opener to see how determined the child respondents were in maintaining their commitment and dedication as well as their physique to prepare them for battle."

Source: ILO/IPEC. Cagoco-Guiam, R. *Philippines — Child soldiers in central and western Mindanao: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 21. Geneva, 2002, p. 22.

5.3 Training researchers and interviewers

Training comprises a variety of activities and goals.

Research trainees must become familiar with the local political, economic, and social context in which they will work — a process that may entail combining classroom instruction (often several days' worth) with travel around the area.

This training can be provided by the principal researchers and knowledgeable local individuals (informants). It will include lessons about the people of the area and how they live, their history, their employment patterns, and so on, so that field workers will be able to "understand" the localities and communities in which they will be observing and interviewing.

Training must develop in staff a gender-oriented appreciation of the local population and the relative social position of women and girl children. They must learn, as these issues emerge during their research, how to note the differing status and situations of girls and boys and women and men.

Inexperienced interviewers need to be taught practical observation and interview aims and techniques:

- They must learn to observe, record, and interpret the various occupations and work activities in which girls and boys may be engaged, taking mental and, later, written notes.

- They must learn to note the relevant settings, including possible hazards and likely effects of conditions on the children.

- They must take note of the sex distribution of the working children, their physical appearance, probable ages, probable ethnic affiliations, and any differential treatment that boys and girls of different ages receive.

- They should fully understand the focus of the RA at hand, and see the importance of collecting certain kinds of information, detailed and disaggregated wherever possible.

- They should practise actual interview skills, probably via role-play.

- They must learn how to interact respectfully with informants of various kinds, ages, and sexes, learning to remember what they have seen and been told so they can record it later. Combining observation and interview skills is not easy.

- Their observations must become a record of the workplace,[25] including:
  - physical condition of the working children;
  - standards of hygiene;
  - lighting;
  - ventilation;
  - lavatory facilities and access to them for the children; and
  - availability of clean drinking water; use of toxic substances in the work process.

- They also have to learn about the more intangible conditions, including the extent of freedom among both the working boys and girls and the adults. (Some employers keep the doors locked, effectively locking workers in during work hours.)

- Practice is needed in such types of observation and in note-making while at the same time conducting interviews. Using video cameras and tape recorders can provide valuable feedback in the training exercises. Practice within a group, and role-play, are essential for learning non-judgemental, direct but respectful ways of interviewing, questioning, listening, and observing. An example of a training programme from the RA in Sri Lanka is described below, in Box 9.

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[25] See Box 17: What to look for at workplaces, for more details.

> **Box 9: Fieldwork training: An example from Sri Lanka**
>
> Prior to fieldwork for the Sri Lanka RA, research assistants were given two days of comprehensive training in appropriate methods in Colombo. A panel of experts, including a demographer, lawyer, and a sociologist, provided the training, which included a field programme. Activities included sessions on (a) background information about commercial sexual exploitation within the specific political, economic, and social context of the districts; and (b) methods, including interview skills, observation techniques, note-taking, and documentation at the field level. Since the research assistants were university graduates with an exposure to field methodologies, the team felt that a two-day training programme would suffice.
>
> Source: ILO/IPEC. Amarasinghe, S. *Sri Lanka — The commercial sexual exploitation of children: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 8. Geneva, 2002, p. 31.

Certain environments may require additional training and preparation. This was true, for example, with an RA on the trafficking of girls in Nepal. Box 10, describes the composition of the research team according to sex; incorporation of ethical issues; pre-testing of the questionnaire; and collaboration of qualified resource persons, including three women who had formerly been trafficked.

> **Box 10: Preparation for fieldwork on sensitive issues:**
> **An example from Nepal**
>
> In preparation for the Nepal RA on trafficking in girls, a six-member research team composed of two men and four women was given a seven-day intensive training course on such issues as RA methodology, definitions of trafficking, the socio-economic and political situation of the study sites, and ethical issues when doing research with children. The individual questionnaire was pre-tested twice in Kathmandu with the support of three women who had been trafficked for sexual exploitation. Other resource persons included experts from the Central Department of Population Studies, a major NGO; a North American university; ILO/IPEC; and the Nepal police, who provided feedback on the individual structured questionnaire.
>
> Source: ILO/IPEC. Bal, K.; Subedi, G.; Gurung, Y.; Adhikari, K. *Nepal — Trafficking in girls with special reference to prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 2. Geneva, 2001, p. 9.

5.4 Working in teams

Teamwork is an integral feature of RA research. Only through teamwork is it possible to collect the information typically required over the areas covered in such a short time.

Different team members are commonly assigned to different observation or interview sites, thereby covering as many children and as many workplaces as possible.

A team functions best where it includes individuals familiar with the local dialect and who understand the behaviour and ways of thinking of the target population. This is the case, for example, when doing research among communities where children are at risk of being trafficked, such as the disadvantaged and ethnically distinct hill regions of Southeast Asia, where girls are often victims of child trafficking. In such settings, "ethnic fluency" is essential in breaking barriers of reserve and mistrust.

Where interviewers can be accompanied by locally respected individuals, even more time is saved in gaining trust.

As alluded to above, in Box 10, gender considerations are important when working in teams. But one should not automatically assume that matching interviewers with intervie-

wees by sex is the right approach. Some boys — for instance younger children and those involved in the drug trade or sex-related activities — might feel less threatened by a female interviewer.

The principal researcher plays a special role in making appropriate assignments and fostering good teamwork. This key figure must oversee the work of all the team members as research proceeds, troubleshooting their problems, addressing any perplexities and doubts, and integrating the information they obtain with that received from others.

Effective teamwork is enhanced by maintaining continuous feedback, communicating and sharing experiences among team members, even on a daily basis.

5.5 Notes on language problems

- It is not always possible to find researchers and interviewers fluent in local languages. This is especially true where a team is covering widely dispersed communities in remote areas inhabited by ethnic minorities where a variety of languages or dialects are spoken.

- Translators and appropriate transportation will inevitably add to research costs.

- To understand the subject matter they will be required to translate, translators must be given some training regarding the research focus.

- Survey schedules and research questionnaires may have to be translated into the local dialects, while researchers and/or translators will need to be trained to ask questions and interview in those dialects.

5.6 Note on age

The term "child" is used to refer to all people younger than 18 years of age. This guideline is set out in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the United Nations in 1989. The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182) follows the same definition. The ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) does not specify an age cut-off for the term "child"; however, while it acknowledges the fact that in some countries children younger than 18 years may work legally, it stipulates that they need special protection in the workplace.

Researchers should pay careful attention to the age of respondents when collecting data, and comply with the definition of the term "child" based on the framework of the research. Information regarding individuals 18 years old and older must therefore be tabulated and presented separately from data collected on children.

5.7 Note on health

Throughout the RA process, it is important to consider the health of the population being investigated in all its aspects. The term "health" should be taken to encompass three elements: physical health; psychological (intellectual and emotional) health; and accidental injury. It is crucial that psychological health not be overlooked. (See Part II, Section 5.1: Choosing the principal researchers.)

5.8 Note on gender

Box 11 defines gender, gives some examples of different expectations and roles according to gender, and describes ways in which gender considerations must play a role in child labour research. Researchers should familiarize themselves with the prevailing perceptions

of gender and ways of mainstreaming this concept in their research. Box 12, meanwhile, provides an example of the way in which gender was incorporated into the findings in one RA.

Box 11: Elements of a gender-sensitive approach

Gender is a social construct, and refers to a set of learned social differences and relations regarding girls and boys, women and men. These can vary widely within and across cultures. There follow a few examples:

- In some countries, for example, it is appropriate for women and girls to work on road construction, whereas in others only men and boys perform roadwork-related labour.

- In some countries, daughters help their mothers at work while sons are sent to school.

- Women and girls may be preferred as employees in the clothing industry because girls have already learned to sew at home and have developed the manual dexterity and capacity to perform the necessary tasks from an early age.

- Widows may receive more respect, even veneration, in some cultures, while in others they may lose all their property to male relatives when their husband dies, and are left destitute.

A child's sex (a biological fact), combined with its particular social and cultural context (its gender), often determines what life conditions and opportunities the young person will experience. Gender analysis identifies these differences and describes relationships between girls and boys and men and women. It helps to avoid or sidestep invalid or dubious assumptions about who does what, why, and when. This is particularly important for understanding and combating girl child labour.

Equality between women and men and between boys and girls refers to the equal rights, responsibilities, opportunities, and treatment of women and men in employment, and to the link between work and life. Programmes that ignore gender risk failure. The use of a "gender lens" — filtering out misleading assumptions about who does what, why, and when — is essential to preventing and solving child labour problems. Gender can play an important role in determining the probability of a boy's or girl's being employed and the type of labour in which he or she will be engaged.

Source: ILO/IPEC. *Good practices: Gender mainstreaming in actions against child labour.* Geneva, 2003, pp. 1-2.

Box 12: Incorporating a gender dimension in RA findings: An example from El Salvador

The RA on child labour on sugarcane plantations in El Salvador distinguished between activities undertaken by boys and those undertaken by girls, thereby taking into account the gender dimension of the children's work. A discussion of relevant cultural beliefs underpins the distinction.

The study found that girls were assigned "less dangerous" tasks, such as preparing the field for the cultivation of sugarcane and then cultivating and sorting the cane into bushels, which they then transported. More dangerous tasks such as cutting and chopping were mostly assigned to boys. One boy was even found to be in charge of the especially hazardous job of fumigating the plantations. While there were cases of younger boys involved in cultivation and older girls cutting cane, cultural norms prescribed the cultivation of sugarcane as exclusively a girls' task, and its cutting as a boys' task. The involvement of boys in less dangerous tasks such as cultivation was considered socially unacceptable.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Quezada de Vargas, J.; Vargas, A. *El Salvador — Trabajo infantil en la caña de azúcar: Una evaluación rápida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 27. Geneva, 2002.

6. *Determining feasible research methods and timing*

6.1 Mapping

Once the lead researchers have acquired a reasonably detailed knowledge of the research area, and assembled and trained a research team that understands the research aims and focus, they need to select appropriate research methods and locations.

They may want to "walk the area" in the company of knowledgeable local individuals, mapping the locations — showing various features and resources, including workplaces where children are known to work and the neighbourhoods where their households tend to be concentrated. Researchers may even find that local children are willing to help identify locations and landmarks. Social mapping may be done to show the arrangement and composition of households within the different localities; this can provide a good introduction to prevailing social inequalities and differences.

Such exercises help researchers to decide which research tools and sampling approaches are feasible — a decision that must take into account means of access to the working boys and girls, ethical considerations, physical safety, and timing. Box 13 below presents an example of mapping.

Box 13: Mapping to identify high-risk areas in the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSE): An example from Costa Rica

The RA on CSE in Costa Rica used mapping to determine the areas at highest risk of commercial sexual exploitation of children, taking into account two criteria:

(1)   areas with the highest concentration of victims; and

(2)   areas with the highest incidence of exploitative behaviour.

In the first instance, the areas considered were those with the highest number of charges against procurers (proxeneta), the highest number of victims' residences, and areas characterized by social unrest including high unemployment, drug addiction, extreme poverty, and lack of access to basic social services.

Other sources used for mapping included censuses; household surveys; government documents regarding the areas of highest concentration of poverty; information from NGOs about areas at high risk of AIDS; documents from the Attorney of Sexual Crimes; and information about tourist sites from the Institute of Tourism of Costa Rica.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Claramunt, M.C. *Costa Rica — Explotación sexual comercial de personas menores de edad: Una evaluación rápida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 33. Geneva, 2002.

6.2 Accessing the children

Following identification of the home and work locations of many of the children who work, interview settings need to be established. To avoid having interviewees feel intimidated, furthermore, means must be found of contacting them out of sight of employers and outside working hours. Accurate information will not be forthcoming within earshot of employers; a boy or girl may even be punished for talking to a researcher. Nor may children typically take time off from work to be interviewed.

Planning should include alternative means of access. Although RA depends heavily on face-to-face interaction between researcher and child, access is generally subject to limitations. (See Section 10 for more on interviewing children. The problems of access posed by difficult research situations will be discussed in Part III.)

6.3 Ethical considerations

All child labour research researchers and interviewers must recognize serious issues of ethics and confidentiality.

- One ethical imperative is that researchers explain to their respondents, regardless of youth or gender, who the researchers are, where they come from, and why they are conducting the research.

- All respondents, whether girls and boys or women and men, must understand what risks may be associated with being interviewed, and they must give their informed consent (even if verbally) before interviews begin.

- Assurances of confidentiality must be both given and observed. The risks entailed in being a respondent may include serious retaliation for revealing "private" information or, sometimes, even for having talked to the researcher. These could be especially serious in the case of girls and boys involved in WFCL, for example those engaged in drug trafficking, armed conflict, or CSE. Researchers must observe ethical constraints in not jeopardizing children's (and adults') safety or well being in any way. [26]

6.4 Safety and security

The physical security of the research team is also of concern. In some settings, physical risks connected with the research as planned may be too great, in which case alternative ways of collecting the required information are needed.

All researchers have a right to be protected from physical danger. The sources, degree, and nature of the risks may differ, in particular contexts, for male and female researchers. Thus, risks should be weighed with gender considerations in mind. Given that women are probably more appropriate for interviewing girls (and, in some cases, boys), assessing and dealing with the issue of risk may be a real challenge.

Where research entails risks, planning should include provision for insurance.

6.5 Timing

Many factors affect design of the research timetable. The primary consideration, however, should be the availability of the target children and adult respondents. Factors to consider in this regard include agricultural and fishing cycles; festivals and religious holidays; family activities; the regional market calendar; and upcoming elections. Researchers may also sometimes have difficulty accessing areas and villages where children work primarily during certain seasons, for example during the rains. (A preference among some researchers to wait for the more "comfortable" times of the year, however, has been criticized by some as possibly diminishing the accuracy of findings.)

Checklist 3, below, provides a summary of the important issues to consider before beginning fieldwork.

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[26] See Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations, for further information on this topic. See also Section 10.6, below, A cautionary note about interviewing children; and *Ethical guidelines for gathering information from children and adolescents* for practical guidelines prepared by USAID, UNICEF, Family Health International (FHI)/IMPACT and Population Council/Horizons. 2004. Retrieved on January 2005, from http://www.popcouncil.org/horizons.

B. Conducting the research

Section B suggests techniques for conducting RA research.

In practice, the specific research situation will determine the mix of information-collecting instruments used by each RA team. In practice, again — for example with observation and interviewing of working children — the various steps may be performed at the same time, rather than sequentially.

Not all the girls and boys approached for interviews will be identified at the outset. Interviews with relevant informants, parents, and others in their work or living environment can also be suggested as the research progresses.

7. Identifying and interviewing informants

Primary informants. Interviews with knowledgeable individuals already familiar with the child labour situation in the target area constitute an important part of any RA. Contact with primary sources should be made early in the planning process. Some of the more helpful among them may become "key informants", going on to play an important role throughout the research.

Informants can be sought among the following groups:

- government officials and representatives, including at the district or local level;

- government labour inspectors;

- police officers;

- trade union officials;

- teachers;

- employers;

- community leaders and members;

- representatives of NGOs and international organizations who have worked in the area;

- former child labourers and their families;

- parents of current child labourers; and

- parents of boys and girls who do not work.

Importance of records. Researchers may talk to several dozen women and men in the course of their work. The names and positions of these individuals should be recorded, together with their relation to the child labour situation in the area. This should be true even for informants from whom little information is obtained. (Some potential informants — e.g. the police in certain contexts — might endanger the research process should their participation become generally known. Researchers ought to identify these people, and avoid any publicly visible contact with them or, if deemed advisable, any contact whatsoever.)

Research into girls and boys working in garbage dumpsites in Guatemala, for example, involved interviewing the personnel of five different NGOs involved with the children.[27] Another example is the research on working boys and girls in the flower industry in Ecuador that involved a total of 124 semi-structured interviews with informants, as described in Box 14 below.

Box 14: Interviewing knowledgeable informants: An example from Ecuador

RAs often involve interviewing a range of people to collect as much information as possible concerning a specific kind of children's work. An example is the Ecuador RA on children's work in horticulture, which aimed to identify problems among working children in the flower industry. A broad range of knowledgeable informants were interviewed, including 11 from international organizations, 19 from NGOs, 17 from sector and agricultural organizations, 5 from public agencies, and 11 from the health sector. A further 14 were flower growers, 4 were municipal administrators, 3 were labour inspectors, 20 were teachers, and 20 were community activists.

All of these informants were interviewed at their workplaces. The research team also made a number of site visits, conducting 150 hours of observation. Since it proved impossible to interview the children working on the plantations, children were interviewed in their schools.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Castelnuovo, C.; Castelnuovo, A.; Oviedo, J.; Santacruz, X. *Ecuador — Trabajo infantil en la floricultura: Una evaluación rápida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 35. Geneva, 2002, p. 20.

Sometimes, these contacts turn out to be the major means of collecting information about working girls and boys, especially in areas where the child labour is hidden or illicit, or where children are being trafficked. These informants will probably be at least somewhat familiar with activities such as trafficking, if it is occurring, having followed its development or heard about it over a period of time.

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[27] ILO/IPEC. García, F.; Duque, V. *Guatemala — Trabajo infantil en los basureros: Una evaluación rápida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 34. Geneva, 2002.

Secondary motives for contacting informants. Collecting information should not be the only reason for contacting some of these men and women. Where they function in an official capacity, district or community-level administrators should be asked for their support. Beyond that, it is a simple courtesy to consult them regarding the research. Researchers should remember, however, that informants' knowledge may prove to be partial, biased (gender-biased, for example), or simply un-useful.

Nevertheless, even these informants may introduce researchers to other individuals in their organizations who are in closer contact with "the reality on the ground", but who will only cooperate with the research team only with the encouragement of their superiors.

Administrators may also provide introductions to influential local women and men outside government office. They may, for instance, yield contacts for employers who can serve as important interviewees. The heads of local business or employers' organizations can also provide introductions to employers, as may people from chambers of commerce, trade unions local political parties, and other organizations influential in the area's economic life. Wherever feasible, it is important to interview employers, both those who employ children and those who do not, in order to understand the demand for child labour, including employer attitudes, technology, input mixture and choice, modes of production, and access to credit. In some cases, interviewing employers who use child labour will not prove difficult, since the practice is not always hidden — employers may feel they are helping the children, and the activity may not be locally considered a bad practice.

Identifying and recording relevant social and cultural attitudes. Many informants, both female and male, may have certain prejudice with concomitant negative attitudes toward working boys and girls, the majority of whom come from families that are low-status, uneducated, and impoverished. The informants' own children usually do not work, and may even be served at home by CDWs.

It is important to document attitudes, including those of parents whose children do not work, for they may underpin subsequent resistance to programmes and projects for change.

- Researchers need to bear in mind that child labour (even the work of quite young girls and boys) will be considered "normal" within some regions and cultures.

- In other places, it can be viewed as unfortunate but rendered inevitable by circumstances.

- Moreover, employers and even the working girls' and boys' mothers, fathers, or guardians are not always be aware of the physical and psychological risks their working children regularly incur.

Interviewing parents. Where possible, the parents of children engaged in child labour, especially in the WFCL, should be interviewed regarding the physical and psychological risks of the work to their children, as well as about household income and any recent economic shocks, fertility, debt, education, or other factors that might explain why their children are working in the WFCL, or working at all. The researchers should take special notice of any unusual situations, for example where working boys and girls come from families that are relatively affluent compared to most families with working children in the area.

Interviewer reticence and tact. Researchers should keep their personal views to themselves when approaching certain categories of informant; it is good practice to avoid engaging in discussions or passing judgements that might lead to disagreements or resentment. Such conflict can make it difficult to continue collecting the target information. Researchers of both sexes should also be prepared to encounter outright resistance to answering questions. Employers who may be using child labour, for example, or police officers who derive financial gains from "protection" activities associated with commercial child sexual exploitation or child exploitation in the drug trade, may be reluctant to cooperate with interviewers.

Input from government labour inspectors. Effective measures against child labour presuppose that we learn which groups are particularly vulnerable, where working children are to be found, what their working conditions are, and what hazards they are exposed to.

Government labour inspectors are in a position to know where and under what conditions child labour is occurring. They may also have an idea of factors such as the approximate ages and sex distribution of the child labourers. In the course of their regular duties, these officials should be able to help to provide information.

Unfortunately, in fact, their capacity to assist in the research effort may be limited. Sometimes, for example, a country mandates only labour inspection of registered, established, large or medium-sized and, in many cases, exclusively urban enterprises, neglecting the small businesses in the informal sector which employ so many child workers. Again, where private homes employ domestic workers, out-workers, and home workers, the occupant's permission is usually required before these premises may be entered. If permission is refused, the inspector can do little, even where he suspects many people are being subjected to unsatisfactory work conditions. [28]

Other important informants include the many individuals who have contact with families — outreach workers from social service agencies, teachers, members of community organizations, NGO workers, religious and church workers, health centre and women's centre staff, shelter workers, and so on. These individuals are especially important because often they can provide direct contacts with working children and their families. Furthermore, they may be willing to introduce researchers to the area by giving "guided tours" of relevant local community settings, presenting them to some of their own contacts.

Interviewer-informant working relationships. The relationships interviewers establish with some of these informants, ideally characterized by mutual trust and cooperation, may continue throughout the research project. At a later stage, moreover, the interviewers may find it useful to discuss with the informants some of their findings and interpretations. In some cases, these informants may be asked to comment on drafts of parts of the report or to participate in groups and seminars to discuss the preliminary findings. In these ways, informants can help to validate the research findings. Sometimes they are also willing to participate directly in data collection.

Sample questions and issues. There follow some matters that informants may be willing to discuss concerning the working girls and boys in their area:

- principal kinds of work performed;

- age and sex;

- locations where they tend to gather, live, and work;

- whether the parents or siblings are employed, and in what capacity;

- family and household information such as family planning, recent income shocks, and household debt;

- how (if at all) work done by the girls and boys differs from that of the women and men in the same kind of economic activity;

- whether working girls and boys are learning skills useful for later life;

- whether they are also attending school; if not, why not; if they are, what progress they are making;

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[28] ILO. *Report for discussion at the meeting of experts on labour inspection and child labour.* Geneva, 1999.

- the nature of the children's relationship with their employers (for example, are the children free to leave if they want to?);

- the extent and nature of direct surveillance of working girls and boys by employers or their representatives;

- the position of young girls who work, including specifics (are they treated any differently than boys in the same work; and, if so, in what ways?);

- dangers to working boys and girls from aggressive men or women in the work environment (including youth gangs or older child workers);

- direct risk of injury from machinery, heights, diving, etc.;

- amount and frequency of pay, and to whom it is given;

- hours of work and times of day, including night hours;

- characteristics of the work environment (air quality, noise level, dirt, dust, heat, etc.);

- school attendance among the working girls and boys (how regularly do they attend; are they in the appropriate class for their age or are they lagging; are they stigmatized in school by teachers or the other boys and girls for having to work or for the kind of work they do; are they too tired to study?);

- the children's living arrangements and issues such as sickness, absenteeism, eating habits, and available drinking water;

- the children's neighbourhood and family backgrounds;

- whether this form of child labour violate laws (which ones; do any inspectors investigate; what do they inspect if they do?); and

- whether anything being done to change the situation (if so, how and by whom?).

This list of issues can help to identify the problem areas, providing information that may form the basis for policy interventions later.

Importance of organized records. It may be useful to enter some of the information collected on a table of standard indicators (see Annex 1: Supporting technical guidelines) or a similar form, thereby facilitating comparison across interview sites or localities later, and eventually on a larger scale across countries and forms of child labour.

8. Identifying actual research locations

Every RA must find ways of locating the working boys and girls and identifying the places where they can be observed and interviewed. This collection of information from secondary sources is often accomplished through the combined use of:

- official documents;

- conversations with key informants;

- existing household surveys; and

- site visits.

Some of these sources may provide an idea of magnitudes and of where the majority of working children are living and/or working.

8.1 Household surveys

Large-scale, statistically oriented household surveys on child labour have been conducted nationally in a number of countries in recent years. Some RA researchers have adapted the household survey methodology for use in small areas and communities as a way of learning about limited populations where there are presumed to be working children.

Interviews with household members can be helpful in identifying the specific localities where working children live, where some of them work, and what kind of work they are doing. These interviews also help provide ideas of magnitudes, household composition, and children's daily activities and routines. In making these door-to-door inquiries, it is preferable to interview both parents (or the guardian), noting the respondent's role and sex.

A rapid household survey can usually be carried out by two researchers in a few days, depending on how large the survey area is and how receptive the local population is to answering questions. Household survey are thus major timesavers in seeking the requisite information, including such matters as who provides the work, approximately how many children are doing it, their hours, and whether the children also attend school.

This information can serve as a point of departure for more intensive investigation, and may provide enough of a basis on which to select a sample. Household surveys can also provide information about the activities of children remaining at home; those who have been sent into domestic service elsewhere; and those who have emigrated. Surveys have been used also to identify households where CDWs may be employed.

8.2 Other methods of locating concentrations

Reference to earlier RAs on the same kind of child labour may tell researchers something about concentrations of working children in the area currently under study.

One field technique for visible child labour, at least, is to observe the main ways children travel to work in the early morning, and then follow them from their villages or suburbs to their workplaces. Such observations can make it possible to estimate numbers of boys and girls and their approximate ages.

Researchers may want to approach some of these children for interviews or conversations as they are returning home. This technique can also provide some idea of locations and magnitudes for children working on the streets, or for those identified as victims of sexual exploitation in red-light districts. If a tourist area is a target, research hours must be adjusted accordingly.

Researchers often select sites by referring to a number of sources of information, including those mentioned above. The importance of preliminary observations is illustrated in Box 15.

Box 15: Benefits of preliminary observation: An example from El Salvador

Preliminary field observation — visits aimed at determining the RA sample and identifying the target groups — comprised a key part of the methodology used in the El Salvador RA on child labour in the urban informal sector. The research team visited the cities of San Miguel, Santa Ana, and San Salvador. There, team members both approached children working in the streets and spoke with adults working in the streets and the children's parents. Researchers also made detailed observations of activities performed by the children and of their living/working environment. On the basis of this exercise, it was concluded that, among the three cities in question, San

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8.3 Typical observation sites

Researchers might consider the following workplaces as sites for the observation of working boys and girls:

- manufacturing activities, which are undertaken in four main types of setting:
  - factories, which may have high walls, gates, and principal entrances (sometimes with guards),
  - informal industrial enterprises and workshops (also sometimes with walls, gates, and guards),
  - homes (cottage industries), and
  - rural industrial operations located in isolated, difficult-to-access areas (e.g. scattered carpet-weaving loom sheds, small-scale mining);

- urban commercial areas for girls and boys working in the streets or involved in CSE;

- marketplaces for child vendors, porters, assistants, and domestic workers;

- village water sources, especially for CDWs or boys and girls working in their own homes;

- transportation depots, including ferry landings and ports, railway stations, and bus terminals for girls and boys who are beggars, vendors, porters, and/or victims of sexual exploitation;

- locations where commercial sexual transactions occur (streets, parks, bars, hotels, restaurants, tourist areas, dance halls, brothels);

- tourist areas (restaurants and hotels, beaches, parks, cafés) for girls and boys working in the hotel and tourism industry, especially in the tourist season;

- evening informal education centres, which are often attended by working girls and boys;

- roadside restaurants, especially the areas in back where activities such as the washing up are done;

- agricultural and farming areas, including both plantations and farms worked by migrant or hired labour and smallholder farms where children are working for others or with their own families;

- garbage disposal and dump areas, for child scavengers and ragpickers working individually or alongside their families;

- seaside and port areas and villages, for children who work in marine-related occupations;

- city parks, squares and religious institutions, where large numbers of immigrant CDWs tend to gather on their weekly day off;

- drop-in centres frequented by girls and boys working on the streets and/or being sexually exploited and by others; and

- local rehabilitation and child-protection facilities.

Some of these locations will attract large concentrations of working boys and girls. Other working children may be dispersed over a broader area, and fieldwork will involve visiting a number of villages and workplaces.

9. Observation guidelines

Once the work sites have been identified, researchers should set about observing any visible child labour activities.

Interviews may reveal how these children think and feel about their work, but observation can provide more. Researchers should remember, however, that observation is never neutral — inevitably, it will be filtered by the observer's preconceptions and interpretations. Researchers must therefore remain alert for possible biases. The sharing of observations with other team members is one way of ensuring a more balanced picture. Box 16 illustrates one way to overcome biased observation.

Box 16: Observation: Factors in successful teamwork

As noted in *Doing team ethnography: Warnings and advice*, in a discussion of successful team research, "Members should have clear and complementary responsibilities, and mechanisms should be in place to share observations and interpretations. …Systematic sharing of observations and regular ongoing interpretation of their meanings are essential to successful team research. Observations may be shared in several ways. One way is that observers may witness the same event and then discuss it afterward. Second, researchers may read each other's field notes and offer comments, add information, or challenge interpretations. A third way is that teams can hold regular debriefing sessions to present and analyze members' findings."

Source: Erickson, K.; and Stull, D. *Doing team ethnography: Warnings and advice*, Qualitative Research Methods Series 42. Sage Publications, London, 1998, p.18.

There follows additional guidelines:

- In choosing both observation and interview locations, take into account what is already known about the area; accessibility for researchers; and any issues related to how the girls and boys might be approached for interviews.

- Among other things, note the sex of the children, their approximate ages, the activities being performed, whether they are alone or accompanied by others, and the observation time.

- Where possible, return to the area at different hours and arrange to stay there for some time. These repeat visits could reveal, for example, that a morning street market where boys and girls work as vendors, porters, beggars, and scavengers is also a venue for commercial sex exploitation of children at night. In Lebanon, observations were used as a means of identifying the working conditions of children in tobacco cultivation. Researchers were instructed to observe children in their work setting for at least one hour, repeated at different times of the day. [29]

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[29] ILO/IPEC. Consultation and Research Institute. *Lebanon — Child labour on tobacco plantations: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 17. Geneva, 2002.

- Observation can be conducted either covertly or openly. The approach used will depend on such factors as what time during the investigation process the observation is being undertaken; the kind of child labour being researched; and what risks are involved. A researcher usually starts observing without the subjects being aware of this, moving only later to open observation.

- If observations are overt, and the girls and boys ask why they are being watched, explain the research in terms they can understand. Although your presence may influence their behaviour, this effect may only be temporary. Surreptitious observation, on the other hand, will probably be noticed in the end, and may detract from any sense of trust, making further research more difficult.

- Avoid obvious note-taking where possible, but write down your observations immediately afterward. Try not to use video cameras or recorders except unobtrusively while recording general scenes in a locality or neighbourhood.

- Where the researcher is seen to be accompanied by their employer or some official, this may diminish the trust needed later in interviewing the children. If possible, provide some explanation beforehand of why the researcher is to be so accompanied.

- If the research area is large, the territory should be subdivided and assigned to different members of the research team. They can then observe and compare notes later.

- A research assistant should record physical descriptions of each locality, including its location on the site map, available facilities, typical building styles and conditions, proximity of schools, and roads and public transportation.

9.1 Observing children in workshops and industries

Observations of girls and boys working in industry tend to focus on what the children do.

- A diagram of the actual operations should accompany the description of their activities.

- A table summarizing this information, including the sex and ages of the boys and girls and the activities they perform (if applicable), will also prove very useful.

- In some industrial settings, children are assigned the highest-risk tasks; receive no instructions or training; and must perform their tasks without adequate safeguards or protection. Researchers should make careful note of such conditions. Careful observation of all girls and boys working in industry, along with their activities and conditions is especially important, even if they cannot be accessed for interviews. (See below Section 9.3: What to look for at workplaces.)

- If possible, choose a representative selection of enterprises even if only a small number of them can be visited. Particular attention should be paid to small-scale subcontracting firms, where they exist, because these firms often employ the largest numbers of girls and boys working in the most hazardous, unmonitored, and unsupervised conditions.

- Unless the RA has focuses on just one industry, observations and summaries need to be repeated for the various industries in the area.

9.2 Accessing workplaces

Gaining access to factories, workshops, and plantations is not always easy.

Employers may refuse to have their working boys and girls observed, especially if the children are working illegally. The researcher can try to resolve this by arranging an introduction through an influential individual, for example a representative of the employers'

association or other respected local individuals who can explain the research purpose. Researchers should note, however, that many employers expecting visitors tell their under-age or illegal child workers to stay home that day; inflate children's ages; or claim that they are family members. It is often difficult to overcome these obstacles.

In some instances, it is impossible to access workplaces either because permission is denied or because the employer's guards threaten violence. It is unwise to persist in such circumstances. In these cases, researchers must instead observe the workplace from outside, including the comings and goings of any children who may work there. Researchers may then be able to interview some of those children out of sight of the workplace. One RA team whose researchers were denied access to plantations learned about them from drawings done by local school children. The teachers, cooperating with the researchers, asked the children to draw something from their lives, and almost all the children drew pictures that represented some aspect of their work on the flower plantation. This showed the very significant impact of the plantation on their lives.[30]

9.3   What to look for at workplaces

Box 17, below, provides a partial list of what to look for at a work site. This list is important for any work site (especially for industrial sites, agriculture, and mining). Researchers and observers should be especially sensitive to the different effects on working girls and boys, and women and men, of certain industrial processes; chemicals and other materials (e.g. Pollutants in the workplace can affect women's fertility); and to their differing needs (girls and women, for example, need more access than males to toilets and appropriate sanitary facilities).

The table does not include references to system-of-work aspects of OSH related to the work environment. "System of work" refers to accidents and ill health that arise from the way work is organized, rather than from a specific cause or hazard.

Such conditions cannot be summarized in a checklist the way that specific hazards can. These aspects must not be overlooked, however, since they are related to what are by far the most common types of accidents or causes of ill health at a given work site.

A simple example of a system-of-work accident would be the incorrect use of a metal ladder. The ladder is in good condition, i.e. no rungs are missing, but it is standing against a metal bin and is not fastened to the ground or otherwise stabilized. As the child climbs the ladder and his or her weight shifts, the unsecured metal ladder shifts sideways or slips back-wards, and the child falls to the ground and is injured. The lack of instructions and training on how to do the job safely has contributed to a dangerous working environment.

Evaluation of system of work factors is an essential part of workplace risk assessment. Box 17 below provides a list of conditions to watch for when observing workplaces.

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[30] ILO/IPEC. Castelnuovo, C.; Castelnuovo, A.; Oviedo, J.; Santacruz, X. *Ecuador — Trabajo infantil en la floricultura: Una evaluación rápida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 35. Geneva, 2002. Two of the children's drawings were included in the final report.

Box 17: What to look for at workplaces

Work environment

Closed premises (factories or workshops)*
- chemicals
- dirty, badly maintained
- weak walls, roof, floor
- unprotected heights
- exposed wiring
- flammable surfaces
- excessive heat, humidity
- excessive cold, drafts
- small work spaces
- insufficient ventilation
- dust, gases, bad smells
- noise, vibrations
- poor or inappropriate lighting
- slippery floors

Open premises (fields, streets, water)
- work under water
- work at heights
- work underground
- work in confined spaces
- manual handling or transport of heavy loads
- dangerous traffic
- exposure to hazardous agents, substances or processes
- exposure to sun, heat, cold, rain, wind
- insects, reptiles, animals

Tools, machines
- unsuitable hand tools
- unguarded equipment
- power machinery
- tractors, vehicles
- hoisting machinery
- ovens, smelters
- hot irons, welding torches
- pressure tanks
- grinders, polishers
- freezers

Working conditions

Work intensity**
- working hours per day
- period of the day
- number of days per week
- working hours per week
- overtime: whether enforced or a choice given
- rest periods during the day
- tasks performed by boys and by girls, with descriptions including repetitiveness and physical position required for performance

Constraints and abuse
- isolation
- locked doors
- children under slavery or debt bondage
- children working illegally
- sexual harassment
- beatings
- verbal abuse, intimidation
- fines
- health abuses

Emergency and personal care
- suitability of clothing and shoes
- adequacy of protective gear
- availability of drinking water and toilet or sanitary facilities; restrictions on use
- use of separate eating places; whether food is provided
- availability of medical officer, first aid kit, fire extinguishers
- marked emergency exits, ready for use

* There is an overlap between what to look for at closed and open premises. Researchers should take this into account when compiling specific checklists for their research circumstances. To avoid repetition, this table has placed check-list items under the category in which the environmental factor in question is generally more likely to appear.
** Researchers may need to implement different categories of hours when collecting information about work intensity for data processing and analysis purposes. These categories should be in accordance with the related national legislation and international Conventions.

9.4 Other observation settings

It is also very useful to observe working girls and boys during their leisure time. Box 18 provides an example of how a particular RA observed street boys and girls in a youth centre.

9.5 Cautionary note

It is wise to avoid unnecessary publicity during the research. After particular work sites have been observed, researchers — however personally indignant they may feel about what they have seen — should avoid any temptation to have policy-makers, officials, or the media view the conditions for themselves, thereby witnessing situation often difficult to convey in words. Publicity of this kind may render the research impossible to complete for reasons such as these:

- employers may subsequently bar researchers from their premises or the vicinity for either observation or interviews;

- employers may tell the working children to stay away from the researchers if they want to keep their jobs;

- families may feel that their children are being unfairly targeted, and interviews with parents or guardians may thus become impossible; and

- RA teams have found, in some instances that boys and girls already approached several times by researchers for interviews have become resentful of being bothered when few or no concrete benefits accrue. Undesirable publicity can only aggravate this attitude.

10. Some guidelines for interviewing

Interviews and observation lie at the core of the RA methodology. Child interviewees comprise boys and girls younger than 18 years (see Section 5.6: Note on age). Adults may also be interviewed. Researchers should maintain the separation of children and adults in interview material, tabulation, and analysis, even if the children are older adolescents. Tables accompanying the final report must maintain this age distinction both numerically and in terms of actual content. Analysis and interpretations should also disaggregate by sex and age, as well as by other relevant characteristics. For example, girls aged 12 years should be disaggregated from boys of the same age and from girls who are either younger or older. One way to approach disaggregation by age is to consider groups according to legal year of school entry in that country and/or national legislation regarding minimum age for admission

to employment. Behaviour in observation and interview responses can differ markedly, depending on age; so might the children's backgrounds and their future prospects, including school and work experiences. Interviewing young people is a more sensitive and generally difficult undertaking, one with its own set of rules. Interview techniques differ for women and men and girls and boys.

The sections that follow address these and other considerations when collecting information through interviews.

10.1 Use of samples

Samples are used to ensure that those actually interviewed are in some definable way representative of the target group or the universe being researched. Various steps are involved in this process:

- The researcher should determine the target group from which respondents/interviewees will be selected, listing the categories or presenting them on a chart, and including an approximate idea of their numbers, sexes, ages, and locations. The target group should include all hypothetically possible research subjects or interviewees, by category: e.g. teachers, employers, parents, officials, working boys and girls.

- A sample should then be chosen from the target group, since it is usually impossible to interview everyone in the group. The sample can be chosen randomly or purposively, keeping in mind the different categories. In purposive samples, the researcher selects the informants according to given criteria, and tries to interview them within more focused guidelines. This method can result in a "snowball" sampling technique, where the researcher is able to access new informants through others as these become known during the field research. It provides an effective means of identifying a large number of interviewees; including parents and other key informants (see Section: Glossary of technical terms). Box 19, below, provides an example of snowball sampling.

> ### Box 19: Snowball sampling: An example from Turkey
>
> Snowball sampling provided an effective means of identifying interviewees during the RA on working street children in Turkey. Interviews were first conducted with children in front of the main shopping centres, city centres and bus terminals, where many working street children could be found day and night. It was then possible to identify and contact some of the families of these children, and further interviews were conducted. Other families in the neighbourhood — also with children working in the streets — were then reached and included in the sample.
>
> Source: ILO/IPEC. Aksit, B.; Karanci, N.; Gündüz-Hosgör, A. *Turkey — Working street children in three metropolitan cities: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 7. Geneva, 2001, p. 8.

- In cases where access to interview subjects is very difficult, or where the setting is not conducive to research, random sampling within a targeted area can be used. The key selection criterion here is the presence of the interview subject within the category or the area being studied. This kind of sampling tends to be used when investigating girls and boys engaged in armed conflict; those who are victims of CSE; and those working in hard-to-reach areas.

- If the research aims to learn about the various kinds of child labour in a particular area, then the sample selection should be as representative as possible of the economic activities and work sites in which boys and girls work. It is unlikely that perfect proportional samples can be achieved in practice, but it is important to aim for them — child labour advocates often rely on related findings to lobby policy-

makers and administrators to implement programmes to help working children. A balance between boys and girls, and boys and girls of different ages, is also desirable, although not always possible.

10.2 Use of focus groups

Focus groups (FGDs) are discussion groups of individuals assembled to talk about a particular subject, issue or problem, usually under the guidance of a facilitator. Widely used in social research and marketing, they have also proven useful in RAs investigating child labour.

The group members can be drawn from various categories (e.g. boys and girls, both working and non-working; mothers; fathers; or guardians; outreach workers; neighbourhood or community residents; local officials; labour inspectors; employers; and teachers).

Same-sex or same-age respondent groups can prove effective. This is especially true regarding boys and girls, both because they have such different communication skills and because they often respond best in peer groups.

Mixed groups — people from different social categories and of different ages or sexes — will have a different social dynamic, on the other hand, and may reveal unexpected and interesting perspectives.

FGDs are not generally suitable for very young children.

FGDs can contribute most to the research at a variety of points.

- In some RAs, the FGDs are a first stage of research, assisting with social mapping and locating the child respondents.

- In others, these discussions are held after the individual interviews, with the latter helping to establish who will best participate in a FGD.

- In still other cases, the FGDs — themselves a means of interviewing a number of respondents simultaneously — serve as a time-saver, replacing certain individual interviews.

In all interview circumstances, including FGDs, interview subjects must be assured of confidentiality and all relevant ethical guidelines must be followed.[31] An example of an FGD appears in Box 20, below.

Box 20: Conducting focus group discussions: An example from Bolivia

Research on child labour on sugarcane plantations in Bolivia relied heavily on six FGDs that comprised the working children's mothers; their fathers; working girls aged 14 years and older; working boys aged 14 years and older; working girls younger than 14 years of age and working boys younger than 14 years of age. The FGDs comprised about 11 participants each, and they took place in diverse settings (places of residence or places close to the plantations) and at various times of day.

The FGDs each involved three stages:
(i)   organization;
(ii)   implementation; and
(iii) compilation and tabulation of the information gathered.   ▶

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[31] More detailed information on focus groups, including some of the topics on which they have proven most productive in child labour research, may be found in Annex 1: Supporting technical guidelines.

Questionnaires and conversation guidelines were prepared in advance to ensure continuous flow of discussion, all the more important because some participants (especially the children) were tired after long workdays. Main discussion topics included risks, access to safety measures, access to education, access to health measures, reasons for engaging in this work, and the actual tasks performed. After each FGD, the responses and opinions were recorded and the results were then used in the preparation of the final RA report.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Dávalos, G. *Bolivia — Trabajo infantil en la caña de azúcar: Una evaluación rápida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 36. Geneva, 2002.

10.3 Individual interviews

There follow general guidelines for conducting individual interviews.

- The interviewer should be "matched" with the respondent wherever possible, taking into account sex, age, physical appearance and mode of dress, dialect and terminology, etc. This puts the respondent more at ease.

- If possible, the interviewer should be introduced to the respondent by a trusted or familiar person, someone who can also provide a short explanation of the research aims and methods.

- Respondents must always be treated with respect and assured of confidentiality. They should be advised that the interviewer will stop the questioning whenever the respondent wishes (this may happen if the questions become too painful or personal). The most difficult, sensitive questions should be left till the end, allowing time for development of a positive rapport.

- Individual interviews can be structured, semi-structured, or more informal. If questionnaires are used, they must be pre-tested on small numbers of similar individuals before being considered reliable enough for broader use. Careful consideration should be given to questionnaire content, format, language, and length (see the sample questionnaires in Annex 1). Formal interviews with carefully structured questionnaires can be used in some RA situations, but interviewers must adapt their approaches to whatever is feasible in any given circumstances. The mere sight of questionnaires that need to be filled out can sometimes intimidate respondents. Researchers must be prepared to be flexible.

Box 21: Cautionary note on questionnaires: An example from Tanzania

Flexibility in the use of questionnaires, as well as in pilot testing, is very important. The RA team researching child labour on tea plantations in Tanzania discovered, during the first week of fieldwork, that the prepared questionnaires made it too easy for respondents to claim that child labour in the target sector had been completely eliminated, when in fact it had not. New questionnaires had to be developed, ones that asked about child labour in a much less direct way.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Gonza, M.J.; Moshi, P. *Tanzania — Children working in commercial agriculture — Tea: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 11. Geneva, 2002, p. 11.

- In administering only a few brief questions requiring only a few simple responses, researchers may want to use handheld computers to record these, if such devices are acceptable to respondents. In general, interview responses should be written down as soon as possible to avoid forgetting any information.

- Interviewers should not assume that they are always being told "the truth". Sometimes they are told what respondents want them to believe, especially if the child labour in question is illicit. Parents may even lie to hide the fact that their children are engaged in a WFCL, as illustrated in Box 22.

> ### Box 22: A case of parental concealment
>
> In a study of small-scale gold mining, the parents of working children denied that they did so, although all the parents themselves worked in the mines. "In the course of the discussions, however, it became clear that children still participated actively, with about 23 children involved in one type of [mine] work or another. The youngest working child was eight years old, the average age was ten years. Seven parents had one working child, six had two, and three had three children at work".
>
> Source: Jennings, N. (ed.) *Child labour in small scale mining: Examples from Niger, Peru, and the Philippines.* ILO, 1999, p. 58.

Misunderstandings or different understandings of interview questions can also arise.

- For example, as with the situation described in Box 22, boys and girls who work together with their families — whether in extractive industries such as mining, farm work for others, or piecework contracted out to the home — may be difficult to research because mothers and fathers may not always consider their son's or daughter's economic activity as "work", viewing it instead as a normal feature of family life.

- Sometimes a child is absent from the household, having been sent elsewhere as a domestic worker. Even this may not be viewed as "work" by the mother-respondent so much as a "favour" rendered to her by the household employing the child, which is providing the daughter with food and clothing her mother could not afford.

Researchers should keep this problem of differing perceptions in mind during interviews with mothers, fathers, or other members of the household where a child is suspected to work. It may be necessary for researchers to probe further, for example with pointed questions about what the girl or boy does all day, school attendance, time spent with the family, and so on.

10.4 Interviewing children

Interviewing boys and girls is usually more challenging and requires more time and patience than does interviewing adults.

Taking age into account. Children have different competencies at different ages, and the researchers' approach needs to be adapted accordingly. It cannot be assumed that the same questions apply to all children, and it is not recommended to interview children under 5 years of age. Attempts can be made to interview boys and girls in the age range of 5-9 years, asking open and simple questions, sometimes with the help of a "proxy" such as an older sister. (See Section 10.7: When interviewing a child is not possible.) Field experience shows, however, that children aged 10-17 years are more likely to be able to handle the interviews.

Special allowance for WFCL. It is essential to take into account that boys and girls working in WFCL will not necessarily fall into the same age-developmental stage (in terms of psychological maturity) as children who are not exploited in these ways, making the choice of research approach that much more complex. Whenever possible, working with a child communication specialist is advised when preparing interviews for children.

Personal qualities vs training. Though researchers may differ in their interpersonal styles, and some researchers are more gifted at interacting with children than others, techniques of interviewing girls and boys can also be learned. The most effective training methods usually include a combination of role-play and continued practice under supervision.

Building rapport. Since the aim of child labour RAs is to find out about girls' and boys' working and living situations and their thoughts and perceptions about them, building a good rapport is essential. Friendliness and understanding sincerely expressed can go a long way toward breaking the ice with children. Some researchers have participated with them in such activities as sports, social activities, listening to music the children enjoy, and engaging in casual conversation. Others have shared their work lives for several days to gain their confidence. Among fishing communities in El Salvador, researchers made initial contact by holding parties in the community that included food, dance, and role-play activities in which children were encouraged to interview each other. The research team also camped at worksites and took the children on a field trip to the city to introduce the urban lifestyle.[32]

The following box, although it was intended to apply only to researching girls and boys working in the informal sector, describes the general attitude and "posture" that a child labour researcher would do well to adopt in a variety of settings.

Box 23: Interviewing working children: Guidelines: An exemple from Tanzania

The RA on child labour in the informal sector in Tanzania outlines the appropriate approach to take when interviewing children: "Understanding child labourers in the informal sector requires special skills. Working children need to be approached gently, and their confidence gained before they can discuss their lives truthfully. Reaching out to a child worker and engaging him/her in a discussion of life, work and family and his/her feelings is a challenging task. It demands engagement and this in turn calls for a response. In view of this, finding out about working children was a task undertaken with a commitment to action".

Source: ILO/IPEC. *Tanzania — Child labour in the informal sector: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 14. Geneva, 2002, p. 7.

Some working children — accustomed to daily hardships and the constant need to fend for and defend themselves — will tend to cope with interviewers by concealing or distorting information. Where boys or girls have worked for employers from a very early age or in a very repressive environment, they may learn to make themselves as unobtrusive and inconspicuous as possible. An unfamiliar woman or man who comes to ask questions will initially be viewed as a threat. Moreover, boys or girls interviewed in or near their workplaces, or who work most of their waking hours with insufficient sleep, food, or kindness and few chances to play can hardly be expected to respond in a trusting or relaxed manner.

Cross-checking for accuracy. Interviewers who, whether intentionally or not, are given dubious information, must cross-check the replies later for accuracy.

An example involves the reasons for their migration given to interviewers by boys and girls who had left their home villages in Laos PDR and Myanmar to work in Thailand. "While almost three quarters of the children interviewed said they were motivated by a desire to help their family financially, only half were actually remitting funds home… The overwhelming majority of the parents of the children interviewed had no information or only partial information on their child's situation".[33] The detailed analysis presented by this RA also shows

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[32] ILO/IPEC. Godoy, O. *El Salvador — Trabajo infantil en la pesca: Una evaluación rapida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 31. Geneva, 2002.

[33] ILO/IPEC.Wille, C. *Thailand-Lao People's Democratic Republic and Thailand-Myanmar border areas — Trafficking in children into the worst forms of child labour: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 1. Geneva, 2001, p. 2.

how important it is to collect and analyze information disaggregated by sex, since girls who had emigrated were found to remain more responsible over time toward their families of origin.

Where and when to conduct interviews. Approaching girls and boys while they are working is usually impracticable. They should rather be engaged in conversation either before or after work, and only out of sight of the employer.

Vicinity of homes sometimes a problem. If children are approached for interviews near their homes, family and friends may tend to interfere with (sometimes wanting to participate in) or block the interview, and the interviewer must be prepared to react to such a situation.

Using familiar, "safe" venues. Interviews with children are often most successful in settings where people they know can assure them of the interviewer's benign intentions. These settings may include drop-in or rehabilitation centres, schools, or NGO offices familiar to the children. The introduction to a single child respondent arranged by a community or NGO outreach worker can sometimes provide just the opportunity the interviewer needs, leading to other children to interview.

Spontaneous gatherings of boys and girls. Such venues can prove productive, since children often become more outgoing, given the increased confidence that comes with being among friends and workmates. They may talk about their work, their employers, even about personal issues such as drug use. If they welcome the interviewer's interest, they may wind up inviting so many friends that the researcher is overwhelmed with willing respondents, and it becomes necessary to limit the size of the group and attempt some semblance of sampling by age, sex, kind of work, etc.

Duration of interviews. In general, the interviewer should adapt proceedings to whatever makes the girl or boy feel most comfortable. Interviews should usually not last more than an hour. Where necessary, they may be broken into two sessions. Respondents, especially young children, tend to get tired or bored, and their attention will wander if interviews are too long.

Ethical issues. Interviewing children can give rise to ethical issues.

Guarding against ill-grounded assurances. As mentioned already, some boys and girls may have been interviewed earlier by other researchers and no longer have patience for interviews, especially when previous interviews were not followed by apparent benefits. RA researchers must guard against giving the children assurances that this time things will be different. [34]

Questions of compensation. Another ethical problem concerns payment: Some girls and boys may ask to be paid for their interview time. RA teams often debate whether this is appropriate; some teams suggest providing children with a meal or a snack after the interview as a less direct way of offering compensation. [35]

10.5 Interviewing children in rural or dispersed environments

Interviewing boys and girls working in rural or widely separated environments involves special problems.

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[34] An RA team in Nepal, for example, addressed this problem during training: "The training of enumerators and field personnel included a thorough examination of the issues of ethics and informed consent when working with children, and utmost care was taken in the interviews to avoid raising unfounded expectations". ILO/IPEC. Kumar, B.; Gurung, Y.; Ahikari, K.; Subedi, G. *Nepal — Situation of child ragpickers: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 4. Geneva, 2001, p. 8.

[35] See Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations, for more on this debate.

Household-based surveys. Where the children live with their families, such methods as household-based surveys in hamlets and villages may locate them at home. (See Part II, Section 8, for more information on household surveys.)

- If children located in this way consent interviews, these should be conducted some distance from their homes and, if possible, not in the presence of other members of the household.

- The children should be asked not only about their own activities but also about those of other girls and boys in the same locality and age group. (All questions should differentiate by sex and age.)

- They should also be asked about migration to other areas, reasons for it, whether the boys or girls who left went alone or were accompanied, and whether any have since returned.

- They should be asked about their work (if they work), their schooling, their family's work, their family's relative status in the locality, and so on. These interviews can prove to be important sources of information about workplaces the researcher may not be able to visit; concealed or hidden occupations; and migration patterns and tendencies.

Other rural community venues. General stores, community halls, religious institutions, and central agricultural markets can all make good observation and interview locations. Teachers, preachers or ministers, officials in local government, shopkeepers, café employees, and others can all be possible informants — identifying working children and, perhaps, providing numerical estimates and introductions as well as further relevant information. Approaching teachers and children in the village school, if there is one, may aid in identifying children who also work and in finding a "natural" control group. (See Part II, Section 11, for more information on control groups.)

Approaching plantations or large farms, carpet loom sheds, and other rural work sites may arouse employer or overseer suspicion, since the interviewer is obviously an outsider. Children who are very difficult to interview include those working on plantations or construction and mining sites under supervisors or overseers, and those who live on the property. Box 24 provides an example of the difficulties of conducting individual interviews on plantations, showing at the same time how resourceful observations by RA teams can verify the use of illegal child labour.

Box 24: Researching child labour on a plantation: An example from Tanzania

The RA team investigating child labour on tea farms in Tanzania postponed their visits to the actual plantations till near the end of their research, "when all tea plantation managements would think that the researchers had already finished their job and left for home. [Otherwise] when managements know that there are officials or researchers [present] in the … district for child labour issues, all managers of plantations are ordered through radio calls from [the head office] not to allow children to work on their plots until the researchers have left the location. … At the end of the fieldwork the researchers made a surprise visit to one of the plots where they found hundreds of children plucking tea, but the majority of them ran away to hide in the bushes nearby when they saw the strangers [the researchers]." The children themselves, aware that their work is illegal, tried to hide from the researchers.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Gonza, M.J.; Moshi, P. *Tanzania — Children working in commercial agriculture — Tea: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 11. Geneva, 2002, pp. 10-11.

Children working in "nomadic" occupations, where they frequently change location, need to be interviewed at the various work sites, if possible, or at their temporary living quarters. The researcher may need to move around a good deal to follow them. Even when

researching such dispersed sites, some attempt should be made both to interview a proportional sample in each locality and to talk to parents and other informants.

Where migration patterns need to be understood, it can be "of great importance to understand the demographic variables of children involved in the labour process [age, sex, and district of origin]. For the purpose of interventions this information is expected to be very useful and was thus collected during the interviews with the working children".[36] That RA, also quoted in Box 25 below, suggests that conducting interviews at several work sites can collect information that provides a basis for numerical estimates and differentiation of work patterns.

Box 25: Researching a "nomadic" child labour population in mining: An example from Tanzania

As the Tanzania Child labour in mining RA noted, "All of the children interviewed at Ngapa mining site were living with peers, employers or adults, and not with their biological parents. … This is explained by the fact that … in the case of Ngapa, children had moved independently to the mining site in search of quick money or simply for subsistence purposes".

The RA was also able, through interviews, to determine why most children engage in mining. "The quest for money was reported to be the main driving force for working in the mining sector," the study reported. "… In Ngapa it was noted that children working in the mining sector remitted funds back home more often than children from other working groups".

Source: ILO/IPEC. Mwami, J.A.; Sanga, A.; Nyoni, J. *Tanzania — Child labour in mining: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 15. Geneva, 2002, p. 27.

10.6 Cautionary note

Interviewers of children must be trained to cope with sensitive situations. Exchanges may touch on highly personal topics that arouse deep, sometimes upsetting, feelings in children (even in adolescents). When this happens, questioning must cease immediately and comfort should be offered to the child. A psychologically skilled counsellor should be available when needed — someone with professional experience must be included in the research team, especially if the research concerns such issues as bonded labour or child trafficking; children engaged in armed conflict; and CSE.

Interviews sometimes reveal that a child is the victim of a threatening work or family situation. In such cases, removal, usually with the help of local organizations, must be arranged immediately. Appropriate contingency plans should be made before research begins, and should include knowledge of the relevant local organizations and services and of how to access them. A list of these resources should be ready to pass on to respondents who need it.

It is ethically irresponsible for interviewers to arouse the painful emotions of a young girl or boy or an adolescent and then abruptly end the interaction, letting the young person remain in a situation where physical or psychological harm threatens.

10.7 When interviewing a child is not possible

Sometimes, for instance with the very young, it is impossible to interview a child. Alternative or complementary methods include:

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[36] ILO/IPEC. Mwami, J.A.; Sanga, A.; Nyoni, J. *Tanzania — Child labour in mining: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 15. Geneva, 2002, p. 27.

- role-play (see Annex 1, Section 2.4);

- asking the child to draw a picture and describe it (see Part I, Section 9.2);

- showing the child photographs to elicit comments;

- asking a child who knows how to write to share a narrative or account; and

- showing the child a diagram or map and asking questions about it (always remembering that diagram and map reading are also learned abilities).

Annex 1, Section 2, provides methodological support and detailed examples of these approaches to gathering information from children.[37]

10.8 Research with children

The fundamental goal of child-centred research is the development and improvement of projects, programmes, and advocacy.

Some boys and girls, both working and non-working, may wish to help with the research process. This should be encouraged, so far as possible making the research participatory. Ways in which children can participate include the following:

- Older girls and boys can be consulted throughout the research process.

- They can also take on more active roles such as assembling and leading focus groups of children their own age or younger; helping to write questionnaires; conducting some of the interviews; and developing fun and informative activities that serve to familiarize other children with the research.

- They can help with school (classroom) assignments related to the research, which may be useful both for locating boys and girls who would not otherwise have been identified and for directly collecting information from the students that would not otherwise have been obtained.

- If appropriately guided, they can help to collect life and work histories and daily activity logs from some of the child workers, a time-consuming but important task.

- When the bulk of the research is completed, they can comment on its findings and help in formulating action recommendations.

- They can participate in raising awareness by speaking at presentation seminars or post-research feedback forums and by interfacing with the media.

- On a more personal level, they can communicate with boys and girls at risk (and their parents), trying to dissuade them from entering into the kind of work or exploitation that they themselves experienced.

The participation of boys and girls who are themselves the focus of the research brings clear benefits:

- It helps ensure that the subjects of the research — the working children — are appropriately targeted and understood.[38]

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[37] The Toolkit, Part III of the Regional Working Group on Child Labour, *Handbook of action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children*, 2002, will also be helpful in selecting the appropriate methods.

[38] "Significant knowledge gains result when children's active participation in the research process is deliberately solicited and when their perspectives, views and feelings are accepted as genuine, valid evidence". Christensen, P.; James, A. *Research with children: Perspectives and practice.* Routledge Falmer. London and New York, 2000, p. 31.

- It also helps to build self-confidence among the participating girls and boys so that they can begin to acquire self-assurance in expressing themselves and become better able to assert themselves in public forums in future. This is a learning process, and, although the participation in RA research may be a short-term experience for each individual boy or girl, it nonetheless lays a foundation for continued social action and participation.

Participatory research presents its own special challenges, however.

Caution should be exercised, for example, in selecting children to present their own "stories" to the public. Children should not be pressured by researchers or stakeholders to put their own unhappy situations (past or present) on display during presentations of the research results. Such pressure is not only unwelcome, it may, given their vulnerability, actually prove contrary to the best interests of the boys and girls concerned. Researchers should observe all relevant ethical guidelines in this regard. [39]

11.   Cross-checking and verification of findings

11.1 Use of control groups

Whether control groups should be used in child labour RAs depends on the particular circumstances of any given research. Keeping in mind the needs of the target group, it is important to ask whether using control groups will prove an efficient approach in terms of resources and time.

Advantages of control groups. When this approach is feasible, it should be used, since it builds a stronger case for positive change than would otherwise be the case. The more conclusive results also serve as a valuable tool in advocacy and fundraising activities.

Inferences about causal pathways are clearly best made when children in the WFCL are compared to those in non-WFCL or to those not working at all. Also important are data that emphasize the demand side in comparing individuals or companies employing children under non-hazardous conditions, or not at all, to those hiring children under hazardous worst-form conditions. This kind of information generates both a more comprehensive view of the issues and more effective policy interventions.

Alternative to control groups. Even where systematic collection of this kind of comparative data is feasible in principle, using control groups may be impracticable because of the additional demands on resources of time, money, and energy. Where control groups are not used, parents of non-working children and employers who do not use child labour should instead, whenever possible, be interviewed for comparison purposes.

Natural control groups. Sometimes "natural" control groups present themselves. An example would be children in similar circumstances to those being researched except for one principal characteristic, for instance that they do not work. Researching these children, where feasible, can help researchers better understand the factors that push some children and not others into the labour market. This can lend some insight into the pathways leading to child labour, and is particularly important in investigating its worst forms. Some of these "natural" control children can be located by asking currently working girls and boys whether they know of any children who used to work with them and who have left, why, and what they are doing now. [40]

Boxes 26 and 27, below, give some examples of how such "natural" control groups have been used. In the Philippine study of drug trafficking, three groups were targeted: those currently using drugs; those in rehabilitation centres; and those who, although living in a

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[39] See Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations.

[40] The identification of such children could also be useful for *tracer* or follow-up studies, which are not addressed in this manual.

drug-ridden area, never had any involvement with drugs or the drug trade. This three-way comparison helped the researchers understand what factors tended to foster a drug-free childhood.

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Box 26: Use of "natural" control groups: An example from the Philippines

The following information emerged from the RA on children's involvement in the drug trade in the Philippines: "A comparison of children who were involved in the drug trade and those who were not shows that sex, family conditions, family's financial situation, schooling and peers are factors that impact whether children enter the drug trade or not. All the community-based respondents not involved in the drug trade belong to communities where the drug trade was present. Being a girl and having a family — especially a stable and harmonious one — helped them resist being part of the trade. Another factor was that they were relatively better off than children involved in the drug trade and did not have to support themselves or augment family income. They were also not influenced by peers because most of them did not belong to gangs. Almost none of the respondents in this category who knew that the drug trade was present in their community were encouraged to join the trade. Apparently, their family atmosphere was not receptive to their use of drugs or involvement in the trade".

Source: ILO/IPEC. Lepiten, M. *Philippines — Children's involvement in the production, sale and trafficking of drugs in Cebu City: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 22. Geneva, 2002, p. xiii.

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A natural control group was employed in a Tanzanian study of child labour in the informal sector, making it possible to assess the role of the family in determining whether a child works or not.

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Box 27: Family influences on whether children work:
An example from Tanzania

The RA conducted on child labour in the informal sector in Tanzania examined the influence of family on whether children work.

"Like working children, the majority of non-working children (60 per cent) lived with both parents. The remaining 40 per cent was equally divided between children living either with their mothers only (20 per cent) and with their relatives/guardians (20 per cent). It should be noted that there was no non-working child who lived with their father only, with other adults, with friends/peers or alone as was the case with the working children. Still, the conclusion that one can draw from these findings is that family status does not have a direct impact on determining whether a child should work or not. Other intervening variables, however, such as income, parents' irresponsibility, and death of the parents seemed to play a significant role in facilitating the process".

Source: ILO/IPEC. Kadonya, C.; Madihi, M.; Mtwana, S. *Tanzania — Child labour in the informal sector: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 14. Geneva, 2002, p. 30.

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Internal control groups. Sometimes "internal" control groups exist within the target group. The target group, although composed entirely of working boys and girls, may comprise some who work full time while others work part time and attend school for rest of the day. These built-in differences within a target group can function as internal control groups, helping to measure the impact on the boys and girls of the child labour in question — identifying factors that compel some children to work full time while others do not choose to do so; revealing which boys and girls are more at risk compared to others and why; and so on.

Success stories. Related to the identification and use of control groups, whether natural or constructed, is the use of "success stories" for comparison purposes. Here, research might

include children who are not working even where others do work; firms that do not hire child labour even when others in the same industry and region do; and cases where entire industries (such as the Tanzania horticulture sector) do not employ children.

11.2 Verifying information and interpretations

Here are some ways to verify findings:

- Use multiple sources of information to ensure that information agrees across sources.

- After the preliminary results have been tabulated, or earlier, discuss interview findings with knowledgeable informants. Are the results consistent with what they know about child labour in the area, about conditions in similar workplaces, and about the family and living situations of working children? Is there a better way to get this information, or should more information be sought?

- Compare the statements of different informants to check for basic agreement regarding facts and interpretations.

- Compare the information provided by informants with written sources, including newspaper accounts and unpublished studies, and with what is already known by researchers.

- Compare informants' statements with researchers' own observations in key locations. Where there are discrepancies, seek the reasons behind them. Is an informant distorting information for some reason? Is the information out of date? Have things changed? If so, how and why? Was the informant correct for one small sector, but not in generalizing to the entire area or the entire industry or to other groups of children? (Each time discrepancies surface during this cross-checking process, more information must be obtained in order to decide which of the conflicting sources is more valid and credible.)

- Check the information obtained from adults against that provided by the boys and girls interviewed.

- Check the information provided by male respondents against that provided by female respondents.

- Return to a key location again to check the accuracy of your maps and to note important details about the children's work in the area. You may notice more details during a later visit, especially after having talked with and interviewed some of the area's adults and children.

C. Analysis and presentation of findings

By the time RA research has reached the stage of data analysis and presentation, many groups and individuals have invested great resources of time, energy, and finance. Now the completion of the investigation lies within sight, and anticipation of the results are building. Nevertheless, some of the most important tasks remain:

- data review and analysis;

- production of a final report; and

- public dissemination of the new-found information.

Without accurate and well-presented findings, the outcome of the RA may be compromised.

12.   Data review and analysis[41]

One pitfall in RA research can involve collecting a great deal of information and then failing to draw upon it all for analysis and interpretation.

- RA research aims to reach actionable conclusions and interpretations after taking "all the facts" into account. Researchers should use all the information they collect, or nearly all of it. Since collecting data requires time, money and effort, they should not collect unneeded information.

- After collection and analysis, the information should be disaggregated, insofar as possible, according to specific needs, requirements, purposes, and kinds of children's work according to local legislation. If this is accomplished at the collection stage, the review and analysis stages will have a more flexible, potentially more fruitful body of data to work with.

- The collected data should undergo preliminary analysis and some coding as early as possible, and these procedures should continue throughout the research.

- It is strongly recommended that a plan of analysis be developed in advance of the data-analysis phase.

- Preliminary findings and any problems should be discussed frequently among the researchers, as they may suggest a direction for the remainder of the research or point to useful hypotheses or tentative interpretations.

- These discussions may even reveal that the researchers already have enough information to arrive at a clear point and thus, further data gathering can cease.

- On the other hand, the researchers may find that they must continue to dig deeper. They should beware of being satisfied with too facile and obvious a set of interpretations that might be misleading or mistaken.

- A first stage in the analysis is to tabulate all observations and the transcribed interview notes, as well as all questionnaire data. This is a relatively standard (although time-consuming) procedure that involves breaking up and sorting the data and information obtained into its various component subjects, topics or issues, and assigning codes to them. As additional topics emerge during the research, new codes can be added to the code list.

- When coding data, all efforts should be made to maintain the richness of the information collected. Data analysis can often employ a social science computation package such as SPSS.[42]

As certain themes or patterns emerge during the data collection or tabulation process, researchers should begin to think about their significance relative to the kinds of child labour investigated. The patterns may raise questions or require interpretations that only further findings can satisfy.

There follow examples of areas in which patterns may tend to emerge, all of which would need to be further investigated for the specific kind of child labour under investigation:

- the distribution of working children across economic activities in relation to their gender and age, and the identification of kinds of work to which boys are more susceptible than are girls;

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[41] See also the ILO/IPEC. *Manual for child labour data analysis and statistical reports.* Geneva, 2004.

[42] See Annex 1: Supporting technical guidelines.

- the relation between minority ethnic or racial characteristics and the kind of work children do;

- the economic status of children's families and engagement of the children in certain work at an early age;

- family composition or dysfunction, and their relation to whether or not a girl or boy works;

- school attendance history as it relates to the kind of economic activity the girl or boy performs;

- comparison of the kind and amount of work performed mainly by boys or girls who have had little or no schooling with that performed by other children of the same age who combine work with school attendance;

- evidence of any gender, age, or other pattern among boys or girls who are engaged in more than one kind of work in the same day or week, or alternating between types of work in different seasons, tending to combine less dangerous economic activities with more harmful ones; and

- evidence of gender or other patterns in the predominant pathways that many boys and girls appear to follow into the WFCL, and of the most significant related influences and motivations.

The identification and validation of themes and patterns — which may involve the re-aggregation of some disaggregated data once the pattern has been identified — is one essential goal of research about child labour. This can provide a contextual understanding of what, both now and in their past, is really going on in the lives of working boys and girls. Patterns may help to explain why the children and others like them enter the labour market, which sectors and by what means they enter, and with what ramifications. The process helps to get at the most important questions for those whose goal it is to help working girls and boys:

- which working children need the most help;

- what kind of help they most need;

- where it should come from;

- what likely path will other young boys and girls like them follow into the labour market in future; and

- how this outcome may be altered or modified.

Such analysis and interpretation should help to identify the pressures brought to bear on the young girls and boys, the sources of these pressures, and the measures needed to counteract them. It will contribute to shaping successful action-oriented projects and programmes. Those researching the WFCL, broadly understood, will have many additional questions relating to what projects and programmes can and should do, and how they should go about doing it — or, at the very least, what further research needs support and encouragement.

13.   Writing up and presentation

Researchers need not wait until data collection and analysis are completed before starting to write up the final report. Parts of it, at least in draft form, can be prepared very early. The introductory material in particular, with its overview of the context (see Checklist 4 below), should serve as a very useful reference for the whole team during the research process.

The material should be presented in a given logical order, the better to capture the attention of stakeholders and policy-makers. It is important that, firstly, they actually read the

report and, secondly, that they understand its significance. The recommended format is clearly set out in advance, but sections of the report will vary depending, among other things, on the type of child labour under investigation.

13.1 Elements of the final report

Upon completion, the report should contain the following elements:

Checklist 4: Elements of the final report

- Title page.

- Acknowledgements.

- Acronyms and abbreviations.

- A **table of contents**, including a list of tables, boxes, charts, diagrams, etc.

- The **members of the research team**, including their names and their titles both within the research and in their professional or other work. If they are not affiliated with any organization, give their educational background and research experience in two or three lines. Presenting the researchers' credentials lends weight to the research findings; however, if security issues are of concern for the researchers, this part should not be included.

- An **executive summary** of approximately three pages providing information about the setting, the reasons for the research, the kind of child labour investigated, the research methodology used, any problems or difficulties encountered, the principal findings and conclusions, and the resulting recommendations.

- The **framework for the research** should be provided, including general information delineating the type of child labour being researched and placing it within the broader spectrum of child labour, children's rights, and gender equality. This chapter should present the applicable international Conventions and standards. It should specify what national laws apply to child labour in the country and region concerned, especially to the type of child labour being researched. It should mention all NGO and government initiatives to date, any research that may have been conducted (with whatever sponsorship), and any prior programmes introduced together with their outcome.

- A **very short background chapter** should present the relevant historical, geographical, and socio-economic features of the area and of the larger region within which it lies. This information should include the predominant kinds of work available in the economy, levels of adult labour force employment, wages, and attitudes among employers and employers' associations, trade associations, and trade unions. If there has been recent migration or other sources of change that may have affected the availability of work for men and women, and for girls and boys, it must be mentioned, along with information regarding the relevance of gender issues for understanding and analyzing child labour. This chapter should also briefly describe the area's schools, their distribution, and how well they are equipped and attended at the various levels.

- The **research methodology**, as adapted to the research in question, must be described, including among other things the formulation of the research plan, the various steps taken, sampling and interviewing procedures, time and access issues. The report should also mention any difficulties encountered and their effect on the research. The questionnaires used should be included in an annex. This chapter should say how many children, family members (if any), and key informants were interviewed, and from which categories. The reader should find a compendium of the information sources upon which the findings are based.

- The **findings** should then be described in detail, making use of tables, charts and/or graphs. The researchers should focus on what factors they have found most relevant in explaining the nature and extent of child labour. Some analysis of the families of the working children should be provided, especially those features that

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have an impact on the child labour investigated. The analysis should include community and parental perceptions and values about child labour as well as actual behaviour and the related risk characteristics. It is often just as important to report on what is not found as what is found. For example, debt may be found not to be a relevant factor in one particular context; yet if it appears to be important in another study, further research might usefully explore why this difference exists and investigate the possible mediating factors in cases where it is not a significant factor. The report should also focus on the views and perceptions of the boys and girls who were interviewed — their views about the kind of work they do and their working conditions, their obligation to their families, the relation between work and school, etc. It should address the question of the pathways into the same kind of child labour for other children, and should identify or profile children at risk as perceived by the children interviewed. If the child labour is one of the worst forms, particular findings will relate what families and the children themselves know about the harmfulness or legality (or both) of the work the boys and girls are doing. What are the causes of child labour in the area; what forces continue to reinforce and nourish it; and what is the future likely to hold? This chapter should include a description of the work the children do; its frequency and other features; the rates of remuneration and to whom pay is given; the average educational levels of the working children interviewed; the relation between work and school and between work and skills training; etc. The findings will be all the more tangible for readers if accounts of their work that was provided by the girls and boys themselves are included in the report.

- The report then presents **its conclusions**, which summarize the most important findings and substantiate them.

- **Detailed recommendations** follow, separated into categories according to the audience for whom they are intended and according to whether the action recommended is likely to be undertaken in the short, medium, or long term. The stakeholders for whom these recommendations are intended might include government officials at various levels, NGOs, the community and its leaders, parents and families, the educational system and local school personnel, and employers. Each recommendation should target the appropriate group, depending on the action being suggested. Annex 1: Module on supporting technical guidelines, provides a useful example of how the recommendations of one RA report were structured.

- The report should contain, where required, a **glossary**, **documentary sources** or **bibliography**, **tables**, **graphs**, and **annexes**. Very brief descriptive life histories of some of the working children (with fictitious names) should be included in **boxes** at various points in the report, as should particularly striking citations from key informants, children, or other respondents.

13.2 Linguistic and computational considerations

The language and terminology used in the final report must be clear and unambiguous. The report should be read by an expert editor so that it is linguistically correct when presented to potential donors and others. Sufficient time must be allocated, where necessary, for translating the text. The final report should not include more than 50 pages of text, plus charts, tables, lists and annexes; and it should include only what is essential. Photographs and/or illustrations can be included as long as confidentiality and security issues have been addressed. All names should be changed, and specific place names or locations that might identify the respondents should not be included.

Statistical and computational accuracy are essential, so that anyone who questions the report's findings can verify the calculations. There may be individuals hoping to cast doubt on findings that, while accurate, are politically or socially unpalatable.

13.3 Research team report discussions

Researchers should attend the presentation of the results.

During the research process, those directly involved in the research, including sponsors and supporters, should meet frequently to discuss any problems or issues that may arise. This may help to fill in critical gaps in the material or overcome research difficulties. This group can also consider the best way, since the subject matter and findings may be sensitive, to present the final report to the public and to influential individuals and organizations.

13.4 Public presentations and discussions

Presentation to the public can start with informal talks and gatherings, including the sharing of findings with those involved in the research, i.e. key informants and working girls and boys or other child respondents (students, non-working children).

It can be accompanied by press releases that outline the key findings and recommendations.

A larger public meeting can then be held where those most likely to be primary actors in future child labour action (e.g. a government agency) can play a lead role. The guest list should include trade unions, employers' organizations, government agencies, international agencies, NGOs involved with child labour, and interested donors in the country.

Those involved in the research may also be invited if appropriate. This meeting should be led by a qualified moderator. The actual presentation of the report's contents should be made by research team members. A *rapporteur* records the proceedings and later distributes a summary to those who participated. Discussion should be critical, and, if possible, guided toward suggestions for the best kinds of action to be taken. The benefits of a public presentation of the final report are presented in Box 28, below.

Box 28: Using RA findings for national awareness raising: An example from Brazil

The researchers who presented their report on children involved in drug trafficking in Brazil to the interested public found that doing so stimulated the broader dissemination of findings, and generated much national reflection on the situation. It fostered the sharing, in a systematic way, of the experiences that resulted from efforts to fight child participation in drug trafficking and drug farming. It also resulted in proposals concerning national and integrated strategies to tackle the problem.

Source: Fee, J. *The use of the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology for awareness raising. Brazil: Situation of Children in Drug Trafficking.* Presentation for the Technical Seminar on Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour. Geneva, 2002.

13.5 Dissemination of RA findings

The RA process should not end with publication of the report and presentation of the findings.

Besides the organization of a national planning meeting (see Section 13.6, below), there should be ongoing dissemination of the findings. To see that the RA results reach as many different audiences as possible, an assortment of products are recommended:

- translated versions of the reports;
- informational leaflets offering the key findings and recommendations for action;

- media-friendly guides;

- CD-formatted results; and

- simplified, illustrated brochures for children and adults with limited levels of formal education.

The posting of information online provides another valuable means of spreading the RA findings.

13.6 Formal national planning meeting

Where a national planning meeting is held, it should adopt as high profile as possible.

- The meeting is best held in a formal setting with an official printed agenda.

- It should pursue the basic objective of achieving national acknowledgment of the particular kind of child labour researched, of its effects on the children, and of any related violations of legal and international standards.

- It should seek to obtain a formal commitment to an agreed-upon course of action from the authorities, trade unions, employers' organizations, NGOs, international organizations, and the community at large.

- The presentation of the RA report should be followed by discussion of concrete and feasible action-oriented proposals.

- The meeting will have added impact if boy and girl respondents, or involved adults, are present and are given some speaking time. (See Part II, Section 10.8, on ethical considerations when involving children in public presentations.) The RA aims to have the national planning meeting accomplish more than merely generate press reports and news articles. Ideally, it will also lead to a policy statement and public commitment to immediate action.

PART III: Researching harder-to-access child labour

1. Introduction

This part of the manual addresses ways of researching working boys and girls who are particularly difficult to access. These kinds of child labour include the following:

- girls and boys performing hidden work (e.g. CDWs, usually girls, working inside the homes of others);

- girls and boys performing illegal/illicit activities in communities (e.g. drug trafficking);

- girls and boys in CSE (as sexual partners and/or in pornography);

- girls and boys who have been involuntarily trafficked;

- girls and boys working as bonded labourers; and

- girls and boys engaged in armed conflict, whether as part of rebel or government forces.

These categories sometimes overlap. A boy or girl who has been trafficked may have been sent into some kind of forced labour. A kidnapped boy or girl may be in a military unit or sexually exploited (or both). A girl engaged in drug trafficking may also be a victim of CSE in order to support a personal drug habit. A boy or girl domestic worker may be led into CSE. Sometimes boys and girls are involved in these kinds of activities part of the time (or part of the year) while doing "normal" work or attending school the rest of the time.

Legal issues. Most of these kinds of activities are concealed from public view, either because the activities involved are illicit or because it is illegal for a boy or girl to be doing it.

Safety and health issues. Many of these illicit/illegal activities are also physically and/or psychologically harmful. A boy working as a bonded carpet weaver is working in a harmful economic activity that is illegal because of his youth and his unfree relation to his employer. A girl involved in drug trafficking is engaged in an activity that is both illegal and dangerous. Most of these activities are classified among the WFCL as defined in ILO Convention No. 182; they also violate international human rights agreements passed to protect children from abuse and exploitation. The definition of "the worst forms of child labour" as put forth in Article 3 of ILO Convention No. 182 appears below, in Box 29.

Box 29: ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999, (No. 182): Article 3

For the purposes of this Convention, the term the worst forms of child labour comprises:

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

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

(c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and

(d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Employers a main factor behind concealment. Employers may attempt to prevent or limit, in one way or another, the contacts of boys and girls being used as forced labour by keeping the children in relative isolation and preventing them from running away. For example:

- Traffickers of children are careful to conceal their operations.

- Child labour "employers" engaged in the illicit drug trade are similarly careful. Children engaged in the drug trade, furthermore, know enough about the illegality of their activities that they themselves are secretive.

- Some boys and girls in CSE may be found in public venues, but others remain hidden in their homes or in an employer/exploiter's brothel.

- Girls and boys exploited by units in armed conflict may prove a mobile population difficult to locate and approach, and they are typically prevented from escaping.

- Child domestic work, as such, is not a worst form of child labour — this depends on the conditions of work in any given circumstances, as well as on other factors such as age — but the child may remain concealed from public view most of the time because the place of work is a private home.

Gender issues. Some of the WFCL are more common among one sex than the other.

Girls are disproportionately represented in the following areas:

- child domestic workers in households throughout the developing world; and

- trafficked children destined for brothels or other commercial sex venues.

Boys predominate in the following activities:

- mining;

- deep-sea fishing;

- heavier agricultural operations; and

- drug trafficking.

Gender stereotypes do not always hold:

- in some areas boys are also victims of CSE and domestic work, and they may be trafficked for other forms of child labour as well; and

- many journalistic sources note the increased exploitation of girls in military units.

Some areas for RA research. In Part II, guidelines were presented for accessing and learning about children in more isolated and geographically dispersed work sites where the work may or may not qualify as WFCL. Drawing on the experiences of RA researchers, Part III makes suggestions for researching some of the areas mentioned above, specifically:

- child domestic work;

- children exploited in the commercial sex industry;

- children involved in drug trafficking;

- children engaged in armed conflict;

- child trafficking; and

- child labour and HIV/AIDS.

Estimating numbers. Because most of these activities are not readily visible, obtaining magnitudes of the children involved is often quite difficult. Some estimates can be

calculated by combining careful observation, household surveys, information obtained from knowledgeable informants, and the use of secondary sources. Researchers can also use quantitative techniques suggested in Annex 5: Module on quantitative approaches for supplementing RA findings; these, however, are often impracticable with the kinds of children's work under discussion.

Different kinds of child labour require different research techniques. This is particularly true of the "hidden" occupations. No manual can provide for so many different circumstances, and each research team will need to adapt recommended methods and procedures to best suit their own circumstances. Techniques used will depend upon the kind of children's work in question and its context.

The time factor can be especially important in conducting RA research — investigating hard-to-access child labour tends to take longer. Fewer boys and girls may be interviewed than are in other kinds of RA research, and research may be more dependent on other knowledgeable individuals, more of whom may need to be interviewed in order to get statistically reliable findings.

But using such informants involves concomitant risks (see Box 30, below, for more information on the limitations of specific informants), and verification and cross-checking are essential. Researchers must draw on their own knowledge of the relevant socio-cultural context when weighing information and when choosing appropriate strategies for observing and gaining access to the working boys and girls. They must also carefully select the key variables they wish to consider, and focus on collecting information about them.

Researchers must be prepared to witness extreme abuse and exploitation when researching any child labour, particularly the harder-to-access forms. As mentioned earlier, important ethical considerations arise in the course of such research. The role of the researcher must be discussed in advance, and contingency plans should include guidelines for how to proceed after witnessing intolerable circumstances — always bearing in mind whether and when it is possible to denounce the situation, and how this may best be accomplished. [43]

Box 30: Proxy informants who may have information about the WFCL and trafficked children

Type of informant	Potential limitations as research participants
Former children in prostitution. Trafficked children who have been rescued.	May suffer additional harm in remembering and talking about experiences. Counselling may be required.
Trafficked adults.	May suffer additional harm in remembering and talking about experiences. Counselling may be required. May have little knowledge of child trafficking.
Traffickers, in jail and outside.	May lie, but their lies (and self-justifications) are important to note in themselves.
Police and Immigration officials.	May be able to provide access to official records. Could be involved with traffickers. May lie, but their lies (and self-justifications) are important to note in themselves.
Local NGOs, such as human rights organizations and women's groups.	May use stereotypical explanations and unreliable anecdotes. These are important to note in themselves, but must not be taken as "truth". ▶

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[43] For a thorough discussion of these issues, see Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations.

Type of informant	Potential limitations as research participants
Outreach workers, such as social workers, medical staff, and HIV/AIDS activists.	May have good information, but may also provide same stereotypical and anecdotal information as local NGOs.
Court officials in legal cases involving children.	May be difficult to access, but can provide excellent secondary data if good rapport is established and official permission is negotiated.
Clients of prostitutes.	Can provide information about the demand for children in prostitution, but it is usually difficult to gain their confidence and cooperation.
Labour inspectors.	May have no direct information about children, but can be a good point of entry to places of employment.
Local officials and residents in areas of known trafficking such as borders or truck stops. Includes café owners and taxi and truck drivers.	Worth interviewing or involving in FGDs, if possible. But beware of raising too much local interest in the research and alerting criminals. This can put the research and researchers in danger.

Source: Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL). *Handbook for action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children*, 2002, Box 7, p. 21.

2. Researching child domestic workers (CDW)

Although child domestic work is not always a worst form occupation, its investigation is difficult because the boys and girls working in this activity work individually in private homes.

One RA goal may in fact be to determine whether or not the child domestic work (CDW) under research is a worst form. Today, this kind of child economic activity is receiving a great deal of attention from both researchers and activists, undoubtedly because it does often turn out to be a worst form, with serious implications for the well-being of the children involved. Box 31 provides an illustration of the growing concern about CDW.

Box 31: Child domestic labour as a worst form: An example from Nepal

Although a general belief exists that domestic labour provides disadvantaged children with a relatively safe, comfortable option out of poverty or other forms of child labour, case-by case investigation of working conditions among child domestic labourers in Nepal points to this occupation as one of the WFCL. Based on the research, 47 per cent work excessive hours (over 16 hours in the case of school goers and 14 hours for non-school goers — see the note below) and 79 per cent work at night (until or beyond 9 p.m.). About 10 in every 100 CDW are probably bonded: parents have incurred debt from the employer and the children are not free to leave the employer until the debt is repaid. Of the total, 53 per cent do not receive any pay, although many are instead given the opportunity to go to school, which from the viewpoint of the employer justifies the failure to pay wages. Seven per cent are employed before the age of 10.

Note: School-going CDW are still required to complete domestic tasks. Thus their labour begins earlier in the morning and ends late at night. Children probably calculate their working hours from the time they wake up until the time they go to sleep.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Sharma, S.; Thakurathi, M.; Sapkota, K.; Devkota, B.; Rimal, B. *Nepal — Situation of domestic child labourers in Kathmandu: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 3. Geneva, 2001, pp. 26-27.

2.1 Target issues and behaviours

There follow some key CDW issues:

- most generally, whether a given instance of CDW represents a worst form;
- how the girl or boy was recruited, and whether his or her status is free or bonded;
- whether the child comes from a specific ethnic group, nationality, caste, tribal grouping, etc.;
- the child's socio-economic, cultural, and family background;
- the general working conditions, including whether or not debt bondage is involved;
- whether the child can come and go from the household and has freedom of movement;
- whether the child is underage according to national legislation;
- whether the child is adequately fed, clothed, and provided with rest and leisure time;
- whether the child is allowed to attend school, and what his or her previous schooling has been;
- whether the child experiences abuse or sexual exploitation;
- whether the child experiences social isolation or is ever left completely alone (perhaps even being locked in) for long periods during the family vacations;
- whether reasonably frequent visits home are permitted;
- to whom pay (if there is any) is given;
- what interventions are operating, if any, and in what institutional framework; and
- what the perceptions and experiences of child domestic labourers are.

The researchers must investigate these issues for a sufficient number of children (a large enough sample) if the findings are to have research validity, realistically portraying the nature, extent, and incidence of child domestic work in the area. These determinations are not always straightforward, and may give rise to additional research questions. Researchers must then decide whether or not to pursue these.

First, however, because so many CDWs do not live in their family households but have migrated away from them (whether voluntarily or involuntarily), the researchers will need to decide whether to:

- restrict their research to the communities and neighbourhoods where these children now live and work; or
- undertake research among their families in their places of origin.

If researchers choose the latter, travel to the various "sending" communities will be part of the research. The research planners will need to provide for this, including travel and the engagement of interviewers familiar with the culture and local dialect of the sending areas. Only through such sending-area collection of information, in many cases, can researchers come to understand the dominant parental motivations and community attitudes about sending young girls and boys to work in the households of others far away.

2.2 Background research

Researchers should collect background information from the following sources:

- **all published and informally obtainable information** about the region and its child population, and estimates of the working child population, including any known estimates of girls and boys working in CDW;

- **all applicable legislation** concerning working children in the region, especially children working in the homes of others;

- **organizations or agencies** active on behalf of children in domestic work (they may also be serving other kinds of working children as well), including the provision of evening schools or drop-in programmes (What is the rate of child attendance, by age and sex? What is the estimated rate of attendance by CDW, by age and sex? What activities are these children pursuing in these programmes?);

- **individuals working in these organizations** who may know something about the children's work situations, and who may also be aware of violence and sexual exploitation in particular households, even its frequency and extent; they may have an idea of how many girls and boys are "hidden" CDW, and who are not allowed to move about freely and who do not attend any of the centres;

- **knowledgeable informants**, both women and men, who should be asked to make their own rough estimates of CDW magnitudes and sex distribution among these children and, in particular, to identify their geographical and social origins; they also should be asked whether there is current demand for such CDW and, if so, among which kinds of local households, whether there is active recruiting of boys and girls from outside, and, if so, the identity of the recruiters and whether trafficking is involved;

- **agencies that recruit domestic workers** — related advertisements and brokers can provide important information;

- **rates of police intervention**, if any, in cases of domestic abuse involving child employees, and the nature of the cases concerned (these figures will be an undercount, since domestic violence concerning a CDW will most likely be concealed by the employer unless it is quite severe; police should be asked whether any informal information has come to their attention, even if the households concerned must remain anonymous); and

- **health clinic or hospital records**, to see whether they identify CDW, or whether any child workers have come to the clinic for treatment (this will provide an undercount of the child domestics who have become ill or had serious accidents, since many will remain untreated or be treated by the employer; but it may provide a basic idea of the health status and accident rates among CDW).

2.3   Identifying, accessing, and interviewing CDW

There are various ways to identify, access, and interview CDWs; some of these are described below.

- Visits by researchers to night schools, religious institutions and drop-in centres that serve some CDW can be fruitful. So is frequenting open areas where CDW tend to socialize and meet their friends (including parks, railroad stations, and cafés); this can provide occasions for observation, even for interviews.

- Trade union members and personnel can help both to identify and to access the CDW. In one RA,[44] the task of questionnaire administration was assigned in part to representatives of the national trade union, which had offices in all the districts selected

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[44] ILO/IPEC. Kannangara, N.; de Silva, H.; Parndigamage, N. *Sri Lanka — Child domestic labour: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 26. Geneva, 2003.

for investigation. They collaborated with both governmental and nongovernmental organizations in gaining access to the respondents.

- Those CDW who can circulate freely and are not held under close surveillance by employers may prove a source of information about other, "hidden" CDW in their neighbourhoods.

- CDW can be observed, and sometimes approached, while they are running errands in local markets or shops. They often accompany their employer's children to school, and can be seen and perhaps interviewed during these twice-daily trips. Working children may also collect water for the household at the local fountain or water source.

- The personnel of NGOs, women's groups, community organizations or other agencies who are familiar with local families may be able to indicate which families employ CDWs, and whether these children are kept under close surveillance. Teachers will often know which young children are accompanied to school by child workers who do not themselves attend school. Neighbours, local shopkeepers, street market workers, and others familiar with the neighbourhood, including local religious leaders, may be able to indicate households with working children tied to them. Individuals such as plumbers, deliverymen, garbage collectors, and porters who provide services to the homes should also be approached. These inquiries all aid in identifying the neighbourhoods and households where CDW (including hidden CDW) live and work, and in forming some estimate of their numbers.

- Rehabilitation centres for young children and adolescents may be able to provide introductions.

- Household surveys, which often identify those households that employ children as household help, have a special importance in CDW research. They are especially useful if the areas to be researched (communities, neighbourhoods) are limited in size. The surveys will be more successful during holidays and weekends and when conducted by local interviewers who are known in the community. Some countries, such as Brazil and South Africa, have gathered national information on CDWs through household surveys. [45]

- Surveys in school classrooms can help to indicate the extent of CDW in a community or neighbourhood, sometimes also revealing hidden child labour. In Sri Lanka, an extensive school survey was conducted to assess the use of CDW in private households in five major urban centres and to gather data on the age, sex, and ethnic origins of the working children as well as their employers' socio-economic status. Although the findings indicated a low rate of CDW employment, the methodology remains valuable, and the results might be different in other countries. (See Box 32 below.)

Box 32: School surveys: An example from Sri Lanka

Following high-level permission to administer a questionnaire to schoolchildren in the selected districts, a school survey served as part of data collection procedures for a RA on child domestic workers in Sri Lanka. Entitled "Who lives in my house?", the questionnaire was answered by over 7,500 Grade 4 and 5 students. The third page asked the students whether there was a "helper" in the household, and a positive response led to questions about the name, sex, age, ethnic origin, and kind of household work performed. Space was provided for information regarding up to three

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[45] ILO/IPEC. Haas, F.; Oliveira Muniz, J.; de Oliveira Lima, J. *Brazil — Child and adolescent domestic work in selected years from 1992 to 1999: A national report.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 40. Geneva, 2003; and ILO/IPEC. Budlender, D.; Bosch, D. *South Africa — Child domestic workers: A national report.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 39. Geneva, 2002.

2.4 Interviewing "hidden" CDW within the household

Interviews follow identification of households where "hidden" girls and boys are living and working, but obtaining a large sample under the circumstances may prove difficult. (In some countries — legal provisions notwithstanding — it is considered neither shameful nor embarrassing for an employer to have a CDW in service — it may even be seen as a status symbol. Thus, employers may not conceal their child workers from visiting interviewers.)

- It may easier if the interviewer is female, where dealing with a female householder/employer, and if the interviewer is of the same ethnic affiliation as the employer.

- Problems may arise, however, in attempting to interview the working girl or boy in the employer's presence. Children in household service must be interviewed privately so that they can feel free to talk openly about their problems and express their feelings. Employers often refuse requests for privacy, however. Two techniques have proved useful for circumventing this obstacle:
  - With an RA investigating child domestic work in Nepal, two interviewers visited the home together. While one of them interviewed the employer, the other interviewed the child in a different room. [46]
  - A second technique, useful for researchers and interviewers with acquaintances and friends in the area, involves drawing on these contacts to provide introductions to the household. Local interviewers with good contacts may thus gain the employers' trust and allay fears about their motives. Access to the household may then be allowed even when the employer is out, so that the child domestic can be interviewed alone or an appointment can be made to interview the child later outside the home, perhaps at the market or schoolyard. [47]

- Former CDW still in the area can act as contacts and interviewers, providing introductions to the households where they worked or are known, if they left on good terms. Researchers, however, should take care to differentiate any interview replies given by these ex-CDW from those provided by current workers, since age and time differences may affect responses and will need to be clearly stipulated in the tabulations.

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[46] ILO/IPEC. Thakurathi, M.; Sapkota, K.; Devkota, B.; Rimal, B. *Nepal — Situation of domestic child labourers in Kathmandu: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 3. Geneva, 2001.

[47] Compare the account of a very determined Bengali anthropologist, Therese Blanchet, who managed, using this technique, by herself to interview 80 children in domestic service in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Her method and findings are described in her book, *Lost innocence, stolen childhoods*. University Press, Dhaka, 1996.

- Young people who are 18 years or older can provide useable information, as long as this is tabulated separately from information obtained from those younger than 18 years. These young adults can also act as interviewers.

- Another technique for eliciting information from a working child about relationships with an employer is role-play, as illustrated in Box 33, below.

Box 33: Role play as a means of understanding children's relationship with their employer: An example from Ethiopia

As one method of data collection, the RA on child domestic workers (CDW) in Ethiopia used role play by the CDW themselves.

"Role-play took place in the evenings at the Evening School where the child domestics attend. The actors were selected from child domestics who attend school. Child domestics who are less shy, have more verbal intelligence than other child domestics interviewed, who appear to know more about the predicament of child domestics, and who are willing to actively participate in the role-play were selected. The child domestics selected the contents of the acts. Ample time was given for the preparation."

"ACT 1. How the lady employer of child domestics treats her child domestic employer and her attitude to the child domestics are portrayed. The characters acted out were a child domestic worker, a lady employer, two guests who came to visit the family, and a relative of the child worker who came to visit her. The audience was comprised of students from the class of the actors."

"ACT 2. How a son of the child employers harasses and tries to abuse a child domestic of 15 years is portrayed. The characters portrayed were an employer's son, a child domestic who is harassed, another son of the employer, and the lady employer who was present at the beginning of the play but then departed. When she left the house the boy started to harass the child domestic by touching her body, twisting her arms, pulling her towards him, trying to fool and induce her by giving her sweets, forcing her to touch his body, and trying to kiss her and the child domestic tries to resist the boy. The audience was comprised of students from the class of the actors."

Source: ILO/IPEC. Kifle, A. *Ethiopia — Child domestic workers in Addis Ababa: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 38. Geneva, 2002. Annex 4, p. 71.

2.5 Questions for both employers and their CDW

Below is a checklist of suggested questions to ask employers and their CDW. They need to be adapted to the circumstances, but the responses of children and their employers to the same set of questions may be revealing. (Note: If employers are contacted in advance about the interview, they can distort the reality of the workplace.) It is also important for the researcher to make notes about the child's apparent physical health and spirits, the condition of the sleeping area, clothing, and so on. These observations must be written down as soon as possible after the visit.

Checklist 5: Questions for both employers and their CDW

- Number of hours worked per day, days worked per week, length and frequency of rest periods;

- tasks performed: whether any carrying of heavy loads; use of hot irons or hot water, sharp knives, or electric appliances; work in extreme heat or cold;

- food given: how much and how often;

- whether own bed, own room provided;

- leisure time: how much and how often; activities during leisure time; freedom to leave the home; any socializing with other children; ▶

- school attendance; if so, to what level and how often; time given to do school assignments when child is not too tired;

- visits with own family members, their frequency, and the child's family situation;

- treatment by the employer and family;

- punishments given, how often, by whom, for what reasons;

- sexual exploitation, and, if so, by whom;

- whether any injuries have occurred, whether serious or not, and what was done about them;

- whether child/employer is aware of any laws that apply to the employment in question; and

- whether child is aware of any helping agencies.

2.6   Research in the sending communities

Researchers who have already conducted research where the girls and boys work will have an approximate idea of their sex distribution and ethnic and geographical origins. Now they may want to travel to the sending communities.

Access to hidden children. Some RA researchers have also found this to be a good way of accessing the "hidden" children, who are often so hard to approach in their working environment. For example, in the Sri Lanka RA,[48] researchers were able to conduct structured interviews with hidden CDW when they returned to their villages for a major holiday. Contacts for these interviews were made through the trade union, which supplied local interviewers who were given training to administer the questionnaires. According to the RA report, "They visited the households and identified the children who have come home for the festive season and obtained consent from both the parents/guardians and the child to conduct the interview. The interviews were held at a place where both the child and the administrator were comfortable, at the same time ensuring privacy for the child". [49] Researchers should keep in mind, however, that this technique has an ethical dimension — the time such working children spend with their families is limited, and needs to be respected, as does their leisure time.

Push factors. A principal focus for CDW research should continue to be learning the mothers' and fathers' reasons for sending their girls and boys into domestic work — the "push" factors. Researchers will want to investigate how much the family or household is responding to a poor or desperate economic situation, to the persuasion of agents, traffickers or relatives from the city, or to specific family difficulties such as parental abandonment, remarriage, heavy indebtedness where the child's labour may be used to repay a loan, and so on. The motivations of one family may be different from those of another, but learning the predominant factors in a community is essential to planning prevention and intervention programmes.

Parental awareness. Another principal focus, often overlooked, should be the extent to which parents actually know about the living and working conditions of their son or daughter, the degree of concern about it, and whether the parents feel able to improve their child's situation where this is advisable.

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[48] ILO/IPEC. Kannangara, N.; de Silva, H.; Parndigamage, N. *Sri Lanka — Child domestic labour: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 26. Geneva, 2003.

[49] ILO/IPEC. Kannangara, N.; de Silva, H.; Parndigamage, N. *Sri Lanka — Child domestic labour: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 26. Geneva, 2003.

3.   Researching children in commercial sexual exploitation (CSE)

Boys and girls are exploited for various sexual purposes, among these as sexual partners and in pornography. Some children have been trafficked into CSE, either directly or by way of other types of child labour. Other children have been forced into CSE as a last resort to support themselves or their families. In all cases — whether a child under the age of 18 is engaged in a sexual activity for survival, financial gain, or because of coercion — it is considered commercial sexual exploitation. CSE is an unconditional worst form of child labour, meaning that, regardless of the conditions of the activities, it will always be considered a worst form under ILO Convention No. 182.

3.1   Target issues and behaviours

CSE research addresses the following issues and behaviours:

- How long have boys and girls been exploited in sexual activities in the area under investigation? How many boys and girls are currently involved; in what kinds of CSE; serving whom; who is exploiting them; is the extent of this exploitation currently increasing or diminishing; and, if so, why?

- By age and sex, what are the ethnic origins and living and working conditions of the exploited girls and boys? What is the respective gender status of boys and girls or men and women typical of this area?

- Is the children's participation in CSE a full-time or part-time activity, and why? Do these children attend school? What is their health status, if known?

- What are the children's pathways into CSE, and how long do they remain in it? What were the "pull" and "push" factors that led to their engagement in these kinds of activity?

- What national and local laws pertain to CSE? What have been the attitudes and behaviour of local police, health officials, etc. concerning boys and girls in CSE in the area?

- Is the use of children in sexual exploitation organized, and, if so, by whom? Is it linked to other organized activities such as trafficking and/or drug trafficking, or other criminal behaviour?

- What are the social identities of the employers/exploiters and pimps, and of the individuals who use the children's sexual services, including their sex, ages, ethnic origins, lifestyles and social backgrounds, range of contacts, and places of residence? How long have these individuals been engaged in such activities, and why?

- Is the boys' and girls' sexual exploitation "voluntary"? Is it known to their families and, if so, what are the families' attitudes and roles in its perpetuation? Is migration involved? Are family-related push factors involved?

- What about rehabilitation following CSE — what services are available; how and to what extent are they accessible? How often are they used? What are the outcomes of rehabilitation and the social reintegration of former CSE boys and girls?

3.2   Background research

Background research should involve the following:

- Consult all available written records, including:
  - research studies and reports;
  - research reports on other areas where CSE is prevalent (noting the content and approach used);

- police reports on the area, where accessible;
- health records;
- journalistic accounts; and
- tourist accounts.

- Conduct conversations and interviews with secondary informants, some of whom are listed in Box 34, below, concerning children in CSE. This information will provide researchers with background information and suggest appropriate research sites.

- Establish contact with informants. This is particularly important in this kind of research because boys and girls in sexual exploitation are frequently "invisible", and may engage in activities clandestinely due to the usually illegal (and often socially unacceptable) nature of CSE.

- Organize FGDs with secondary informants, especially knowledgeable adults, where possible, as an effective way of collecting background information.

- Select the target age group, varieties of sexual activity, and venues.

- Identify the children's places of residence. Then determine whether the children are involved in CSE directly from their homes, on the streets, or in public places, either while still living at home or while living elsewhere.

- Many girls and boys may have migrated far from their regions of origin, and researchers will need to travel to these areas if they wish to interview members of the children's households of origin. This will entail considerable research planning and budgeting.

Box 34: Sources of information on children in commercial sexual exploitation (CSE)

Children in prostitution
- At play
- At home
- At work
- In institutions

Children in prostitution
- Pharmacist
- Researchers
- Prison staff
- Journalists
- Lawyers
- Police
- Social workers
- Condom sellers
- Clients

- Parents
- Health workers
- Brothel, bar owners
- Pimps, brokers, agents
- Children who used to be sexually exploited
- Adult sex workers
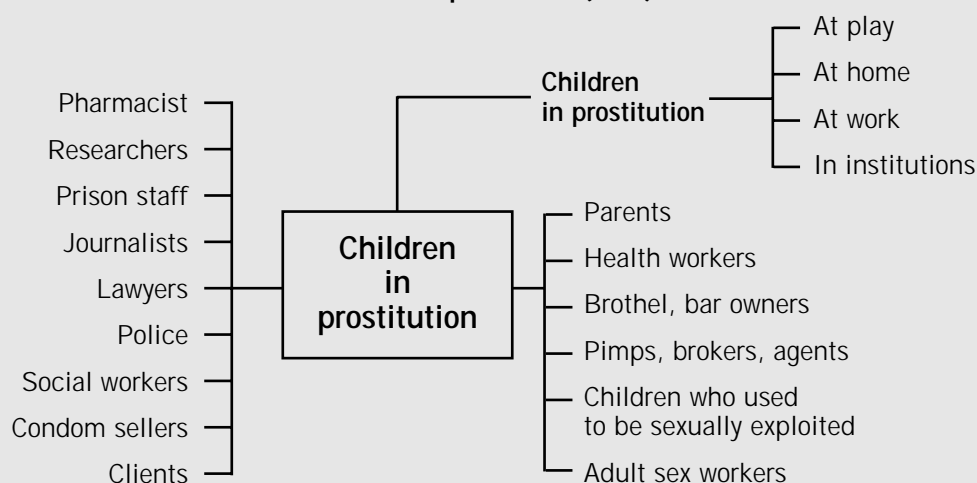
Source: Adapted from Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL). *Handbook for action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children*, 2002, p. 63.

3.3   *Note on terminology*

The interview terminology must be adapted to those being researched.

Researchers may come from social or ethnic backgrounds or regions where terms are different or are used differently. This can be especially important where expressions have sexual meanings different from those normally understood by the respondents. All

questionnaires and conversations must use terminology easily understood by informants, and the researchers should be aware of language's cultural "load", particularly where expressions convey innuendos or double meanings.

The final report should include a glossary of terms, including slang and dialect, and their definitions, thereby trying to avoid any misinterpretations of the findings. Attention to appropriate terminology is especially important in CSE research, because the same terms used acceptably by one group or in one culture may be considered offensive in another, and improper usage may compromise the research.

3.4   Site observation

Site observation follows identification of the target research areas.

- Researchers should spend extended time in the target areas, walking through them at various times of the day and night.

- In tourist areas, researchers must be alert to what occurs on beaches, in cafés, in the shops nearby, or in the back streets. Only with repeated observation will these observations become meaningful.

- Where red-light districts are selected, researchers should spend time, especially at night, observing the people and activities in the bars, cafés, and dance places. (Brothels may usually not be visited; bars may prove easier to access.)

- The numbers and kinds of sites selected will depend on available personnel and the research focus.

- The sex of the researcher is important to consider; and researchers may need to travel in pairs, especially if one researcher is female and the districts or locales are considered dangerous. Throughout CSE research, proper attention should be paid to security measures for both male and female researchers.

- Researchers should attempt to estimate the numbers and ages of the boys and girls observed, their likely ethnic origins, and social class. Observations should be made of any open and public behaviour between children and commercial sex offenders, the activities of any intermediaries, meeting places, and chosen sexual venues.

- Notes should be careful and detailed, but written down later, away from the sites. Estimates should be noted of the numbers, identifiable ethnic features, ages, sex and modes of dress (including external evidence of social class, where possible) of the individuals actually using the children's sexual services, the pimps and brothel owners who exploit them, and anyone else in the area apparently involved in CSE.

- Maps of the areas should be made identifying specific landmarks and sites where boys and girls in CSE are visible at certain times of day or night. All indications of possible hidden use of children in CSE, for example the locations and frequenting of brothels, should also be written down.

3.5   Accessing and interviewing the children

Some girls and boys are simply not accessible, given the places they are exploited. Others may not readily acknowledge their participation in the activities under research.

Informants and contacts. The delicate nature of this research makes it necessary to rely for contacts and access to informants who are known to the girls and boys and generally within the target milieu. These informant-contacts — who should comprise both men and women — may include probation and childcare officers, hotel owners and employees,

three-wheel or cab drivers, tourist guides and touts, and any others who might be helpful, once a good rapport is developed, in introducing the children to the researchers.

Some CSE children may eventually help by leading the researchers to other such children. Such was the case with an RA on CSE in Sri Lanka.[50] Also in Sri Lanka, soldiers on duty were helpful in accessing some girl children in ethnic war zones. On the other hand, "even though there was information about children who engaged in sex activities at guesthouses, hotels and brothels, the research team could not find children directly at such locations since they carry out the activities secretly".[51] Other children were interviewed in rehabilitation facilities after permission was granted by the relevant authorities. A study of CSE in the Caribbean[52] found that only the girls in private care institutions could be interviewed, and even then only by trusted and experienced social workers. This research team found that outside of this group, invisibility remained a major challenge.

Ethical consideration. In general, researchers should take care not to pressure children into being interviewed or into revealing sexual or other information they appear reluctant to talk about. Ethical guidelines must always be observed.

Variety of interview techniques. Once the children have been identified and have agreed to be interviewed, researchers can apply a variety of interview techniques. These included semi-structured interviews (depending on the ages of the children); the collection of daily logs and life histories; and sentence completion. Older boys and girls can be used as aides to interview others whom they themselves identify, thus giving them an important role in the collection of information and some "ownership" of the findings.

Questionnaires. Under some circumstances, questionnaires can be used. Questionnaires were used with both children and their parents in the Sri Lanka research,[53] for example:

- If questionnaires are used, they must be pilot tested in the research context, especially for appropriate use of terminology (see Section 3.3: Note on terminology, above).

- The researchers must also check that their own physical appearance and self-presentation is acceptable.

- Questionnaires should be kept out of sight until an interviewer is sure they will be accepted; the mere glimpse of a questionnaire has proven a disincentive in some CSE research.

- Even formal interviews without questionnaires may turn out to be impractical in some settings, and researchers will have to rely on conversations instead. It would be difficult, for example, to administer a questionnaire to CSE children during their time in cafés or bars, which may be the only place researchers can access them (many CSE sleep during the day, or do other work).

- On the other hand, the researchers may find that their presence in the community doing research on CSE serves as a form of local awareness-raising, and actually arouses interest among the respondents.

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[50] ILO/IPEC. Amarasinghe, S. *Sri Lanka — The commercial sexual exploitation of children: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No.18. Geneva, 2002.

[51] ILO/IPEC. Amarasinghe, S. *Sri Lanka — The commercial sexual exploitation of children: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No.18. Geneva, 2002, p. 34.

[52] Bowrin, L. *Caribbean Child Labour Project: Use of rapid assessment findings for awareness-raising activities*, Presentation for the Technical Seminar on Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour. Geneva, 2002.

[53] ILO/IPEC. Amarasinghe, S. *Sri Lanka — The commercial sexual exploitation of children: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No.18. Geneva, 2002.

Special training for especially sensitive interview situations. Researchers need to be specially trained for researching CSE. It is important that they treat the children respectfully, no matter what kinds of sexual activities they are engaging in or what they may reveal during interviews. Researchers need to know how to elicit details of the types of sex acts to which the children are exposed, or in which they have participated, without displaying visible reactions or making moral judgements. They must also — as in all child-centred research — be trained to help children who break down, or to know where to seek help. They need to have ways, too, of dealing with their own feelings and reactions about what they hear or observe. The daily or at least frequent exchange of perceptions and reactions among members of the research team can help to relieve some of the related stress.

The following two boxes relate to two separate RA research experiences. The first describes the appropriate attitude on the part of researchers and the attitudes they should inspire in those, especially children, whom they approach for interviews. The second provides an account of accessing children in a very difficult field context, one where exploiting children for commercial sex is both illegal and severely punished.

Box 35: Appropriate attitude in researching CSE: Guidelines from Jamaica

The summary of an RA investigating the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Jamaica had this to say about appropriate researcher attitudes:

"A variety of rapid assessment research methods should be used and data triangulated to verify information. A high level of professionalism is required. Identifying and collaborating with key informants to get access to the target group of children, building trust, rapport and confidence, respecting confidentiality, probing leads to make children more visible and moving beyond the barriers of social and personal prejudice are key elements for conducting this kind of research."

Source: ILO/IPEC. Dunn, L. *Jamaica — Situation of children in prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 8. Geneva, 2001, p. 10.

Box 36: Reaching hard-to-access children in CSE: An example from Viet Nam

Experiences of the RA team in Viet Nam when researching CSE included the following:

"Since prostitution, particularly child prostitution, is illegal in Viet Nam and is severely punished, many establishments offering such services are invisible to outsiders. Thus an extensive search was made through the social networks of the research team for clients who knew the establishments and, more importantly, were familiar to the employers. Although this task was time consuming, it was very crucial because only through them could the interviewers contact the employers and seek their consent to conduct interviews with employees. This was not always successful, however, and the interviewers also had to rely on the assistance of the resource persons in meeting the children outside their workplace, in gaining their trust, and in making them feel like friends through social activities such as picnics and movies. Only when such trust was established and agreement from the children was obtained could the actual interviews be conducted. Also, with the support of the Viet Nam Women's Union in Ho Chi Minh City, the team contacted members of Doi dong dang nu, a group consisting of former sex workers who volunteer to do social work, to seek their help in approaching sexually exploited children for the interviews."

Source: ILO/IPEC. Le Bach D. *Viet Nam — Children in prostitution in Hanoi, Hai Phong, Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 16. Geneva, 2002, p. 11.

Keeping samples separate. Researchers should guard against over-using older children — children who used to be sexually exploited — and adult sex workers, unless they are careful to specify how many were interviewed and what specific information they provided.

Adults (18 years and older) who were sexually exploited several years ago cannot be grouped together, as part of the same sample, with children currently in CSE. While their information may be important, even crucial, it must be clearly identified as being from a separate sample, providing the respective ages of the informants. Similarly, any girls and boys younger than 18 years interviewed in rehabilitation facilities, or who are no longer in CSE, must also be identified as a separate sample.

Another situation requiring special sensitivity. Interviewing some of these girls and boys can require special sensitivity. They may be "returnees" who have been trafficked into sexual exploitation and then come back to their home area, where they may be suffering related social stigma. The choice of either male or female interviewers is also an important one, in such circumstances, as it is in interviews with any children in CSE.

3.6   Learning about employers/exploiters and clients/exploiters

An important task in CSE research is contacting and interviewing the exploiters, including both pimps and those individuals who buy the use of children for sexual activities. These two categories of individual constitute the "pull" factor: Without them, there would be no girls and boys sexually exploited for commercial purposes. Researchers need to learn about their activities and the economic, social, and moral framework within which they operate.

Gender issues are doubly relevant, in this case:

- in most areas the majority of exploited children are girls; and

- some employers/exploiters and procurers are female. (Researchers should recognize at the same time that, in almost all cases, the client/exploiter population for the sexual exploitation of children is male.)

Depending on the legal situation, some exploiters may work more openly while others operate more clandestinely. Individuals — especially those operating in secret — are best accessed through informants who know them. Identifying and interviewing individuals who work as intermediaries or trafficking agents is unlikely, unless these people are introduced to the researchers by informants.

In the process of making the necessary contacts and trying to set up interviews, researchers must take special care concerning their own safety.

Once contacts have been made, the most pressing issues for investigation are the environments that permit employers and pimps to operate successfully, and the relevant "pathways" — the ways in which children are introduced into them.

Researchers also need to ask about any provisions taken to protect the children's health.

Researchers should attempt to learn as much as possible about the individuals who seek out sexual contacts with children. This includes their social backgrounds (particularly whether they are local or foreign; whether they are permanent or temporary residents of the area), ages, marital status, and economic status.

It is likely that too few interviews will be obtained to constitute a proper sample, and, where this is true, it should be clearly stated in the report. One RA was able to construct lists and tables of which types of clients/exploiters frequented the various selected sites, including their probable national origins and occupations, ages, and levels of education and affluence.[54] From this, it was possible to describe the types of individual who tended to prefer

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[54] ILO/IPEC. Kamala, E.; Lusinde, E.; Millinga, J.; Mwaitula J. *Tanzania — Children in prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 12. Geneva, 2001.

and seek out children for sexual services. Because a preference for children characterizes certain clients/exploiters but not others, this information about the purchasers of services is essential in order to plan programmes that will reduce the demand side of CSE.

3.7   Research with parents

Researchers sometimes succeed — as in the Sri Lanka example mentioned above, where questionnaires were administered to both children and their parents — in interviewing the parents or families of girls and boys engaged in sexual exploitation. This makes it possible to assess:

- the extent of knowledge (if any) of mothers, fathers, and/or other members of the household about what the child is doing;

- their attitudes and feelings about it; and

- whether they played any role in either facilitating the pathway into this activity or in attempting to prevent it.

Mothers and fathers should, if possible, be interviewed about these matters separately, in private. Researchers should try to learn whether the parents are profiting from their child's activity, or whether they have done so in the past. Is their child's activity known in the community and, if so, how is it viewed? How is the family whose child is known to be engaged in CSE viewed? What alternative activities/work were available to the child?

Researchers should ask about the conditions of available schools and whether the parents were disposed to send their child to school. Their attitude towards their child's future needs to be investigated, and this is true regarding children who have previously been victims of CSE, who are now involved in CSE, and those who constitute a group of potential recruits susceptible to future CSE.

Researchers need to explore the influences now being brought to bear on other girls and boys in the same household, or in other households in this and neighbouring communities, to prevent future CSE. Interviews with parents whose children are not in CSE and who live in the same communities will be useful for comparative purposes.

This research can be highly sensitive, especially if conducted in sending communities and within families where religious and social strictures make sexual subjects taboo. Researchers must become familiar with the predominant value system and cultural environment of the area before formulating their research questions and in pursuing parental and community responses to them.

3.8   Using the research for awareness raising

In some regions, the mere fact that a research team has come to inquire about the lives and problems of children in CSE will in itself raise local public awareness of the issues.

The highly sensitive nature of the subject — given its often negative family, community, and cultural repercussions (social disapproval, stigma, ostracism), together with its health risks — make it imperative for researchers to weigh carefully what information they make public and how they do so. Ethical considerations should be given great attention, and all efforts should be made to conceal the identities of informants (including families and communities, where relevant), unless these informants are themselves willing to be publicly identified.

Discussions among research team members and with qualified local officials and activists should help to establish a workable policy in regard to using the research findings for awareness raising.

4. Researching children engaged in drug trafficking

4.1 Target issues and behaviours

The following are some issues and behaviours needing research in any investigation of child labour in drug trafficking:

- sex and age distribution of the boys and girls exploited in the drug trade and their ethnic affiliations;

- specific tasks and activities engaged in by the children, by age and sex;

- history of the children's involvement in the drug trade, at what age and in what manner they were introduced to it, and any force or persuasion exercised and by whom (including family);

- links between drug trafficking and the human trafficking element; cases in which boys and girls have been trafficked;

- perceptions and views of the boys and girls about their activities and the reasons for their involvement; alternate ways of earning money outside the drug trade available to children; the children's lifestyles, how they pass their time and with whom; future aspirations;

- sex, gender roles, and ethnic identities of adults in the drug trade in the vicinity;

- behaviour and motivations of these adults for using boys and girls in the trade rather than other adults;

- children's personal drug use, history of use, and reasons given;

- children's school status and history;

- family aspects: composition, degree of supervision over the boys and girls in the family, emotional and moral support, financial situation, family's involvement with drugs or in the drug trade;

- degree of drug involvement of the communities and neighbourhoods in the drug trade, and whether the boys and girls are living in a drug-ridden environment; their relation to peer groups and to gangs active in the trade;

- physical and health risks to the children, current legal risks, and history of involvement with the law;

- history of children's relations with rehabilitation services, if any, by age and sex; and

- need for possible rescue or protective custody services for any of the boys and girls interviewed.

4.2 Background research

Background research entails the collection of a broad range of information:

- all available secondary sources concerning drug abuse and drug commerce in the area, from newspaper articles, police and agency reports, police enforcement records, other data, the records of hospitals and clinics;

- the legal framework concerning drug-related activities and offences, the involvement of boys and girls (by age and sex), legal age of criminal responsibility, etc.;

- identification of the communities or neighbourhoods where trafficking and sale are known or observed to occur;

- kinds of drugs available in the area, their origins, their effects, and the way they are referred to (terminology) and perceived by both users and non-users in the area;

- health services available to drug abusers, and any medical records or statistics concerning child drug abusers;

- estimates of homeless (street) children in the area, and their involvement with the drug trade;

- the actions of agencies, NGOs, religious organizations, and community organizations; the extent of such work and its outcome; and

- records of rehabilitation facilities serving young drug offenders, including the age and gender distribution of their inmate population, average age at time of entry, average length of stay, reintegration into the community, school attendance, follow-up and recidivism.

4.3   Note on terminology

The community or street terms for many drugs are not the same as their chemical or medical names. Researchers must familiarize themselves with current usage before undertaking interviews and direct contacts. They must also "learn the importance of defining terms based on the point of view of children. For example, while some children did not consider their involvement in the drug trade as 'work', since it was not formal and regular, other children did".[55]

4.4   Accessing and interviewing respondents

At least half of all interviews should be with children under the age of 18 who are currently or recently involved in the drug trade.

These children can be identified by means of observation, background research, and knowledgeable informants. Within the target communities, sampling will probably be random. Children will cooperate more effectively in interviews if the interviewer — perhaps a social worker, NGO official, or community organizer — is known to them. A higher degree of village cohesion may also have a more positive influence on the collection of information at the community level. The RA team from the Philippines, cited in Section 4.3 above, used known informants and community organizers to conduct the interviews, and thus were able to easily identify respondents involved in the drug trade. They concluded from their experience that "it is crucial to the success of the research to tap researchers and interviewers who are already knowledgeable and experienced in dealing with children and who are familiar and grounded in the community under study".[56] They added that "since interviewers, despite their training, may still fail to ask probing questions, some questions in the interview guide were phrased in ways to double-check information because these children are street-smart and do not easily trust people".[57]

Interviews with boys and girls may not be so easy to obtain in all research on drug trafficking. Box 37 presents some difficulties faced by an RA team in Bangkok, Thailand.

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[55] ILO/IPEC. Lepiten, M. *Philippines — Children's involvement in the production, sale and trafficking of drugs in Cebu City: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 22. Geneva, 2002, p. 14.

[56] ILO/IPEC. Lepiten, M. *Philippines — Children's involvement in the production, sale and trafficking of drugs in Cebu City: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 22. Geneva, 2002, p. 15.

[57] ILO/IPEC. Lepiten, M. *Philippines — Children's involvement in the production, sale and trafficking of drugs in Cebu City: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 22. Geneva, 2002, p. 14.

Once issues relating to identification, access and trust are resolved, girls and boys can be interviewed either individually or in focus groups, or both.

Interviewers must take special care in illicit drug-related research to observe the ethical requirements for interviewing children and to safeguard confidentiality.[58] The researchers in Thailand cited in Box 37, above, included in their report "snapshots" of the children involved in drug trafficking. This case study approach was especially important in view of the difficulties of obtaining information on children in this activity. Such case studies are also especially important in identifying whether children involved in drugs are also involved in other WFCL. In Estonia, for example, it was found that "Children who inject drugs may engage in prostitution (i.e. be sexually exploited) for such reasons as lack of any other source of income and need for drugs.[59]

Researchers can also approach many children for interviews in the rehabilitation and protection centres. These children may have been remanded for drug-related offences, or for their own protection, and may be able to provide valuable information. If some of them are now 18 or older, they must be made part of a separate sample and their characteristics specified.

Researchers will also be interested in interviewing the population of boys and girls not involved in drug activities. In Part II, Section: Natural control groups, above, reference was made to interviews with children in drug-ridden communities who are themselves neither drug users nor traffickers, and who come from families with no drug-related issues. Researchers should attempt, where possible, to probe the factors that differentiate these children from those involved with drugs. Research so far indicates that girls have tended to predominate in such natural control groups.

4.5   Using the research for awareness raising

The RA on drug trafficking in Brazil showed how such research can stimulate public interest in formulating prevention strategies.[60] It is worth drawing attention to it again here, because enlisting support from the public authorities should begin while the fieldwork is in

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[58] See Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations, for more information.

[59] ILO/IPEC. Kalikova, N.; Kurbatova, A.; Talu, A. *Estonia — Children and adolescents involved in drug use and trafficking: A Rapid Assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 37. Geneva, 2002, p. xiii.

[60] See Box 28, above, in the last section of Part II.

progress. RA researchers should not wait until the findings are finalized and formally presented.

The final report will be much better received if the issues and results have already been widely diffused by the time the report is actually presented.

5. Researching children engaged in armed conflict

This research concerns the boys and girls who are currently, or were very recently, engaged in military units, often at a young age, to fight and/or to serve in other ways, for example as cooks, orderlies, porters, or providers of sexual services.[61]

Some of these children have been coerced into joining while others have attached themselves "voluntarily" due to circumstances often directly linked to the conflict. The units themselves may be supporting the current government or they may be rebel units fighting for an armed opposition or insurgency. At the outset of conflicts, often, recruits are generally aged between 15 and 18 years. As a conflict drags on, however (and some continue for years), both girls and boys tend to be recruited at younger ages.

Child soldiers usually come from "the poorest and most vulnerable sectors [of society]. Armies and armed groups often view children as a cheap substitute when there are too few adult soldiers. Children are indoctrinated to be obedient, are easily manipulated and are considered cheap to keep".[62]

5.1 Note on research on children engaged in armed conflict

This WFCL is particularly difficult to research, and it is advisable for prospective researchers to familiarize themselves with literature on the subject. A brief review is provided here.

Information on girls and boys who lived and were involved with armed units has emerged from different countries. Most of this information has been collected by NGOs, international organizations, journalists, and government agencies from boys and girls during or shortly after demobilization. A few papers document the situation of teenagers and children while they were actually engaged in armed conflict.[63]

Research into the situation of boys and girls associated with fighting forces is very challenging, and researchers will have both security and methodological concerns.

Security concerns. Investigating the situation of boys and girls living and involved with armed units at a time when the conflict is underway poses a number of serious safety risks for the researchers, as well as for the boys and girls being interviewed. In most cases,

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[61] The terms "child engaged in armed conflict" and "child soldier" are used interchangeably in this manual. (See the glossary of technical terms.) The term CAFF, "children associated with fighting forces", is often used to describe all children involved, in whatever capacity, with fighting forces.

[62] Brett, R.; Mc Callin, M. *Children: The invisible soldiers.* Radda Barnen, Stockholm, 1998, p. 9.

[63] One such study is Cagoco-Guiam, R. *Philippines — Child soldiers in Central and Western Mindanao: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 21. Geneva, 2002. Another is Dowdney, L. *Children of the drug trade*, 2004, conducted among children in Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*.

researchers will have to enter insecure areas to reach the armed units, and any information gathering is likely to be regarded with suspicion by the commanders. Boys and girls who provide too frank information on activities that may be common practice in the armed groups — things such as drug abuse, abduction of minors, and sexual exploitation of children — or information that could be regarded as classified, are likely to put their safety within the armed unit in jeopardy.

Methodological concerns. There are also a number of methodological concerns. To minimize threats to the research activities, permission should be sought from the military hierarchy to enter areas under their control. Such close cooperation, however, might make it impossible for researchers to gather and report objective information on illicit and internationally condemned activities that may well be common practice in the area. In addition, traumatizing experiences respondents undergo during a conflict often influence the way they recall events, meaning some information cannot be taken at face value.

Gathering information from children in the demobilization process poses fewer security risks to researchers. Nevertheless, many of the same methodological concerns often remain during the demobilization process. Researchers still need to seek permission from the relevant authorities for interviews, and it is advisable to cooperate closely with the agencies looking after the children. But many informal armed forces command structures persist in the demobilization camps, and these can inhibit the willingness of respondents to provide information. Trauma will also continue to affect the way past events are recalled. Where a conflict remains unresolved — and where, for example, uncertainties include who is going to be prosecuted for war crimes or who will be entitled to what kind of reintegration benefits — the way adults and children tell their stories will almost certainly be biased.

Interviewing boys and girls who have returned to their communities is a valid research design, in principle. In practice, however, researchers have found the identification of respondents to be very time consuming. [64]

5.2   Target issues and behaviours

Most research into child-soldier issues has focused to date either on (a) awareness raising regarding the seriousness of the situation or on (b) information gathering for reintegration programmes. Less work has been devoted to (c) preventive programmes, and even less to (d) trying to change the situation of children engaged in armed conflict while the conflict is in progress.

There follow suggestions regarding:

- what needs to be learned about girls and boys engaged in military units;

- questions to help inform effective demobilization and reintegration programmes; and

- measures to stimulate the search for preventive programmes.

Understanding risk factors for recruitment. Past research has suggested a number of risk factors that explain why certain boys or girls are recruited for armed conflict while others are not. The socio-economic background of the children is likely to be important, as is the nature of the conflict.

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[64] See the methodological arguments expressed during the panel discussion at the U.S. Department of Labor conference, *Children in the crossfire: Prevention and rehabilitation of child soldiers* (7-8 May 2003) for difficulties associated with identifying respondents who have left the demobilization process.

Socio-economic factors include these:

- Many accounts suggest that poorer children are at higher risk than those from more affluent families.

- Children from the socio-ethnic minority group engaged in the armed struggle are particularly vulnerable to recruitment to armed opposition groups.

- The area in which children grow up appears to be linked to which children are more likely to be recruited. Other accounts also that recruitment often occurs in locations where children are typically found, such as schools or sports fields.

The nature of the conflict is also clearly important:

- Long conflicts often see progressively lower recruitment ages.

- The type of combat can also influence recruitment. Conflicts fought largely with small arms and light weapons often involve more children than wars that make use of high-tech equipment.

- The supply of weapons and food to armed units may also influence whether children are recruited or dismissed. Shortages may force some units to reduce their numbers. In other instances, children are recruited and charged with obtaining food supplies or, where weapons are few, they may be used as unarmed living shields in combat.

- Command-and-control structures internal to the armed units may also influence recruitment drives. There are accounts from Liberia, for example, of teenagers kidnapping young children and forcing them into sexual exploitation so that they could improve their own situation at the expense of young children.[65]

- The nature of the conflict also affects the form of recruitment used. Recruitment in areas under full control of the armed unit often involve more coercion than does recruitment into an armed unit that operates clandestinely in an area under broader government control.

- The extent to which the conflict has brought chaos to the area also influences recruitment. There are accounts of children who have lost all contact with their families, for example, and who have voluntarily attached themselves to armed unit as a means of survival.

A better understanding of what constitutes the dominant risk factors in a given conflict should help to develop better prevention programmes.

The following lists distinguish between (a) risk factors more closely linked to the children and their backgrounds and (b) external factors more linked to the type of conflict. These lists are incomplete, and there may be more country- and context-specific risk factors.

Children at risk. Factors to consider include these:

The child:

- ethnic background of the children;

- sex;

- age at time of recruitment; and

- family situation, schooling, work experience, location, etc.

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[65] Human Rights Watch, *How to fight, how to kill: Child soldiers in Liberia*, 2004. Retrieved on January 2005, from http://hrw. org/reports/2004/ liberia0204/liberia0204.pdf.

The recruitment process:

- location (e.g. schools, on the street, etc.);

- process (e.g. kidnapping or forms of "voluntary" attachment to armed units);

- roles of and responses from community and family.

Context of the conflict. Research findings need to be interpreted within the context of the conflict that included the use of children in armed units. Understanding this context is important for gaining insights into the structural factors that affect boys and girls in conflict areas. There follow factors believed to influence:

- the decision to recruit children into armed units;

- the kinds of task they are assigned; and

- the number and extent of unacceptable practices to which they are subsequently exposed.

The type of conflict provides some insight into why children are employed.

- For example, a study of armed groups in northern Mali who opposed the use of child soldiers explained their opposition in terms of the ideological and task-driven operations of the armed units. [66]

- Knowing whether the actors that employ children in armed conflict are state or non-state parties is important for legal considerations.

- Terrain and climate, as well as war materiel used, can help to understand what type of skills armed units want from their soldiers. Addressing supply factors, then, might reduce the use of child soldiers.

- Understanding internal power structures may provide information on who to target with polices aiming to change attitudes among decision-makers within armed units.

There follows a checklist of factors to consider when investigating context:

- armed units engaging child soldiers (e.g. state army, armed opposition, urban drug gangs);

- conflict actors (e.g. state versus state, state fighting an internal war, non-state opposition forces, drug lords fighting each other);

- nature and intensity of fighting (e.g. urban or jungle-based warfare; sporadic action against selected targets or action on battlefields);

- ideological and material motives for the conflict (whether the armed units see their struggle primarily in ideological terms — e.g. in terms of "liberation" — or whether there are more material motives — e.g. drugs, diamonds);

- the economic, political, and social context of the conflicts as well as regional dimensions; existing legislation and the government position with respect to the use of girls and boys in armed units of all kinds, including the national military and non-state actors; whether any government provision has been made for reducing their numbers; and, if so, the measures that have been taken;

- the weather and conditions of the regional terrain, the conditions in which the combat units live, their physical amenities (including health and nutrition) and general level of development, and how these affect the skilled tasks required of soldiers and support personnel;

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[66] Small Arms Survey, *Armed groups and small arms in the ECOWAS region* (provisional title). Forthcoming 2005, during the seventh Human Security Network Ministerial Meeting. Ottawa, Canada.

- weapons and war materiel used and supply chains or lack thereof, and how this affects the decision to use children in combat or other activities such as looting for food supplies;

- which preventative or remedial actions have been taken (if any) by concerned organizations such as government and international agencies, NGOs, and women's associations, local authorities, and medical personnel;

- internal structures of the armed units — who makes decisions regarding the use of children and who enforces the rules; and

- if available, information on personal biographies of conflict commanders, in particular regarding whether they were initiated to live with armed units below the age of 18 years.

Understanding the environment of children's lives with armed units. Boys and girls perform multiple tasks while living with armed units, and are often exposed to a variety of situations that are considered unacceptable.

Living experiences with armed units often differ depending on the child's sex and age, and they tend to change over time. External factors — e.g. the supply of weapons, ammunition, and food — can also influence the kind of activities demanded of children. Understanding the tasks children perform within armed units provides important information for disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programmes (see below), and might provide ideas for initiatives to prevent the recruitment of children into armed units. Below are some questions to keep in mind when investigating children's conditions in the armed units:

- What tasks are the children expected to perform, by age and sex? Why are children the chosen workforce for these kinds of activity?

- What punishments are inflicted on children, for what offences, and by whom?

- Have the girls and boys received combat training, and do they or will they participate in armed action? If so, is this obligatory? What combat role are they playing, if so?

- What are the health and living conditions among the children in armed units, by age and sex? Is drug use (forced or otherwise) a problem, and, if so, at what times? What health and medical provisions are available? Is sexual exploitation an issue?

- Are the boys and girls free to leave their units? If not, what penalties would they incur if they left? What structural impediments exist that effectively prevent children from leaving the armed units?

- What are the role and attitude of the family, the community, and the peer group with regard to children who are in combat units or who have been in them?

- Are the children paid? If so, in cash or in kind; how frequently, and how much? Who actually receives this money?

- What are the injury and mortality rates among girls and boys in combat units? What happens to sick or wounded children?

- What kind of atrocities are boys and girls involved in, and what are the circumstances under which these occur?

Understanding post-conflict reintegration. Reintegration of boys and girls into society is crucial. But this goal involves difficult issues.

- The collection of more detailed information would help to design more effective reintegration programmes. The first challenge in gathering information is identifying the

appropriate target group. There have been instances where only active soldiers, and therefore primarily boys, qualified for reintegration assistance. In other programmes, anyone who turned in a gun was admitted, and it is believed that relatives of fighters benefited while others, such as sexually abused children, were excluded.

- An effective demobilization process will dismantle combat structures, thereby preventing armed units from merely using the demobilization process as a rest phase before returning the children to combat.

- Effective reintegration will provide long-term prospects for boys and girls, aiming to keep these young people from setting up armed units of their own a few years after the end of the reintegration programme.

- Effective reintegration programmes should also deal with questions of right and wrong, justice, penance, and forgiveness.

Below is a list of questions to consider when investigating post-conflict reintegration:

- What are the criteria for admitting boys and girls into reintegration programmes? Do these criteria reflect the actual use of boys and girls in the conflict, or are certain groups excluded from benefits because certain roles within the armed units go unrecognized?

- What are the prevailing power structures among the children in the demobilization process? Is there evidence that established patterns of abuse and control continue? Are there structures that continue to affect health and well-being of children who have served in military units?

- What are the expectations of children in the reintegration programmes; are their hopes for the future realistic? How can they best be helped to achieve these objectives? How easily can they be reunited with their families?

- In conflicts that saw widespread abuse of both civilians and combatants, how are these issues of right and wrong behaviour addressed? How does the programme deal with punishment and the psychological healing of boys and girls, who are often both victim and perpetrator in conflicts?

Determining the study focus. The choice of questions to be addressed should be based on the type of people to whom researchers will have access. (See Section 5.3, below, for more on access.) It is important that the overall research design, especially the prepared questions, is shaped by the specific type of information that the chosen target group can provide. Questions that cannot be answered meaningfully by the target group are best excluded from the research focus from the outset. For example, a study based on information provided by children who are, or were, engaged in armed conflict ought to concentrate on questions directly related to the experiences of boys and girls. Attempts to cover broader questions on the nature of the conflict on the basis of interviews with young people and children will not yield very useful results.

5.3   Accessing and interviewing respondents

With most studies, the boys and girls themselves make the most appropriate respondents. Different respondents are able to provide different types of information, and the research questions need to be matched to the target group. It is also possible to plan a research group around the study location or area.

Accessing children for interviews. Boys and girls can sometimes be accessed while they are still engaged in armed conflict. Among armed opposition units on Mindanao, in the southern Philippines, for example, children were only part-time combatants; the rest of the time they attended school, which made them readily accessible for interviews.[67] Information

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[67] ILO/IPEC. Cagoco-Guiam, R. *Philippines — Child soldiers in Central and Western Mindanao: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 21. Geneva, 2002.

has also been gathered successfully in urban settings dominated by gang warfare often linked to drugs. These approaches are feasible in areas where the armed units do not engage in frequent combat with other units, the situation bearing more resemblance to pitched opposition camps where a certain normality of life still prevails.

Researchers considering such an approach will need to know the local population well, and have to gain their trust before conducting the work.

Where there is intense conflict, for example in some West African countries, accessing children in active areas is too risky. It is more common, in these cases, to access boys and girls who are in disarmament, demobilization, or reintegration programmes. Researchers should seek the cooperation of the agencies looking after the children in this process.

It is also possible to try to identify boys and girls for interviews after they have left demobilization structures. Finding these children after they have returned home to their families, however, will be more time consuming.

Selecting boys and girls for interviews. Most studies will not be able to draw on a representative sample of boys and girls, and will have to make subjective decisions on who to choose for an interview.

For a general study, every effort should be made to reflect the diversity of individual, family, and social situations within the population concerned. It is also important to consider an appropriate weighting of boys and girls in their different experiences; tasks performed within the armed units; and ethnic and social backgrounds.

It is also possible to select a particular sub-group of children associated with fighting forces, for example only girls or children who served in one specific unit under one specific commander during a specific period of time.

Interviewing other respondents. Depending on the setting, it may also be possible to interview parents or siblings of children recruited in armed units or, in certain cases, military commanders. For example, a study interested in risk factors could be designed around a particular school or neighbourhood from where many children were recruited.

Conducting the interviews. Using persons already known to the children has resulted in successful interviews.

Social workers in Sierra Leone reported that it was only after a period of several months of close contact with the children that they began to hear more stories, as the children slowly learned to trust an adult again or when, accepting the familiar presence of the researchers, they uninhibitedly argued with fellow former child soldiers about past events.[68]

In other studies, interviewers were unfamiliar to the children personally, but did come from the same area, spoke their dialect, and understood their background and customs. It is difficult for a total outsider to establish the kind of rapport with respondents, at least over a short period of time, that allows for the discussion of the difficult issues researchers often want to pursue.

How to collect the information. Personal interviews are the most appropriate means of gathering information. Which data collection methods prove most appropriate will depend on interview numbers and depth.

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[68] Small Arms Survey. *Armed groups and small arms in the ECOWAS region* (provisional title). Forthcoming 2005, during the seventh Human Security Network Ministerial Meeting. Ottawa, Canada.

- If a large number of children (50 to 100) can be interviewed, it makes sense to devise a questionnaire that may be answered during or after an interview with the child. Collecting information by using questionnaires is equally appropriate when researchers want to compare the situation between different countries or subgroups. [69]

- With a small number of interviews, it may be much more appropriate to provide a written report of the information obtained. Such reports should have a set structure of what kind of issues to mention, thus ensuring that cases can be compared with one another. Such qualitative accounts may often be the most interesting way of capturing the complex nature of the children's experiences during conflict, and provides rich material for any report. Reports that reflect such accounts may also be more appropriate to provide ideas for effective assistance programmes. For example, Save the Children Sweden, which surveyed children in several countries, asked their researchers to have "discussions with the child soldiers in order that we can incorporate their views about the factors that contribute to their reintegration into civil society and the difficulties they are experiencing". [70]

- Self-administered questionnaires handed to boys and girls about their experiences in the armed units are unlikely to generate much reliable information.

The ILO has recently published a manual jointly with the FAFO Institute for Applied International Studies on how to conduct RA research among girls and boys in armed units, with special reference to their presence in armed units in Central Africa. [71] Those intending to investigate this topic should consult this manual for suggestions on structuring their research. (Some of the material presented below is derived from that manual.)

Ethical considerations and sensitivity training. Researchers need both psychological preparation and stamina to interview boys and girls who have been involved in combat and killing.

- Accounts of earlier research can help prepare interviewers for what they will hear.

- Role-playing exercises under the supervision of interviewers already experienced with such research is a useful form of additional training.

- Special sensitivity training is also needed for those who will interview child victims of prolonged sexual exploitation in the military units, amputees or other visibly injured children, and children with severe psychological trauma.

Any research approach must take into account the rights of child interviewees. Experiences of armed conflict can be highly traumatizing for children, and discussions of these experiences will never be easy for any respondent. Researchers should also try to reconstruct the individual histories of former child soldiers, trying to understand how they can be both victims and perpetrators. It is important to recognize, moreover, that a child's capacity to freely consent may be compromised by having to deal with implementing bodies for data collection — children may fear that their entitlement to benefits provided by the implementing agencies will be threatened if they refuse to take part in the study. [72]

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[69] Small Arms Survey. *Armed groups and small arms in the ECOWAS region* (provisional title). Forthcoming 2005, during the seventh Human Security Network Ministerial Meeting. Ottawa, Canada.

[70] Brett, R.; Mc Callin, M. *Children: The invisible soldiers.* Radda Barnen, Stockholm, 1998, p. 265.

[71] ILO/IPEC. *Manuel pour l'évaluation rapide: L'utilisation des enfants dans les conflits armés en Afrique centrale.* Geneva, 2002.

[72] McKay, S.; Wessells, M. *Post-traumatic stress in former Ugandan child soldiers. The Lancet,* Vol. 363, May 2004.

5.4 Public presentation of findings

Presenting the research findings can provide an occasion for raising awareness and publicizing the plight of the researched children. Nevertheless, researchers should be cautious about publicizing their findings concerning children engaged in armed conflict:

- Gaining access to the target respondents can be difficult. Where researchers plan to conduct further studies on particular military units or groups of exploited children, media exposure may make this impossible.

- Publicity may also force the children to serve in secrecy, making it even more difficult to extend help to them.

Restricted conferences with stakeholders — affected families, NGOs, relevant government officials, international agencies, and interested country donors — should weigh the pros and cons of any public presentation or media involvement concerning the research report. Researchers must also be careful to avoid publicly linking any of their findings to any identifiable children, and must adhere to the highest ethical standards.

6. Researching trafficking and child labour

6.1 What is "trafficking in children"?

Trafficking in children is formally defined as one of the WFCL, which must be prohibited and eliminated as a matter of urgency under the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), Article 3, Paragraph (a). Unfortunately, however, the process of trafficking minors into exploitative child labour can be complex and difficult to define.

In general terms, "trafficking" refers to a process of recruitment or transportation for the purpose of sexual or labour exploitation. A widely accepted definition is provided by the 2000 United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, which in the same year supplemented the United Nations Convention against Trans-national Organized Crime (often referred to as the Palermo Convention). This protocol defines child trafficking in Article 3 (c) and (d) as follows:

"(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" *even if this does not involve any of the means* set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) "Child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age."

Trafficking in general (i.e. other than children), on the other hand, is defined in Article 3 (a) as:

"… the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, *by means of* threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation…" [73]

"Trafficking" with reference to children as opposed to adults. In plain terms, a child is regarded as a victim of trafficking whenever he or she is recruited or transported with the intent of being exploited — even in the absence of coercion, fraud, deception, or abuse of power. [74] This definition stands in clear contrast to that of adult trafficking, where the use

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[73] Italics added to Sections (a) and (c).

[74] Regional Working Group on Child Labour (RWG-CL). *Handbook for action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children*, 2002, provides a more detailed discussion of the legal issues.

of such illicit means is one of the essential elements in the definition. The child's consent to being recruited or transported, furthermore, is completely irrelevant to the definition of child trafficking, even when there is no use of deception or fraud.

Difficulty in distinguishing between "child trafficking" and "migration". Because consent is irrelevant, a very fine line exists between "child trafficking" and "migration", in some cases involving the employment of adolescents above the minimum working age. Transportation and recruitment in child trafficking is rarely visible, moreover, and extends over time and a number of locations. This has important implications for research design, which must take into account these complexities.

This section is based upon first-hand experiences of conducting research on trafficking into situations of child labour from Côte d'Ivoire, the Mekong Border Region, and Nepal.[75] It begins with an overview of characteristic features of the trafficking process, the environment within which trafficking occurs, and the implications of trafficking for a child's future. It then discusses considerations and options in the research design, including location, choice of respondents and data collection methods, analytical issues, and possible research questions.

Distinguishing between human trafficking and smuggling of illegal migrants. It is necessary to distinguish between human trafficking and smuggling of illegal migrants. While the former is defined in the Protocol to the Palermo Convention, referred to above, the latter derives from the supplementary Protocol against Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, adopted at the same time. The smuggling Protocol reflects concerns about the smuggling of migrants as a form of organized trans-national criminal activity, which generates illicit profits from the procurement of illegal entry or illegal residence. Migrant smuggling is thus distinct from human trafficking, in which an offender profits as a result of some form of exploitation of the victims after they have been moved, commonly in the form of prostitution or coerced labour of some kind.

Overlapping issues. "Trafficking" and "smuggling", however, are not necessarily exclusive of one another. A person smuggled into the destination country may still, either simultaneously or subsequently, be a trafficking victim. It is therefore incorrect – even though women and children do in fact constitute the majority of trafficked victims globally – to understand trafficking as an issue affecting women and children and smuggling as an issue concerning only adult males.

Besides being sensitive to the conceptual subtleties in the distinction between trafficking and smuggling, researchers should always be careful to use the correct terminology in any given context, noting the variation in terms across languages.

6.1.1 The trafficking process

Trafficking can be a single process of transportation from a place of origin to a place of work facilitated by an intermediary. In many circumstances, however, transportation and recruitment are separate transactions.

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[75] Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et Appliquées sur les Politiques Sociales et les Systèmes de Sécurité Sociale (CEPRASS), *Les pratiques de travail dans la production de cacao en Côte d'Ivoire*, Côte d'Ivoire, 2002. ILO/IPEC. Wille, C. *Thailand — Lao People's Democratic Republic and Thailand-Myanmar Border Areas — Trafficking in children into the worst forms of child labour: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour, No. 1. Geneva, 2001. ILO/IPEC. Kumar, B.; et al., *Nepal — Trafficking in girls with special reference to prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour, No. 2. Geneva, 2001.

Transport processes do not always conform to stereotypical notions of trafficking. In areas where public transport systems are readily available, minors may use public buses to travel to where they will enter employment. In other instances, individual minors might travel with truck drivers transporting commercial cargo, as was observed in Nepal, where girls were trafficked into situations of sexual exploitation. Transportation can also be specifically arranged for a group of boys and girls to travel to a place for work. Different forms of transport, furthermore, may be involved in a single journey. In the Mekong area, minors were observed taking public transport to a border area where an illegal border crossing had been especially arranged.

Recruitment for work/exploitation may occur before the minor embarks on the journey, at the destination, or during the journey. A variety of persons are involved in facilitating the recruitment of minors into the WFCL. These include:

- professional traffickers, who may lure children with promises of legitimate work or by fraudulently posing as husbands or boyfriends;

- mothers and fathers eager to obtain work for their sons and daughters;

- minors already engaged in the same activity;

- employers seeking child labourers; and

- minors themselves initiating approaches to potential employers.

Related financial arrangements are diverse. Professional traffickers may pay mothers and fathers to recruit a child, while other parents or children may pay the recruiter for the service of finding them a job or for arranging the transportation. Sometimes, no financial transaction is involved, where information about what turn out to be exploitative work opportunities may be provided simply as a favour within the community.

Elements of force, coercion, and deception characterize different stages in the process to varying degrees. Because so many persons and processes are employed in trafficking, it can be difficult to distinguish between recruiters and employers. Force, coercion, and deception might be employed, for example, during the decision-making process before a girl or boy leaves home. Alternatively, it may occur at the point of contact with the employer, or in the workplace, for instance when a minor complains about working conditions.

Boys and girls' awareness of the nature and conditions of work can vary widely. They might not even know that they are destined for a job; they might be unaware of what work to expect; or they might know the nature of the work, but be ignorant about associated hazards and terms of payment.

Hard and soft trafficking are sometimes distinguished one from the other: hard trafficking employs the use of force and deception, whereas soft trafficking refers to the complicity of other persons in the process. It is possible, however, for trafficking to take place even in the absence of these two factors.

6.1.2 Environments where trafficking occurs

The nature of the trafficking process is influenced by the culture and socio-economic living conditions of both the source and destination communities. The motivations and concerns of households regarding involvement of minors in the labour force are particularly important. Factors that play roles in determining whether a child becomes a victim of trafficking include these:

- the nature of relationships and conflicts within individual families;
- peer pressure;

- images from popular culture;

- gender roles; and

- teenage-specific and individual motivations.

Factors external to the source community — e.g. political conflict or structural violence in the form of ethnic discrimination or oppression — may also be a contributing factor in child trafficking. Changes in the local or global economy also influence the demand for under-aged workers and the extent to which they have to be coerced into the workplace.

Source community attitudes. Attitudes in the source communities are influenced by traditional livelihood patterns and particular pressures, such as lack of the most basic resources or aspirations for a better life. Work migration patterns among the adult population and the availability of transport and recruitment mechanisms into work outside a close-knit community also affect the nature of child trafficking.

Destination community attitudes. In the destination communities, the nature of the economy can help to explain why non-local minors are recruited into certain kinds of work in preference to other persons. Reasons for recruiting boys and girls from non-local communities into exploitative working arrangements include the low pay demands of inexperienced workers and the considerable wage differences between origin and destination communities. Minors tend to be used either (a) for work that requires skills they already have, e.g. domestic work, or (b) for factory tasks that can be acquired without much training. Children may be seen as attractive labour in certain work settings, such as family homes and fishing boats, where they can be easily subordinated.

Ethnic factors. Trafficking of minors into exploitative child labour circumstances often affects some population groups more than others. Specific ethnic groups might be targeted for historical, socio-economic, or cultural reasons. In Nepal for example, ethnic minorities from the hills and lower social castes were found to be most commonly at risk of exploitation. Meanwhile, trafficking patterns into the same economic sector may vary among different population groups. The study on the Mekong Border Region showed that behaviour patterns varied not only between boys and girls, but also between different ethnic groups.

WFCL. Trafficked minors have been found working in factories, construction, fisheries, and domestic work which, in view of the poor conditions and significant health hazards involved, all qualify as WFCL. In addition, many trafficked children are victims of sexual exploitation, which is an unconditional WFCL. There is often an element of bonded labour because minors are sometimes prevented from leaving the workplace due to economic or other debt. Boys and girls younger than 18 years are found in sexual exploitation because they are often considered more attractive, easier to control, and are perceived as presenting a lower health risk to clients.

6.1.3 Implications for a child's future

Child labour has implications for a child's life expectancy, mental health, and opportunities in the labour market.

Reduced quality of life and life expectancy. Certain forms of child labour are so hazardous that life expectancy is considerably reduced – HIV infection due to sexual exploitation, for example, can lead to premature death. Psychological damage is often so serious that persons exploited as minors are unable to live a normal life. Unhealthy living conditions in some factories may also reduce overall life expectancy, while the denial of formal schooling puts working girls and boys at a disadvantage later, as adults, in the labour market.

Loss of personal support networks. Most trafficking victims are separated from their families and communities, losing important personal support networks. Girls and boys who are transported over considerable distances may find themselves a minority in the new area, with no rights or linguistic ability to access state or community help. Evidence suggests that some trafficking victims find it very difficult – due to their experiences of exploitation and the stigma surrounding them – to return and re-integrate into their communities of origin.

Clearly establishing the lifelong implications of child labour is essential to understanding the overall danger and costs of early entry into the labour market away from a child's home.

6.2   How to research trafficking

6.2.1 Establishing research priorities

Research should focus on a particular question, target group, or sector. The choice of target group (on the basis of sex, ethnic background, place of origin, and sector) should reflect the population groups at risk, the differences between origin communities and the circumstances of labour exploitation. Priorities should be established in light of the research design, helping to ensure realistic objectives. Research locations and respondents should be accessible to researchers without exposing the children or the researchers to unnecessary risk.

6.2.2 Deciding on the research locations

Trafficking starts in source communities and continues through transportation, recruitment, and employment. Given the relatively short time-frame of an RA, research cannot study all stages of the process in detail; it must focus on specific research localities.

Destination economy focus. Focusing research on the destination economy entails several advantages. Information regarding the circumstances of child labour is most readily available here, and minors can be found to describe their personal stories. Rescued minors living in NGO — or community — run centres may also be included in this type of study, as was done in Nepal. The weakness in this approach is that it provides only limited information on source communities and trafficking mechanisms.

Source community focus. Alternatively, research may be conducted in a known source community, yielding detailed information on push and pull factors. The drawback of this approach is that many of the boys and girls trafficked will be absent. While some returnees may be available, it can prove difficult to get their full stories because boys and girls may not wish to speak about certain incidents or may be unable to recollect specific information regarding working conditions. Research within the source communities, moreover, provides only a limited perspective on transport and recruitment, which take place elsewhere.

Trafficking process focus. It is extremely difficult for researchers to observe the trafficking process directly. Because elements of force, coercion, and deception tend to occur only sporadically between minors, recruiters, or employers, direct observation at transport hubs may reveal no trafficking activity. Nevertheless, it is important to obtain as much information as possible about the transportation and recruitment processes through any opportunities presented to the researcher.

A good research design may require, as was the case in the Nepal study, a combination of research in origin and destination areas as well as along the transport route. However, not all minors exploited in one sector of the economy in one particular destination will come

from the same source community, nor will all trafficked boys and girls from one source community be brought into the same destination economy. Thus, the documented trafficking processes and routes may vary considerably. Decisions regarding the research location will affect the nature of the findings, and should take into account the advantages and limitations associated with any particular approach.

6.2.3 Selecting respondents

Possible respondents include:

- minors working under exploitative conditions;

- minors who have left their workplaces;

- young adults who were trafficked into the WFCL before they were 18 years old;

- recruiters;

- transporters;

- employers; and

- parents.

Because they are able to speak from direct experience, minors and young adults often make the most appropriate respondents. Research into child labour using young adult respondents is often discouraged because their recollections of past working conditions may not fully reflect the present situation. This is less a concern for research on trafficking, since this process can only be investigated, in any case, by asking respondents to relate what happened to them in the past. In addition, young adults may be easier to access than minors and may provide more insightful observations. Both the Mekong and the Nepal RA reports made use of information provided by young adults. (Note: respondents should be encouraged, where possible, to report child exploiters in the community.)

Depending on its objectives, research can fruitfully include the parents from the source community. Though recruiters, transporters, and employers may be difficult to identify or unwilling to talk, they should be interviewed as key informants whenever possible. Conversations with them should focus on the transport, recruitment, and employment systems in general, rather than emphasizing the issue of child labour, which will only put them on the defensive.

6.2.4 Identifying respondents and key informants

Identifying traffickers is difficult. During the process of mapping the trafficking and child labour situation, researchers might be able to obtain clues to likely transport routes, and may be able to access people involved in the trade. Researchers have to use their judgement in deciding what information they should pursue. Direct observation at transport points such as bus-stops, truck stops, illegal border crossings is often possible. Casual conversations with local people such as food sellers or beggars can provide information regarding regular occurrences, perhaps even information on numbers of people and specific individuals involved.

In most cases, it is best to conduct the research in an informal, flexible, and unstructured manner:

- Identifying oneself as a "researcher" or using a formal questionnaire is unlikely to produce credible information, and may deter potential informants from cooperating.

- Where it becomes possible to speak to transport agents or recruiters themselves, researchers should, to avoid raising suspicions, engage in especially careful and

casual conversation. A friendly chat accompanied by a drink or some snacks is likely to be as close as a researcher will get to those directly involved in the process.

- Researchers should recognize that human trafficking studies entail inherent risk — trans-national organized crime is often involved behind the scenes.

- In certain countries, local police or journalists might provide information on routes and patterns.

6.2.5 How to talk about the issues

Expressions such as "trafficking" and "sexual exploitation", as well as other descriptions of the WFCL, are often difficult, if not impossible, to translate into a local language in a way that conveys exactly the same meaning that the English terminology does. Researchers will therefore have to spend some time specifying appropriate words and meanings in the context of their given study. At the same time, the right balance has to be struck between using standard terminology and communicating successfully with ordinary people. The use of more neutral terms during interviews might be sometimes considered to avoid giving offence, and thereby inspiring an unwillingness to provide information.

6.2.6 How to interview the girls and boys

The earlier sections of Part III have already presented recommendations on how to conduct interviews with minors in harder-to-access child labour in collecting information regarding their working conditions. Decisions about interview methods might depend on the circumstances in which the children are to be interviewed. For example:

- *More structured interviews* are possible among young adults or children who have undergone psychological rehabilitation and have had the opportunity to reflect on their experiences.

- *More open and flexible interviews* can work better among boys and girls still in difficult circumstances, who are unlikely to have come to terms with their experience.

When to record the collected information. Where circumstances permit, the interviewer should create an environment that permits the child to talk freely about the experience from his or her perspective, only occasionally steering the conversation in a particular direction.[76] After the interview, and relying on memory, the researcher can use the information obtained to fill out a questionnaire.

Sensitive issues and respect for the child's privacy and dignity. Talking about the recruitment process is a particularly difficult subject. In most cases, minors will have agreed, at some point in the process, to leave their family home without elements of force, deception, and coercion. Clear cases of abduction will be very hard to identify. Minors, unlikely to grasp fully what has happened to them, will inevitably harbour feelings of guilt, and may even blame themselves for their situation. While most boys and girls are able to speak about their daily life and working conditions, many will find it difficult to talk about the recruitment process due to their own ambivalent feelings, especially when parents whom they love contributed to their predicament; people they believed in abused their trust; or they feel that they themselves may have made "mistakes".

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[76] For more practical guidelines for research with children, see Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL). *Handbook for action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children*, 2002, p. 23.

Depending on what happened, they may not be willing to share all the details with a stranger. Researchers are, therefore, faced with a difficult task of obtaining the best information without violating the child's privacy and dignity.[77] Boys and girls are unlikely to give a comprehensive account of all their motivations on their own initiative, and are often self-contradictory in their statements. Researchers will have to ask relevant questions and should test some of the statements later by asking related questions that both provide a cross-check and shed more light on the issue.

6.2.7 What to talk about

There follow ideas for subjects the interviewer might wish to explore with trafficked minors, parents, or other key informants at the place of origin. Researchers will need to change the order and adapt the phrasing of questions to cultural circumstances. Because research into trafficking is a relatively new subject, the list below is provided as a means to stimulate ideas, rather than as a comprehensive framework. Researchers with insight into trafficking in their own country should not shy away from adding additional subjects.

Motivation and decision-making process. Why did the child leave the family home? To find work, or for some other reason? Did the family suggest it, or did the child make his or her own decision? Did the family support or oppose the decision? What were the motives for leaving: to support the family back home by working; to escape from the family situation (broken family, abuse); to see the world; to earn own money to buy consumer goods; or some other?

It can be interesting to compare, at a later stage of an interview, stated intentions with actual behaviour. To this end, questions may include what the child spends his or her money on; whether the money is being sent home; whether the money is used to buy personal things; and, if so, what it is spent on; whether the child in contact with his or her family and, if so, how, and how often; and whether the family knows about the child's working conditions.

Extent of out migration in the source community. How many members of the family have ever left to work somewhere else, where have they gone, and for how long? What work did they do? What does the child think of leaving for work? Is this how everyone behaves, or is out migration restricted to poor or privileged groups? How many in the community might leave for the same destination?

Transportation process. How did the boy/girl leave home? Who did he or she travel with? Was it a stranger, someone from the community, a family member, other minors, or alone? What were the means of travel – public transport, or specially arranged transportation? What happened along the way? Was the child properly treated? Were there alarming situations (if so, why), or was it exciting and interesting (if so, why)?

Recruitment process. How did the child enter into work that can be considered a WFCL? Was he or she brought there? Did the family try to find work for him or her? Did someone help look for work? Did the child approach a broker or employer directly? When did the child learn where he or she was going to work? In the village before leaving, after arriving at the destination, after some time spent looking for work in the destination, or after a few working days upon discovering the real nature of the work? Did he or she have other jobs before entering into the WFCL, and, if so, where (village or place of destination), for how long, and how many? Why did he or she change employment?

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[77] See Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations: Issues during research, for an overview of many of the additional issues a researcher needs to be aware of that may arise during conversations with a child.

Extent of force, coercion, deception, and lack of knowledge. How much did the child know about the working conditions they were about to enter, and how does he or she feel about them now? From working hours to pay and the nature of work, what was surprising and what was expected? How does the child talk about the experience of having entered work? Does he or she feel deceived, obliged, or threatened, and, if so, by whom, when, and why?

Financial arrangements. What does the child know about financial arrangements? Did the mother or father or the child pay money to get the job? Did the mother or father receive money? Have all financial transactions been completed, or does the child still owe someone money, and therefore cannot leave the present job? How much were the transport costs and who paid for them?

6.2.8 Investigating the trafficking process

Identifying and talking to traffickers is very difficult. Indeed, it may prove impossible. Neither the Mekong Border Region study nor the Nepal study, for example, included information obtained from traffickers. Research teams and contracting agents should not hold unrealistic expectations regarding how much information about criminal activity can be obtained in an RA. Neither should researchers expose themselves to unnecessary risk by investigating criminal activity.

However, more information regarding the process might be very beneficial to our understanding of the trafficking situation. Future studies should try to investigate this area in more detail. One possibility is to approach the subject by focusing, in areas where trafficking is known to occur, on the transport and recruitment industries as an economic sector in general. The following are possible focuses for investigation:

Functioning of transport and recruitment industries. How often are certain routes taken by the drivers that may, at times, transport trafficked boys and girls? How much profit is generally realized in the transport industry? How are these economic gains shared among different persons in the business? Who owns the truck or bus, and who pays for the petrol? Who finds clients? Who decides on the routes? What ways offer themselves for earning money on the side? What would persuade transporters not to transport a child?

Understanding demand-side developments. Which sectors are looking for girls and boys? What kind of workers are needed, and why do employers choose to exploit girls and boys? Where is the closest pool of children that may be exploited? What is the recruitment radius for industries willing to exploit girls and boys? What determines this radius? What determines transport costs and profit margins?

Understanding the role of the intermediary. Why are intermediaries necessary? Who is the driving force behind the recruitment process: those seeking work or those needing labour? Who pays a recruiter: the employer or the child's family? How much profit is made in this business? Does the profitability of the trafficking business facilitate exploitation of boys and girls?

In certain circumstances, it might be possible to discuss the issue of children in these businesses with the exploiters themselves. In most cases, however, researchers will have to base their interpretations and conclusions on information from the children and from persons involved in the transport system.

6.3   Presenting the findings

The findings of the study should be set against existing knowledge and literature and discussed in the context of legislative frameworks – or the lack thereof.

Trafficking is a complex and largely hidden process. Related findings will always be partial, and will never be unambiguous. The research report should describe all the findings, but it should not stop there. The findings should be interpreted and weighed against each other and against what is already known about matters. The following are only two among the considerations to keep in mind:

- Careful examination of the findings will inevitably reveal some contradictions. These may themselves provide vital clues to understanding the trafficking process; on the other hand, they may simply prove to be the result of methodological limitations.

- It is important to avoid the trap of interpreting results in accordance with preconceived ideas.

We do possess limited knowledge about trafficking. But further research is needed to develop new understanding and to correct misconceptions. Only when we better grasp the motivations and processes involved will it be possible to develop effective intervention programmes that meet the needs of exploited girls and boys.

7.   Researching child labour and HIV/AIDS

7.1   RA experiences regarding child labour and HIV/AIDS

The RA methodology has been employed recently to investigate the relationship between child labour and HIV/AIDS.

As the HIV/AIDS pandemic has escalated, more and more children are finding it necessary to work. The ILO and UNICEF have provided technical and financial assistance for RA research in 10 countries in Africa where HIV/AIDS has deprived many children of one or both parents in their working years. As a result, many orphaned children are now engaged in a economic activities such as agricultural work, market work, construction, vending, CDW, and, for many girls and some boys, CSE. The work in which children are currently engaged ranges from non-harmful to some of the worst forms.

7.2   Aims of RA research on child labour and HIV/AIDS

RAs addressing the issue of child labour and HIV/AIDS have the following aims:

- "to explore the family, community, gender and socioeconomic implications of the relationship [between the HIV/AIDS epidemic and child labour]";[78]

- "to generate more effective psycho-social interventions for families and girls and boys orphaned by AIDS and engaging in prevention, advocacy, and national/provincial strategies to alleviate socio-economic burdens imposed upon girls and boys by HIV/AIDS";[79] and

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[78] ILO/IPEC. Mturi, A.; Nzimande, N. *HIV/AIDS and child labour in South Africa: A rapid assessment*, Paper No. 4. Geneva, 2003.

[79] ILO/IPEC. Mturi, A.; Nzimande, N. *HIV/AIDS and child labour in South Africa: A rapid assessment*, Paper No. 4. Geneva, 2003.

- to obtain sufficient information to formulate "strategic objectives and interventions for the elimination of child labour related to HIV/AIDS"[80]… "and setting up multi-disciplinary, 'child-friendly' programmes engaging health, education and labour issues in a holistic manner".[81]

7.3   Target issues and behaviours

The following is a list of topics to address when collecting information on child labour and HIV/AIDS:

- *estimated number of single and double orphans* having lost one parent or both as a result of HIV/AIDS and other causes in the region, by sex and age;

- *children's current living conditions*, household composition, guardians if any, de facto head of household, numbers of household boys and girls working, numbers attending school (or working and attending school). Role and behaviour of the extended family if involved;

- *the relation between present living conditions and the mortality or morbidity of adults;* cause of mortality or morbidity (if the cause was HIV/AIDS, this may be denied);

- *girls' and boys' perceptions of HIV/AIDS* and their descriptions of its effects on their communities, families, and lives; stigma associated with HIV/AIDS in the area — stigma for the household and/or for the child, and ways in which this is manifested;

- *economic, social, and familial problems* of orphaned children (or the children of ill parents) related to stigma;

- *issues of prevention*; degree of preventative measures adopted or attempted by the girls and boys; the availability of preventative knowledge and devices and their cost (this issue is particularly important for girls and boys in CSE); whether the preventative means available are effective under prevailing social (gender) conditions;

- *gender differences in the responses* to HIV/AIDS (girl children are generally at greater risk);

- *issues of health status;* health and nutritional status of the children; access, if any, to modern medicine; this information must be disaggregated by age, sex, and living and social conditions;

- *issues of health* awareness (as distinct from "health status", above): degree of awareness about the causes of HIV/AIDS and the availability of medical knowledge and its source. How this knowledge varies by sex, location, lifestyle, etc. of the boys and girls.

- *kind of work performed*, hours, times of day/night, rates of pay, working conditions; changes in the rate of work at home (including remunerated work) or domestic chores due to HIV/AIDS; domestic chores performed for others (as distinct from live-in CDW); sexual and non-sexual abuse experienced in the work environment;

- *whether children are attending school*, and, if so, how regularly; whether food is provided in school; whether they attended school in the past; whether they have been

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[80] ILO/IPEC. Kaliyati, J.; Madzingira, N.; Jokomo, Z.; Francis-Chizororo, M.; Mate, R. *HIV/AIDS and child labour in Zimbabwe: A rapid assessment*, Paper No. 2. Geneva, 2002, p. vii.

[81] ILO/IPEC Mturi, A.; Nzimande, N. *HIV/AIDS and child labour in South Africa: A rapid assessment*, Paper No. 4. Geneva, 2003.

forced to quit or reduce their attendance in order to work following the death or illness of a working adult in the family; whether they would be in school full time if there were not an HIV/AIDS epidemic.

7.4   Background research

Designing an effective RA requires the relevant background information. In particular, the following has to be determined:

- existing national or regional legislation relating to children's rights and child employment;

- existing government policies, mechanisms, and agencies that concern child labour, and any national policy addressing the exploitation of children;

- governmental and non-governmental agencies and international organizations that offer programmes for, or work with, children affected by HIV/AIDS; personnel from these agencies can become informants regarding some of the subjects referred to below;

- those communities, regions, townships, and villages hardest hit by the pandemic and most likely to have child labour linked to HIV/AID; it is also important to identify leaders in the area: "Community leaders — both traditional (chiefs) and modern (such as village development councils) — played an active part in project planning and discussions";[82]

- local non-familial resources such as orphanages and similar institutions; their condition and quality of service; the standards of care and outplacement (temporary vs. permanent); the child population they tend to serve (disaggregated by age and sex); and the rates of intake;

- role and effectiveness of the extended family in cushioning the effect of HIV/AIDS for children with ill or deceased parents; and

- extent of rural-urban migration of girls and boys, and any changes in the numbers and sex of street children.

7.5   Note on terminology

This RA research must be conducted in local dialects, and researchers must use the locally current terminology to be well understood and socially accepted. This includes expressions relating to sex and sexual functions, gender and gender issues, illness and death, STDs including HIV/AIDS, CSE, the use of drugs (including glue), intergroup relations (including relations among peers), and family and kinship terms.

7.6   Accessing and interviewing the children

Once the target area or areas have been identified, samples may be drawn based on information suggested by knowledgeable informants such as NGO personnel working among the children, community members, teachers, and school authorities. Most of the children interviewed, though not all of them, will either be single or double orphans or have a parent ill with HIV/AIDS. Researchers should try to include an equal number of boys and girls in the samples they construct, differentiated by age and, if possible, by kind of activity

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[82] UNICEF. *Listening to the children: Child workers in the shadow of AIDS (Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda)*, 2001, p. 6.

performed. If many kinds of activities are involved, the researchers should make every effort to include children from a representative sample of these.

Access to the children, where they are at work, will follow the same guidelines and be subject to the same constraints as already described in previous sections of this manual. Using the schools as loci for identifying and interviewing children can be an effective measure, so long as it is remembered that some children now out working due to HIV/AIDS do not attend school at all.

The methodologies already recommended in previous sections of this manual may also be employed in researching children with respect to the effects of HIV/AIDS. But special emphasis is needed regarding these matters:

- the collection of case histories, especially useful in cases where girls or boys have become heads of households due to illness or death of parents, or where they have left their households (or their relatives' households) for various reasons and migrated elsewhere for work;

- desegregation of all data by sex and age due to the differential effects of HIV/AIDS on girls left orphaned; and

- health issues including nutritional status, physical condition, and health awareness, again disaggregated by sex and age; it is strongly advised that a qualified health professional be included on the research team.

Not only should all ethical guidelines be observed in this research, but extreme care and sensitivity should be shown regarding the feelings of the children interviewed, and the research assistants should be appropriately trained beforehand. The research team would benefit from having a qualified psychologist among its members.

7.7   What the final report should contain

The final report should contain a synthesis and analysis of all the information collected, disaggregated by age, sex, community of residence, kinds of activities girls or boys are doing and for how long, the children's school history and current attendance, and whether any of the boys or girls have benefited from any existing help or programmes (e.g. food, medication, care).

Representative child case histories should accompany the report, with the identities of the children well concealed for reasons of confidentiality. If some of these case histories were collected from young adults now 18 years or older, they should form a separate part of the final report and be clearly differentiated.

Policy or intervention recommendations should target the particular sub-populations of the sample, where appropriate, and those agencies and organizations most able to act on them. The more specific and "actionable" the recommendations, the greater their impact. The recommendations should address separate issues such as advocacy; strategies for alleviating some of the burdens on the working girls and boys concerned; health-improvement strategies; educational strategies (including health education and health awareness); and strategies for future prevention of infection.

The findings and recommendations should be widely disseminated and publicized for awareness-raising purposes, and should be made the subject of forums, discussion sessions, conferences, and proposals for both civic and civil society.

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Glossary of technical terms

Analytical framework — A set of ideas and questions that form a basis for research and analysis.

Awareness raising — A series of activities aiming to raise public levels of awareness of an issue, e.g. child labour, often with a view to mobilizing amelioratory action.

Baseline study — The collection and analysis of information regarding a population or some other phenomenon either before a programme or project is initiated or at its initial stages. Monitoring and evaluation involves the comparison of baseline data with later evidence to determine what has changed.

Bias — Any influence that may distort the results of a research study and lead to wrong conclusions. Bias in child labour research would follow from using only quantitative methods, for example, or only male researchers or only data collected from adults.

Bonded labour — Situations arising from pledges by debtors of their personal services, or those of persons under their control, as security for debts. A bonded labourer must work until the debt has been paid off, which may present a very long-term prospect. Many children in bonded labour have been sent to work to repay a loan contracted by their parents.

Category — An organizing idea or topic used to research, index, cross-check, or analyze information. A way of classifying interview respondents or findings, for purposes of research or analysis, on the basis of something they have in common.

Causal relationship — A cause-and-effect association between two variables. For example, theory proposes that poverty and child labour have a causal relationship in some societies, meaning that poverty causes child labour in these societies.

Census — A survey (count) of all individuals or households within a certain administrative jurisdiction. Many countries conduct a national population census every 10 years.

Child — A person younger than 18 years of age.

Child-centred approach — A research approach that concentrates on children and on what is deemed to be in their best interest. This approach takes into account the children's own views, experiences, and perspectives in the light of relevant social, economic, cultural, and political factors.

Child in commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) — A child who is being exploited for commercial sexual purposes, including pornography.

Child domestic work — A wide variety of tasks performed by children in a private household, including cooking, cleaning, and the care of other children. The household is often not the child's own, and the child, usually female, tends to live where she works.

Child economic activity — Almost all production activities performed by children, whether for the market or not, paid or unpaid, for a few hours or full time (for at least one hour during the reference week), whether on a casual or regular basis, in the formal (organized) sector or the informal sector.

Child engaged in armed conflict — A person under the age of 18 who serves in any capacity as part of an armed force or armed group, whether or not the child is actually involved in combat. A boy or girl may run errands for a military unit, cook for it, carry arms for the soldiers, or be exploited for sexual purposes. (See also "child soldier".)

Child labour — Children's work that deprives girls and boys of their childhood and dignity, and which is harmful to their physical and mental development. Whether a particular kind of work performed by a child is to be considered child labour may depend on the child's age, the type and conditions of work, and the effects of the work on the child. Some kinds of work are always child labour. Child labour is a subset of "children's work". (See the definition below; also the definitions of "Conventions" and "Worst forms of child labour".)

Child rights — The fundamental human rights that apply to all boys and girls, as mandated in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989.

Child soldier — The term "child soldier" usually applies to a person under the age of 18 who serves in any capacity as part of an armed force or armed group, whether or not the child is actually involved in combat. A boy or girl may run errands for a military unit, cook for it, carry arms for the soldiers, or be exploited for sexual purposes. (See also "child engaged in armed conflict".)

Children's work — Almost all production activities performed by children, whether for the market or not, paid or unpaid, for a few hours or full time (for at least one hour during the reference week), whether on a casual or regular basis, in the formal (organized) sector or the informal sector. Children's work includes work in family enterprises and in household-based production activities, as well as domestic work performed in another household for an employer. Child labour is a subset of "children's work". (See the definition of child labour above; also the definitions of "Conventions" and "Worst forms of child labour".)

Cluster sampling — Process of selecting naturally occurring groups within a population. For example, in a primary school with five grades and three classes in each grade, a researcher would create a cluster of five classes, one from each grade.

Coding — A procedure for "translating" raw data into a standardized format and separating it into categories for easier analysis. Coding qualitative data involves identifying recurrent words, concepts, or themes. In quantitative research, coding involves turning data into numerical values that can be tabulated.

Coefficient of variation (CV) — The standard error divided by the mean. Used as a measure of dispersion or sampling variability.

Conceptual framework — A theoretical model (set of ideas) for explaining something. For instance, different conceptual frameworks may be applied to the understanding of child labour and its causes: e.g. it may be seen variously as a labour-market issue, a poverty issue, a child-protection issue, or an ethical issue.

Control group — A group of respondents as similar to those in the sample group as possible but differing in terms of one key factor. By applying the same research tools to both the sample group and the control group, it is possible to compare the data to see how the one variable relates to other characteristics of the sample group.

Convention — An international treaty, subject to ratification by States. Countries that ratify a Convention become legally bound by its terms and conditions, and are obligated to honour its requirements. This is the case, for example, with ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182).

Correlation — The relationship between two variables. For example, poverty and child labour are said to have a positive correlation because as one increases in prevalence so does the other. It should be noted that a correlation does not prove causal relationship — for instance, it may not be certain whether one variable causes the other, or whether they are both independently related to a third variable.

Coverage errors — Undercoverage occurs when units in the target population are missing from the frame. Overcoverage occurs when some units in the sampling frame are not in the target population.

Cross-checking — Comparing data from one source with data from other sources to verify their accuracy.

Currently economically active population — All persons above a specified minimum age who are either employed or unemployed during the reference week.

Data collection — The gathering of information through census surveys, sample surveys, observation, or other methods.

Data interpretation — The interpretation or analysis of collected data.

Desegregation — The separation of data into categories, e.g. by sex, age, or location. Separating the data may reveal differences between different groups of people, and may help to guide fruitful interpretation.

Dwelling — Housing structure in which one or more households may reside.

Economically active population at some time during the year — All persons above a specified minimum age for the measurement of the economically active population who experienced at least one week (or one day) of employment or unemployment in the course of the reference year.

Economically active population — All persons of either sex, during a specified time reference period, who furnish the supply of labour for the production of goods and services as defined by the United Nations systems of national accounts and balances. This definition includes the production and processing of primary products, whether for the market, for barter, or for own consumption; the production of all other goods and services for the market; production of fixed assets for own use; and, in the case of households which produce such goods and services for the market, the corresponding production for own consumption. The production of services for own consumption is excluded, except for housing services and paid domestic service. It includes all persons above a specified minimum age who are either employed or unemployed during a reference time period.

Employed — Persons are considered employed if they are above the age specified for measuring the economically active population and if, during a specified period, they fell into one of the following categories: (a) performed work for wage or salary, in cash or kind; (b) were temporarily not at work during the reference period, but had a formal attachment to their job, having already worked in their present job; (c) were self-employed, performing some work for profit or family gain, in cash or in kind; and (d) persons with an enterprise, which may be a business enterprise, a farm, or a service undertaking, who are temporarily not at work during the reference period for some specified reason. Those who work at least one hour during the reference period (week or day) are considered employed.

Employers' organizations — Groups of employers organized to promote their interests.

Establishment — According to the International Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities (ISIC), an "establishment" constitutes an autonomous part of an enterprise, which exclusively or principally carries out a single type of economic activity at a single physical location. This may be a farm, mine, factory, workshop, store, office, or other type of unit.

Ethics — Principles or rules of morally correct conduct.

Evaluation and monitoring — Systematic assessment according to agreed criteria of progress and achievement.

Family — A group of persons related by blood or marriage, who may not necessarily be residing at the same place, or even city.

Feedback — Comments, reviews, or other responses to a project, a report, a document, etc. often from the people who are being studied or from those who will receive and use the results of a study, a report, a document.

Field research — A study of people in their everyday environment, as distinct from a laboratory or other special research setting.

Focus group discussions (FGD) — A method of collecting qualitative information on a particular topic by means of carefully planned discussions, led by a facilitator, among a small group of selected individuals in a permissive, non-threatening environment. The members of a focus group may share common characteristics, for example the same age, sex, or socio-economic background.

Forced labour — "All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily"

(Article 2 of the ILO Convention on Forced Labour, 1930 [No. 29]). This Convention requires countries to adopt the means of abolishing forced labour, while ILO Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105) prohibits the use of forced labour as punishment for taking part in a strike or as a means of racial, social, national, or religious discrimination.

Frequency — The number of times a particular item, for example a specific answer to an interview question, appears among a set of data.

Gender — A social construct of sex: the different social status, power, and social expectations of girls, as such, as opposed to boys, or women as opposed to men. (Compare "sex", below.) Work tasks are commonly assigned according to gender considerations, which can vary widely across cultures. All research into child labour must take gender perceptions into account, since these have real consequences in the lives of the girls and boys concerned. Different patterns, causes, and consequences of child labour have important gender implications.

Gender equality — The equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of men and women/girls and boys.

Gender mainstreaming — According to the definition adopted by the UN in 1997, "gender mainstreaming" is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, or programmes. This is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women, as well as those of men, an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic, and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of gender mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.[83]

Gender roles — Activities conventionally performed either by one sex or the other. For example, boys may help their fathers with work outside the house, while girls help their mothers with household chores.

Gender values and norms — Conventional expectations of how men and women of all generations should respectively behave. In many societies, for example, girls are expected to be obedient and are allowed to cry, while boys are expected to be brave and not cry.

Hazardous work — Work that jeopardizes a child's health, safety, or moral development. This includes work that exposes children to physical, psychological, or sexual harm or abuse; that takes place underground or under water, at dangerous heights, or in confined spaces; that involves using dangerous machinery or tools or handling or transporting heavy loads; that exposes children to harmful substances or agents, processes, temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations; that takes place under particularly difficult conditions; that occurs for unduly long hours or during the night; or that unreasonably confines the child to the premises of the employer.

HIV/AIDS — Human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome. HIV gradually attacks and destroys the immune system, leaving the infected person vulnerable to other illnesses and infections. AIDS is the last stage of HIV infection. The virus is transmitted through body fluids such as blood, semen, vaginal fluids, and breast milk. Children everywhere are affected by the spread of the virus — directly by its impact on themselves and their family members, and indirectly by its influence on the wider social and economic environment in which they live.

Household — A household is defined as a person or group of persons who live together in the same house or compound, share the same housekeeping arrangements, and are catered to as a single unit. Members of a household are not necessarily related by blood or marriage. "Households" include a married couple living in consensual union; a

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[83] United Nations Economic and Social Council (UCOSOC): *Agreed Conclusions* E/1997/L.30, p. 2.

married couple without children; a married couple with one or more children or unmarried with one or more children; a father either previously or not previously married with one or more children; or a mother either previously or not previously married with one or more children. A household may comprise one or more families.

Household chores — Domestic services provided by household members without pay. These are considered non-economic activities. Household chores include preparing and serving meals; making, mending, washing and ironing clothes; shopping; caring for children and/or the sick, infirm, or elderly persons in the household; cleaning, decorating, and maintaining the dwelling; and transporting household members and their goods.

Household surveys — Generally, sample surveys involving the administration of questionnaires to the inhabitants or heads of households or most knowledgeable person on a given subject. In many societies, households rather than families are the important units of research, and household surveys provide an important way of learning about child labour.

Indexing — The process of organizing data into categories.

Indicator — A characteristic that is used to represent something else. For example, the height and weight of a child is sometimes used as an indicator of the child's growth and health. Indicators should be easy to obtain, calculate, understand and interpret. Child labour indicators describe and compare the primary factors related to children's engagement in non-schooling activities across regions/countries/sectors, across forms and over time. Child labour indicators identify ways to manage the complexity and pinpoint the factors critical to each specific form of child labour situation for the purpose of comparison, project, programme and policy design and their monitoring and evaluation.

Industry (branch of economic activity) — The activity — defined in terms of the types of goods produced and services provided — of the establishment in which an employed person worked during the survey reference period.

Informant — A person who gives information to a researcher. People believed to have in-depth knowledge and understanding of an issue are sometimes referred to as "key informants".

Informed consent — A participant's voluntary agreement to participate in research, based on an understanding of the goals, methods, benefits, and risks of the research. No participant should be expected to participate without having first given informed consent.

International Labour Office (ILO) — Permanent Secretariat of the International Labour Organization, controlled by a Governing Body consisting of representatives of governments, workers' and employers' organizations of the ILO member states.

International Labour Organization (ILO) — An organization founded in 1919 to advance social justice and better living conditions throughout the world. In 1946, the ILO became the first specialized agency associated with the United Nations. It is a tripartite organization composed of workers', employers', and government representatives. The number of member States is currently 178 (as of 1 June 2005).

International Labour Standards — Conventions and Recommendations, covering a broad range of social and labour issues, adopted by the International Labour Conference. Child labour is covered by both Conventions and Recommendations. (See also "worst forms of child labour"; "Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 1999 [No. 182]"; "Minimum Age Convention, 1973 [No. 138]".)

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) — Programme of the International Labour Office that works toward the progressive elimination of child labour by strengthening national capacities to address child labour and by promoting a world-wide movement to combat it. The priority target groups are bonded child labourers; trafficked children; children engaged in armed conflict; child victims of commercial sexual exploitation; children in illicit activities; children in hazardous

working conditions; children who are particularly vulnerable, e.g. very young working children (younger than 12 years of age); and working girls.

Interview — A method of data collection in which a person asks questions of a respondent, or informant. Interviews may take various forms and be more structured or more open ended. Interviews are a principal means of data collection in child labour research. Interviews that administer fixed questionnaires, where the ranges of response are predetermined, is called a "structured" interview; those that let respondents use their own words are referred to as "open ended".

Labour force — See "currently economically active population", above.

Leading question — A question that makes assumptions about the participant, leading the participant to give a certain answer. "Do you have to work because your family is poor?", for example, assumes that the participant sees poverty mainly as an *economic* issue.

Light work — Work which is (a) unlikely to be harmful to the health or development of boys and girls; and (b) not such as to prejudice their school attendance, or their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority, or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received.

Matrix — A table of rows and columns used to compare items.

Methodological approach — A way of formulating research questions or hypotheses, and the adoption of a systematic, scientific data-collection technique to produce research findings that will address those questions or hypotheses.

Methodology — The study or exposition of methods and theory of research practice. Different research methodologies include quantitative, qualitative, or participatory approaches. The research methodology explains the reasons for using certain methods and the principles governing their use.

Migrant — A worker who travels from one area to another to work or to look for work. This worker may be a child under the age of 18.

Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) — Adopted in 1973, this ILO Convention requires ratifying States to pursue a comprehensive national policy to eliminate child labour and to set minimum age levels for admission to employment, for light work, and for hazardous work. The general minimum age for admission to employment, as prescribed by Convention No. 138, should not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and should not be less than 15 years (developing countries may fix it initially at 14 years).

Minority — An ethnic, racial, religious, or other group having a distinctive presence and identity within a society. Such a group usually possesses little power or influence, relative to other groups within a society, and its population may be small relative to that of the society as a whole.

Mobility — (a) Movement between different social or economic positions within the class or caste system of a society. (b) Geographic mobility, the movement of people from place to place (or even from one country to another) in order to work or any other reason.

NGO — Non-governmental organization. Many NGOs are active in combating child labour.

Non-economic activities — Those activities that fall outside the boundary of economic activity as defined by the United Nations Systems of National Accounts (SNA), for example domestic tasks in one's own home, nursing one's own children, sewing one's own clothes, repairs in one's own house, and volunteer community activities.

Non-probability sampling — As opposed to "probability sampling". A sampling design where the conditions of probability sampling are not satisfied, e.g. with opportunistic (or convenience) sampling, or with purposive, quota, and snowball sampling.

Non-response — Where the required information is not obtained from units selected into the sample, or not for all relevant items for each of these units.

Non-sampling errors — Errors that are not related to the sampling methodology, but that occur at other phases of the survey operation. These include errors due to response bias, response variance, editing, coding, data entry, undercoverage, sample selection, refusals, not-at-home, and others.

Observation — A method of data collection where data are gathered by watching people's behaviour and by observing at selected places.

Occupation — Kind of work performed during the reference period by the person employed, as defined by the set of tasks and duties assigned and/or carried out by an individual.

Opportunity cost — The opportunity cost of child labour is the lost investment in human capital formation, i.e. education. The opportunity cost of eliminating child labour, on the other hand, is typically the contribution the child labourer could have made to her household had she continued working. In general, the concept refers to the value of the best alternative foreclosed by a course of action.

Part-time work — Employment for less than full-time periods. In many countries where boys and girls work, their work may be part-time, and may vary with their school hours or the economic cycle.

Participatory approach — Where the research subjects themselves play a large role in conducting research. In child labour research, children may help with collecting information and exploring and interpreting their situation in seeking ways to improve it.

Payment "in kind" — Payment in the form of food or clothing or other goods — or even a place to sleep — rather than in terms of money. Many working girls and boys are paid in this way.

Peer group — A category of people of similar age and social condition. It is not necessary that the members of a peer group all know each other.

Pilot testing — Testing the effectiveness of research instruments on limited samples before using them to gather data on a larger scale.

Population not currently active — Includes those not in the labour force; those above the age specified for measuring the economically active population not employed and not unemployed; and those below the age specified for measuring the economically active population.

Primary sampling units — Area units of relatively large size chosen from the sampling frame at the first stage.

Probability — Likelihood that a particular event or events will occur.

Protocol — Instructions for data collection, including definitions of key terms, all research tools, ethical considerations, and other details of research design.

Proxy indicator — An indicator that represents another variable or other variables that is/are more difficult to assess.

Qualitative data — Information gathered in narratives (non-numeric forms), such as information collected from focus groups or key informant interviews.

Quantitative data — Information, such as survey data, gathered in numeric form.

Qualitative research — Approaches concerned with collecting in-depth data about human social experiences and contexts. Research that relies upon questionnaires, interviews, fieldwork, and other in-depth means for collecting data. The data collected is usually non-statistical and qualitative.

Quantitative research — Research concerned with data collection in the form of various measures, and its description and analysis through statistical methods.

Questionnaire — One of the principal instruments used in interviews. The questions asked of a respondent can provide a limited set of predefined alternative responses which must be answered only in the way prescribed ("closed-end" questions). Alternatively, "open-ended" questions allow greater freedom of response.

Recommendation — An ILO instrument which provides general or technical guidelines to be applied at a national level. It often supplements principles set out in a Convention, in the way Recommendation No. 190 supplements Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour.

Rehabilitation — A series of steps to restore an individual to a more normal life. Rehabilitation programmes are often used for girls who have been exploited in CSE or, among others, children who have served in armed units.

Research sample — The group targeted to provide answers to research questions. The participants are selected through a variety of techniques in such a way that they represent the entire target population. (See also "sampling frame", below.) The various techniques used to select a sample include the following:

— *Cluster sampling.* Process of selecting naturally occurring groups within a population. For example, in a primary school with five grades and three classes in each grade, a researcher would create a cluster of five classes, one from each grade.

— *Non-probability sampling.* As opposed to "probability sampling". A sampling design where conditions of probability sampling are not fulfilled; such is the case for opportunistic (or convenience) sampling, as well as purposive, quota, and snowball sampling.

— *Opportunistic sampling.* Taking advantage of people encountered during research by involving them as research participants. Particularly useful for hard-to-reach groups such as street children and sexually exploited children.

— *Probability sampling.* Also known as "random sampling"; each person in the total population has a known, non-zero chance of selection, and all are selected through a random process.

— *Purposive sampling.* Targeting specific (named) people known to have information or to be opinion leaders.

— *Quota sampling.* Selecting a set number of people, or "quota", who share characteristics such as the same age or sex. The same quota of people is selected from each group of potential participants; for example, 10 boys and 10 girls aged between 9 and 12 years in each place of employment is covered by the research.

— *Random sampling.* See "probability sampling", above.

— *Representative sampling.* A sample that has similar characteristics to the overall population from which it was selected. A representative sample — e.g. where a sample of children in which the ratio of girls to boys is the same as the national ratio for children in the same age group — can be used to draw conclusions about the population as a whole.

— *Snowball sampling.* Selecting people by asking one participant or respondent for suggestions about, or introductions to, other possible respondents. Especially useful in research where respondents are difficult to locate or contact by other means.

Reliability — A measure of whether the research results will be the same if the research is repeated. This term describes the extent to which a method of data collection will produce similar results if used by other researchers or by the same researcher more than once.

Respondent — A person who is being interviewed or studied, who answers a questionnaire, or who otherwise provides information to researchers.

Response rate — The percentage of sampled participants or respondents who have actually taken part in the research. For example, out of 100 possible respondents included in a sample, 20 may not be found at home, and 10 are may be unwilling to take part in the research. This would result in a response rate of 70 per cent. Sampling must anticipate response rates of less than 100 per cent, and, by adding more participants to the sample, compensate for them in advance.

Research questions — The major questions the research aims to answer. Research questions structure the research, and should derive from the goals of the investigation. They should not be confused with the questions asked of respondents in interviews or questionnaires.

Sampling bias — The difference between an estimate based on a sample survey and the same estimate derived from a complete count using the same questionnaire, enumerators, instructions, and processing methods.

Sampling error — Refers to the difference between an estimate derived from a sample survey and the "true" value that would result if a census of the whole population were taken under the same conditions.

Sampling frame — Complete list of people from which a selection of people (a sample) is made. Sampling frames include voting lists, lists of welfare recipients, school registers, lists of households, or the directory of villages in a district. Probability sampling techniques always require a sampling frame. Some non-probability sampling techniques — e.g. snowball sampling, quota sampling, and opportunistic sampling — commonly used in researching the WFCL, including trafficking, do not require one. (See "research sample", above.)

Secondary data — Any existing information such as books, published or unpublished research reports, university dissertations, statistics, records, journal and newspaper articles, videos, photographs, and films.

Self-weighting sample — Sample in which each elementary unit in the population has the same, non-zero, probability of coming into the sample.

Sex — Universal biological differences between men and women that do not change. For example, only women can give birth. (Compare "gender", above.)

Slavery or slave-like conditions — Conditions that restrict the liberty of human beings. Child labour in slave-like conditions can occur across different economic sectors and types of activity, and can include the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, and forced or compulsory labour (including the forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflicts).

Snowball sampling — Selecting people by asking one participant or respondent for suggestions about, or introductions to, other possible respondents. Especially useful in research where respondents are difficult to locate or contact by other means.

Stakeholders — People and organizations having an interest or role (a "stake") in an activity or organization or in a research project. Stakeholders can include clients, development agencies, donors, relatives, professionals, community leaders, volunteers, and child labourers.

Statistics — Data in numerical or quantitative form.

Status in employment — Status of economically active persons with respect to their employment, i.e. whether they are employers, employees, own-account workers, unpaid family workers, etc.

Time-bound Programme (TBP) — A set of coordinated policies and programmes to eliminate a country's WFCL within a defined period. It presents a comprehensive approach that operates at many administrative levels, including within the community and the family. Such programmes emphasize the need to address the root causes of child labour and to link action against child labour to the national development effort, with particular emphasis on economic and social policies to combat poverty and to promote universal basic education and social mobilization.

Trafficking — Exploitation of a human being through recruitment and/or transportation for labour, generally through the use of violence, coercion, or deception, or as a result of debt bondage.

Training — Activities aiming to provide the skills and knowledge required for employment in a particular kind of work. Some countries have training and/or apprenticeship programmes for young people while they are still under the age of 18. Some rehabilitation programmes also have a training component. (See "rehabilitation", above.)

Triangulation — The use of a combination of research methods, sources of information, and researchers in a study to examine a topic from different points of view. Triangulation is a way to cross-check data and to increase the reliability of research results.

Unconditional WFCL — According to the language of Convention No. 182, unconditional WFCL are:

> "(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
>
> (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
>
> (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;…"

(See the definition of worst forms of child labour.)

Unemployed — All persons above the age specified for measuring the economically active population who were without work during the reference period, but were available for work and seeking work. According to a less formal definition, the unemployed are without work and available for work, but not seeking work.

Unit of analysis — Basic element of a research study, e.g. an individual person, a family, a household, a city, or an enterprise (or establishment). This unit will be different for different studies.

Usually economically active population — Those employed or unemployed for more than a certain number of weeks during a long reference period, e.g. one year.

Validity — Accuracy of data and the results that are derived from it.

Workforce (or labour force) — The economically active population. In many countries, adolescents aged 15 to 17 years are considered part of the adult labour force, even though, under the terms of the Conventions referred to in this manual, any child under the age of 18 is considered a child.

Workers' organizations or trade unions — Organizations of workers established to protect and improve their economic and social status through collective action. They can, and do, play a significant role in some countries in combating child labour.

Working conditions — The physical, social, and environmental conditions in which a worker works, whether child or adult.

Worst forms of child labour — Forms of child labour that must be eliminated under the terms of the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182). States ratifying this Convention must take immediate action to eliminate all forms of slavery and practices similar to slavery; the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution or for the production of pornography and for illicit activities; and any work which is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children. It is useful to make a distinction between two categories "unconditional WFCL" and "hazardous work". The WFCL under the former category are always considered WFCL under the terms of Convention No. 182 regardless of the working conditions, and no national process of determination is necessary. These forms include commercial sexual exploitation of children, children engaged in armed conflict, children involved in drug trafficking, child trafficking, and bonded labour. There are no corrections in conditions such as hours worked or safety measures that will ever make these forms acceptable; they are worst forms by their very existence and nature. By contrast, WFCL under the category of hazardous work need to be determined nationally after tripartite consultation. When determining whether a particular activity is «hazardous work» or not, consideration is given not only to the nature of the work but also the circumstances in which the work is being carried out in a particular setting at a particular time. Once determined to be hazardous work, it is considered WFCL and requires urgent action. The category of hazardous work includes exposure to hazardous materials or adverse conditions such as extreme heat,

long working hours, or physical or emotional abuse. While the unconditional WFCL often relate to criminal acts, hazardous forms of work may be conducted in legitimate sectors. It might even be possible to alter conditions in a way to make hazardous forms of work into non-hazardous forms. While even such non-hazardous forms should not be allowed for children below the minimum working age, they are not WFCL covered under Convention No. 182. (See the definitions of hazardous work, Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), unconditional worst forms of child labour, and Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182)).

Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) — Article 3 of this ILO Convention defines the worst forms of child labour in the following way:

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

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

(c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and

(d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children."

Web links to documents and sources

United Nations organizations and multilateral institutions

1. Asian Development Bank: http://www.adb.org
2. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development: http://www.ebrd.com
3. European Union: http://europa.eu.int
4. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations: http://www.fao.org
5. Inter-American Development Bank: http://www.iadb.org
6. International Fund for Agricultural Development: http://www.ifad.org
7. International Labour Organization: http://www.ilo.org
8. International Labour Organization — International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour: http://www.ilo.org/ipec or http://www.ilo.org/childlabour
9. International Organization for Migration: http://www.iom.int
10. Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS: http://www.unaids.org
11. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights: http://www.ohchr.org
12. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: http://www.oecd.org
13. Understanding Children's Work (UCW) — An Inter-Agency Research Cooperation Project on Child Labour: http://www.ucw-project.org
14. Union Network International: http://www.union-network.org
15. United Nations Children's Fund: http://unicef.org
16. United Nations Development Programme: http://www.undp.org
17. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: http://www.unesco.org
18. United Nations University: http://www.unu.edu
19. The World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org
20. World Health Organization: http://www.who.int

Governmental and non-governmental organizations

21. Amnesty International: http://www.amnesty.org
22. Anti-Slavery International: http://www.antislavery.org
23. Basic Education and Policy Support Activity: http://www.beps.net
24. Canadian International Development Agency — Child Protection: http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/childprotection
25. Casa Alianza: http://www.casa-alianza.org
26. Centre for Defence Information: http://www.cdi.org
27. The Child and Adolescent Services Research Centre: http://www.casrc.org
28. Child Labor Coalition: http://www.stopchildlabor.org
29. Child Labor Research Initiative: http://www.clri.uichr.org
30. Child Rights Information Network (CRIN): http://www.crin.org
31. Child Watch International Research Network: http://www.childwatch.uio.no
32. Child Workers in Asia: http://www.cwa.tnet.co.th
33. The Children's House: http://www.child-abuse.org/childhouse
34. Clean Clothes Campaign: http://www.cleanclothes.org
35. Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers: http://www.child-soldiers.org

36. The Concerned for Working Children (CWC): http://www.workingchild.org

37. Defence for Children International: http://www.defence-for-children.org

38. Department for International Development: http://www.dfid.gov.uk

39. ECPAT International — End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes: http://www.ecpat.net

40. Free the Children — International Children Network: http://www.freethechildren.org

41. Global March against Child Labour: http://www.globalmarch.org

42. Human Rights Internet: http://www.hri.ca

43. Human Rights Watch: http://www.hrw.org

44. International Federation Terre des Hommes: http://www.terredeshommes.org

45. National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children: http://www.nspcc.org.uk

46. Reuters Foundation — Alerting Humanitarians to Emergencies: http://www.alertnet.org

47. Save the Children: http://www.savethechildren.org

48. Stop Child Trafficking: http://www.stopchildtrafficking.org

49. United States Department of Labor: http://www.dol.gov

50. The World Revolution: http://www.worldrevolution.org

51. World Vision: http://www.worldvision.org

52. World Vision International Resources on Child Rights: http://www.child-rights.org

Institutes and confederations

53. Centre for International Development: Children and Development Program (Harvard) — USA: http://www.cid.harvard.edu/child

54. FAFO Institute for International Studies: http://www.fafo.no/ais/index.htm

55. Institut International des Droits de l'Enfant: http://www.childsrights.org

56. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions: http://www.icftu.org

57. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED): http://www.iied.org

58. International Organization of Employers: http://www.ioe-emp.org

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Module on supporting technical guidelines

1. Observation and interview topics: A checklist

Checklist 6 lists fruitful research issues and topics, many of them already suggested in the main text. Which topics researchers choose to emphasize will depend on the requirements and context of the specific RA. The information will come, depending on the situation, from both observation and interviews.

Checklist 6: Obtaining information about a child

- **Family context:**
  - parents alive, living together in the household
  - number and age of siblings
  - identity of the primary care-giver
  - what is good and bad about the family social and economic situation
  - illness in the family

- **Child's present living situation:**
  - living with family or others
  - sleeping — times, where, how long, what conditions
  - eating — times, what, how much, where
  - bathing — where, how often
  - toilet — what kind
  - what is good and bad about current situation

- **Schooling:**
  - allowed to attend school
  - ever attended school (type), and if so, for how long, when
  - attending now (how many hours per day/week)
  - why stopped if no longer attending, whether wants to return, and reasons (yes/no)
  - presence of violence in the classroom/school environment
  - what is good and bad about school

- **Work:**
  - current occupation(s)
  - age at which child started to work for the first time
  - length of time in current work, and age started
  - doing how many jobs now, and what kinds
  - work history
  - parents' work history, if relevant

- **Personal data:**
  - sex
  - stated age, estimated age
  - language or ethnic group
  - migrant status
  - injuries, sicknesses, accidents
  - fears and worries

▶

- main needs, problems
- future plans and desires

- **Identifiers:**
  - name
  - location (relative to researcher's mapping if possible)

Obtaining information on the characteristics and risks of the specific work or economic activities done by children:

- **Kind of work:**
  - common name/slang terms for industry, work or activity
  - whether this work or activity is legal
  - location (e.g. field, household, factory, marketplace, shop)
  - location and type of any secondary economic activities
  - size of enterprise(s)
  - is enterprise legal

- **Tasks:**
  - list of specific tasks performed at this work site (with names and slang terms if relevant)
  - description of each task, as given by the children
  - what is good and bad about each job

- **The employment process:**
  - working for family, relative, or third party
  - how was employment arranged, by whom, through whom
  - formal contract,
  - verbal agreement, neither underlying financial obligations (advance to family, debt of family to employer)
  - whether loan or repayment required for equipment,
  - food, sleeping quarters
  - freedom to leave

- **Terms and conditions of work:**
  - hours and times of the day
  - shifts, part-time/full-time, days per week, overtime, seasonality, irregularities, etc.
  - timing of the child's payment (when, how often paid, to whom)
  - mode of payment (wages, in-kind only, by piece, paid by each client, payment to parents, etc.)
  - benefits
  - transportation to and from the workplace, and time required
  - allowed to attend school
  - given leave for sick days
  - what is good and bad about the terms and conditions

- **Working environment:**
  - working alongside immediate family
  - relatives at same workplace
  - other people present at same workplace (if so, whom; other children?)
  - isolated workplace
  - ratio of adults to children
  - food provided
  - access to health clinic ▶

- clean drinking water
- toilet facilities
- lighting and ventilation
- first-aid kit/trained person
- freedom of movement permitted
- freedom to interact permitted
- what is good and bad about the situation

- **Physical risks:** [84]
  - power machinery
  - toxic chemicals
  - noise
  - air (smoke, fumes)
  - temperature and exposure (sun, elements)
  - weights carried/lifted
  - physical position while working
  - dangerous animals
  - medical care
  - closeness of medical help to workplace
  - protective gear (welding shields, gloves, boots, glasses, hard hat, ear plugs)
  - physical abuse by employers, supervisors, fellow workers
  - sexual abuse by employers, supervisors, fellow workers
  - workplace isolated and unprotected
  - perception of danger, threat, risk and its source

- **Emotional and psychological features:**
  - repetitiveness of tasks
  - time stress
  - quality stress (failures, mistakes)
  - opportunities for learning, advancement
  - opportunities for creativity
  - high/low prestige of industry or task
  - scape-goating, harassment
  - verbal abuse by employers, supervisors, fellow workers
  - verbal sexual harassment by employers, supervisors, fellow workers
  - incentives to do well
  - punishments, including insufficient food or rest periods or use of toilet facilities

2. More suggestions for collecting information from or about working girls and boys

This section provides useful practical guidelines and recommendations for specific information that may be collected from or about working children through focus groups, narratives of episodes, daily activity logs, longitudinal work histories, and life histories.

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[84] When asking a child about occupational injuries or illnesses, researchers should provide a time interval with the question, thereby creating a parameter for comparison purposes. The suggested timeframe (six months to one year) is relatively long for questions on this topic.

2.1 Practical guidelines

The box below provides useful guidelines and reminders on approaching children.

Box 38: Guidelines for research with children

Do	Don't
• Introduce yourself.	• Lecture.
• Create trust.	• Rush.
• Use simple language.	• Criticize.
• Be patient.	• Interrupt.
• Make sure you have adequate privacy.	• Dominate.
• Be sensitive to a child's emotions.	• Overwhelm a child with several adult researchers.
• Ask the child for permission.	• Embarrass children or laugh at them.
• Keep children's views and answers confidential.	• Reinterpret what children say.
• Be flexible and creative.	• Talk down to children.
• Listen to and respect children's views.	• Stand or sit higher while children stand or sit lower.
• Record exactly what children say.	• Make negative comments to or about children.
• Lower yourself to the level of children; don't stand over them or sit on a chair — sit with them on the floor.	• Praise, or otherwise favour, some children and not others.
• Be self-critical, reflect on your behaviour towards children.	• Treat boys or girls or children with more schooling or from ethnic groups differently. [85]
• Show interest and respect for children's opinions, knowledge, and skills.	
• Let them do things for themselves, in their own way.	
• Be humble.	
• Use methods that allow children to express their views, knowledge and skills.	

2.2 Focus groups

Focus groups were described briefly in the manual, and an example was provided in Box 20. Focus group discussions (FGDs) can be a rich source of information, and RA researchers have generally found them very useful.

A focus group can comprise:

• the working boys and girls; or

• men and women in their households, communities, and work environments; or

• other informants, such as social workers and government or NGO officials.

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[85] Adapted from Boyden, J.; Ennew, J. (eds.). *Children in focus: A manual for participatory research with children.* Radda Barnen, Stockholm, 1997, reprinted on 2003.

The composition of a focus group will to some extent depend on what contacts the researchers have made, as well as what they hope to learn. Some research teams organize multiple FGDs. An RA for CSE research conducted in Madagascar held three different kinds of focus groups at each of its three research sites.[86] Some were for girls only, some for boys only, and some for key informants only.

One RA has provided useful guidelines on how to organize focus groups:[87]

- A focus group should include a minimum of 5 or 6 participants, and not more than 15.

- Within each focus group, participants should be of similar age.

- Same-sex groups are the ideal.

- All materials needed for the FGD should be prepared in advance (e.g. tape recorder, snacks, and writing materials).

- Facilitators should clearly explain the objectives of the FGD group and direct the discussion, especially when it digresses or when there is little active participation. They should tie together the ideas that are raised, and then introduce new questions and topics, all the while keeping within the context of the FGD's overall objectives. The main points of a particular subject should be summarized before a new topic is introduced. The participation of all group members should be encouraged, and the facilitator should address each person by name.

The subject matter of focus groups can vary greatly. Listed below are possible "focuses":

- FGDs comprising informants may be helpful in locating working (and non-working) children, estimating their numbers, and learning more about their work, workload, and degree of contact with the outside world.

- Focus groups can provide information about boys and girls working in rural areas or about those working in the streets. Participants in such groups can include some of the boys and girls or their household members. Other groups addressing these issues can unite social workers, police, teachers and school administrators, doctors from public health units, NGO volunteers, and others.

- FGDs can help to learn about the informants' own roles in combating child labour. Such was the case with FGDs in Sri Lanka, where participants included police officers, probation and childcare services officers, and officers and workers at rehabilitation centres.[88] These discussions elicited information regarding actions that the different institutions had taken or planned to take to address the sexual exploitation of children. Other FGDs can include a broad range of experts discussing the problem under investigation.

- Focus groups composed of boys and/or girls (but not very young children) can provide insights into their perceptions and awareness of their own situations, their ideas about work and leisure, and their own activities. If they are working, participants can reveal detailed information about their work. They may be willing to discuss their connection, if any, to drugs and drug use; some children tend to be more at ease discussing this subject in focus groups of their peers than in individual interviews.

[86] ILO/IPEC. Ravaozanany, N.; Razafindrabe, L.; Rakotoniarivo, L. *Madagascar — Les enfants victimes de l'exploitation sexuelle à Antsiranana, Toliary et Antananarivo: Une évaluation rapide.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 25. Geneva, 2002, pp. 26-29.

[87] Adapted from Annex No. 6 of Dávalos, G., *Bolivia — Trabajo infantil en la caña de azúcar: Una evaluación rápida.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 36. Geneva, 2002.

[88] ILO/IPEC. Amarasinghe, S. *Sri Lanka — The commercial sexual exploitation of children: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 18. Geneva, 2002.

- On sensitive topics such as CSE and trafficking, as well as drug use or child domestic work, focus groups including individuals who have been involved in such activities can be useful — they can help to develop a more comprehensive view of how these kinds of activity are organized, and the conditions under which they occur. For example, in a RA on trafficking and sexual exploitation in Nepal,[89] focus groups were conducted in different localities with a wide range of individuals including locals, vulnerable girls, trafficked boys in rehabilitation centres, social activists, and male and female traffickers in custody. Because of their knowledge, experience, willingness, and verbal skills, participants who themselves have a history in the kind of work under investigation are sometimes "self-selected" during individual interviews, and they can then participate in the kind of focus group described above.

- Focus groups composed of parents can communicate their perceptions and views about such important issues as education, causes of child labour, and their degree of awareness of the dangers and hazards threatening children (perhaps their own) working in their communities. Such far-ranging FGDs may even provide leads for effective interventions. For example, a FGD with teachers and parents in Kenya revealed a problem concerning "the prohibitive cost of purchasing new textbooks each year as children moved up a grade".[90] This is a tangible item of information that could lead to remedial action. In focus groups in Tanzania, discussions covered topics such as educational levels among parents and children, causes of child labour as they related to increases in the cost of living, gender, and age issues, and proposed interventions.[91] In Tanzania, again, an FGD with selected girls who had been sexually exploited generated ideas about what needed to be done to address the problem and elicited perceptions about the girls' lifestyles and about whether they considered their activities dangerous or hazardous.[92]

- FGDs can also be used with control groups. One FGD can be held with working children, for example, and a separate one with non-working children; or one FGD can be held with children in school and another with children not attending school.

- FGDs with influential individuals can prove valuable in securing support for the RA from local authorities and building local-level rapport and networks.

- FGDs can be used as a forum to triangulate the validity and credibility of data found through the direct interviews.

- If a tape recorder is used, focus groups can serve to document speech patterns and the use of local slang. Whether a tape recorder or note-taker is used, participant identities must always be kept confidential.

2.3 Narratives of episodes

Box 39, below, provides examples of types of episodes that might be narrated to interviewers by child respondents (or others talking about them), and what the narrative may be used to indicate.

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[89] ILO/IPEC. Bal, K.; Subedi, G.; Gurung, Y.; Adhikari, K. *Nepal — Trafficking in girls with special reference to prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 2. Geneva, 2001.

[90] UNICEF. *Child labour in the shadow of HIV/AIDS*, 2001, p. 30.

[91] ILO/IPEC. Gonza, M.; Moshi, P. *Tanzania — Children working in commercial agriculture – Tea: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 11. Geneva, 2002.

[92] ILO/IPEC. Kamala, E.; Lusinde, E.; Millinga, J.; Mwaitula, J. *Tanzania — Children in prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 12. Geneva, 2001.

Box 39: Types of narrative episode and their use		
Type of episode	From whom?	Intended usefulness
An accident causing injury in the workplace.	Child who was injured, or child who saw the event.	Understanding health risks in the workplace.
Account of encounters or "pick-ups".	Child in commercial sexual exploitation.	Understanding their powerlessness or negotiating potential.
Travelling to another city.	Street boy or girl.	Understanding patterns of migration among child labourers.
An episode of sexual harassment.	Child domestic worker or NGO person with close relationships to child domestic workers.	Understanding the vulnerabilities of the girl domestic worker.
First entrance into an informal school.	Child labourer who has just joined a school programme, or the parent.	Understanding the motivations, and the difficulties in going into schooling.
Serious sickness of a working child.	NGO worker or parent. Health-care workers.	Understanding how parents/households manage illness in the case of a money-earning child.

2.4   Daily activity logs

Some researchers ask children for a step-by-step, morning-to-night description of every-thing they did the previous day, seeking a picture of daily activities typically engaged in. This is referred to as a "daily activity log".

This approach has drawbacks:

- One day's daily activities may not be similar to those of another; in the course of a week, or a month, a child may engage in many activities that this approach does not capture.

- The child may not enjoy being asked to remember everything, and may forget or overlook things; this approach can also be time consuming and boring, especially for the younger child, and, again, may produce partial or inaccurate information.

The approach can prove useful, however, where used as an introduction to a more general conversation, and provided there is enough time for it.

The following box provides an example of a daily activity log, this one for a child domestic worker (CDW).

Box 40: Excerpt from the daily activity log of a girl CDW in Ethiopia

(Times given are approximate, since the child did not own a watch.)

5-7 a.m. Wake up in the morning. Wash up. Unlock the gate. Tie the dogs in the dog house. Prepare some food for the dog and feed the dog. Clean the compound. Fetch water from the neighbourhood and come back home.

7-8 a.m. Burn charcoal. Prepare and serve breakfast for the family. Put lunch in boxes for children. Iron (straighten) the clothes that the girls and lady employer wears on that particular day. Clean the shoes of children and employers. Clean and dry dishes, cups, pans, and other utensils used for the preparation of breakfast. Wash the towel used for drying dishes and cups. Make all the beds.

8-9 a.m. Accompany the children to school, carrying their meals and school bags. On my way back from the children's school, shop for food items for the day and carry back to the house.

9-9.30 a.m. Clean the house. Polish the floor. Arrange the sofas and the chairs of the dining table.

9.30-11.30 a.m. Prepare *injera* (local food that is flat, round, and thin made with flour of a special species of grass type plant. Ethiopians daily take this food staff for their meals. It is eaten soaked in *wotte*). This is prepared once every three days. Collect dry leaves for fire fuel to bake *injera* every other day. Wash clothes every week. Iron clothes every week.

11.30 a.m.-1.00 p.m. Prepare wotte (local curry or *goulash*).

1-2 p.m. Serve lunch. Wash dishes, glasses, and pans. Clean the floor of the dining room. Eat lunch after employers have taken theirs. Clean the kitchen.

2-3 p.m. Fetch water for the afternoon and evening. Prepare *berberie* (local seasoning made of pepper and other spices). Cleaning and sieving cereals to be ground. Going to and staying at grinding mills carrying from 5-30 kg of cereals. Roasting peas, an ingredient for *wotte*. Preparing *tella* (local beer) once a month. Throwing garbage (once every three days).

3-3.30 p.m. Accompany children from school. Serve children tea and some food (bread or *injera* with *wotte* prepared in different ways).

3.30-5.45 p.m. Prepare *wotte* for dinner.

5.45-8 p.m. Go to and from school. Attend classes.

8-9.30 p.m. Warming *wotte* for dinner. Serving dinner. Cleaning the table. Washing dishes. Cleaning kitchen floor.

9.30-10.30 p.m. Coffee ceremony (attended by some neighbours), including charcoal fuelling, washing coffee, roasting the washed coffee, pounding the roasted coffee, boiling the pounded coffee, cleaning coffee cups and coffee tray, pouring coffee into cups. First round serving boiled coffee; boiling coffee again; second round, cleaning coffee cups and coffee tray, serving coffee; second round, boiling coffee; third round, cleaning cups and coffee tray, serving coffee; third and final round, mop up the floor.

10.30-11.30 p.m. Giving food to the dogs. Releasing the dogs (untie dogs). Lock the gate. Stitching children's clothes. Washing socks and pants. Opening the gate for the eldest son of employer late in the evening. Warming *wotte*. Serving dinner. Washing dishes and cleaning table. Prepare charcoal to heat water and provide the son with warm water to wash his feet. Go to sleep.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Kifle, A. *Ethiopia — Child domestic workers in Addis Ababa: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 38. Geneva, 2002, Annex 3, p. 69.

2.5   Longitudinal work histories

Many studies of boys and girls who work do not delve into their past work history, even though a child of 12 or 14 may already have been working for some years. The collection of longitudinal accounts may show the progression from one kind of employment to another, or one kind of skill to another, depending on the following factors:

- focus of the RA;

- available time; and

- willingness of the child to talk about it.

Advice for compiling longitudinal work histories:

- Such histories are best collected when repeat interviews with a child are possible.

- If the child loses a day's earnings because of time spent with the researcher, he or she must be remunerated.

- In no case should the child be encouraged to miss work without employer (or family) consent.

- It may also be useful to interview parents about the work history of the child (and their own).

- Where longitudinal narratives last for an hour or more, researchers might ask the child's permission to use a tape recorder. Assurances of confidentiality must be provided. [93]

2.6   Life histories

Collecting life histories of working children from the children themselves offers a useful technique for trying to see a child's life from the boy's or girl's own perspective, while also pointing to child labour pathways. Presenting life histories can bring human colour into the final report, affording readers a more personal perspective on the research. The following box provides an example.

Box 41: Life history of a child working on a sugarcane plantation in Bolivia

"For two years now I have not attended school. I attended until the fifth grade. My brother, who has been here (on the sugarcane plantation) longer than I have, does not attend school anymore either because, according to my father, he is 'sick in the head'. I like school; I would like to go again. My father says that, if there is money in the future, he will send me again."

Source: ILO/IPEC. Dávalos, G. *Bolivia — Child labour on sugar cane plantations: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 36. Geneva, 2002.

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3.   Two examples of questionnaires used with children in RAs

The following two questionnaires are examples from actual RAs conducted as part of the SIMPOC project to investigate WFCL. Their content is by no means exhaustive nor is it directly applicable to other RA studies. To ensure efficient and comprehensive results, data tabulation and analysis should be carefully considered at the time of questionnaire design.

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[93] See Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations.

Questionnaire used with children in CDW research in Nepal[94]

Questions and response categories

1. How old are you? ………

2. What is your caste? ………

3. Sex of the child ……..

4. Duration of service in current place ….   Year ....   Month ....

5. Origin (home address) District ………

6. What did you used to do prior to joining current job?

Attended school............................   Own farm/household work ....

Wage work..................................   Other (state) ....

7. Why did you come here?   Friend's advice ....   Own opinion........................

Parents' advice ....   Domestic conflict ....

Stepmother/father   ....   Others (state) ....

8. With whom did you come to join? Parents ....   Relatives ....

Friends ....   Alone ....

Broker ....   Others (state) ....

9. At what age did you start work as a domestic servant?   5 to 7 years ....   8 to 9 ....

10 to 11 ....   12 to 14................................

15 and above ....

10. Is this your first place of work?   Yes ....   No ....

If not, **which place?**   Second ....   Third...................................

Fourth ....   Fifth or above ....

Why did you change your workplace?

Low remuneration ....   Punishment/harassment ....

Not allowed to attend school ....   Insufficient food ....

Sacked by master ....   Other (specify) ....

11. Do your parents know where you are?   Yes ....   No....................................

12. Are your parents alive?   Father dead ....   Father alive ....

Mother dead ....   Mother alive ....

Father deserted ....   Mother deserted ....

13. Family members (exclude married sisters)   Number ....

14. Which child are you (in order)?   First................................   Second ....

Third ....   Fourth ....

Fifth ....   Other (specify) ....

15. Are there any members of your family younger than 18 years, working as wage earners or domestic workers?   Yes ....   No.......................................

If yes, **how many?** ....

▶

[94] ILO/IPEC. Sharma, S.; Thakurathi, M.; Sapkota, K.; Devkota, B.; Riman, B. *Nepal — Situation of domestic child labour in Kathmandu: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 3. Geneva, 2001, Appendix.

16. Two main sources of income of your family?

Farming.......................   Service ....

Trade ....   Wage work ....

Other (specify) ....

17. Family has own home?   Yes ....   No...

18. Family has farm land?   Yes ....   No...

19. *If has land:*   Bigha/Ropani ....   Katha/Aana..........................

20. Are your parents indebted?   Yes ....   No...

Do not know ....

21. *If yes,* did they borrow loan from your master's house?   Yes ....   No...

Do not know ....

If yes, how many Rs?   ....   Do not know ....

Questions on type of work and work environment

22. Type of main work you do here: Kitchen work ....   Dish-washing ....

Child minding................   Clothes washing ....

Housecleaning ....   Other (specify) ....

23. What is your second priority job?   Kitchen work ....   Dish-washing ....

Child minding...............   Clothes washing ....

Housecleaning ....   Other (specify) ....

24. Time you start in morning?   ....

25. Time you finish in the evening?   ....

26. Do you have any injury?   Yes ....   No...

If yes,   Cut ....   Burn ....

Fracture.........................   Others (specify) ....

27. Quality of your food?

Better than home ....   As home ....

Not as good as home ....   Other (specify) ....

28. Are there any differences between your food and your master's?   Yes ....   No...

If yes, what is the difference?

Different food...   Leftovers/waste food ....

Others (specify) ....

29. Quality of your bed?   Better than home............   As home ....

Not as good as home......Other (specify)........................

30. Did you buy any of these during last three months?

Clothes ....   Slipper/shoes ....

Soap ....   Toothbrush/paste ....

Food items ....   Others (specify) ....

31. How much salary and other benefits have you been promised?

Per month Rs ....   Annual Rs.....................................

Only food and clothing.................................   Food, clothing, schooling facility.................

Service provide later on ....   Do not know ....

▶

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32. Who collects your salary?

Self .... Parents ....

Others (specify) ....

33. Are you satisfied with work load and pay?

Work: Yes .... No..

Do not know ....

Salary: Yes .... No..

Do not know ....

34. What type of work and salary will make you happy?

Work load: Ok...................................... ¾ of present load ....

½ of present load .... Do not want to continue work.............

Salary: Ok...................................... 50% increment ....

100% increment ....

35. Have your parents taken a loan after you began work?

Yes .... No..

Do not know ....

If yes, **how much?** Rs .... Do not know ....

Questions on education, health and personal matters

36. Are you literate? Yes .... No..

37. Up to which grade have you studied? ....

38. Do you go to school now? Yes .... No..

39. *If yes,* **in which grade are you studying?** Class ....

40. Have you enough educational materials? Yes .... No..

41. Which is your homework time? Morning .... Daytime ....

Night.............................. No time for homework ....

42. If you are not admitted to school, has master promised to admit you at school? Yes .... No..

43. Have you dropped out of school? Yes .... No..

If yes, **reasons for dropping out** Master don't pay fee ....

Excessive work load in home ....

Discrimination in school ....

Others (specify) ....

44. Are you better off here than home? Yes .... No..

If yes, **what are reasons?** Education .... Food ....

Clothing .... Urban area ....

Companion .... Others (specify) ....

45. Have you fallen sick here? Yes .... No..

▶

46. *If yes*, type of sickness?   Caught a cold .... Fever/measles ....

Chest pain/respiratory
problem .... Headache ....

Water-borne disease............................ Back pain ....

Others (specify)....................................

47. Who pays for medical expenses? Self .... Master..................................

Others (specify) ....

**48. Do you have to work when
you are sick?**   Yes .... No...

Questions on penalties (punishments)

**49. Have you been penalized
(punished)?**   Yes .... No...

50. Can you quit your job?   Yes .... No...

If not, why not?   Must complete the year ....

Parents/relative have taken debt ....

Can't get better than this job ....

Parents don't allow ....

Others (specify)..

**51. How do you spend your
leisure time?**   Watch TV .... Play ....

Study.............................. Other (specify) ....

52. Are you allowed to visit home? Yes .... No...

**53. How many times have you visited
in your home in the past year?** ....

54. *If not allowed,* **for how many years
have you not visited home?**   Number ....

**55. Would you bring somebody like
yourself to work as a servant?** Yes .... No...

If yes, mark two reasons:

Better than in village .... Good food ....

Good clothing .... Schooling ....

Others (specify)...................................

If not, mark two reasons: Feel isolated .... Bad treatment ....

Bad or not enough food...

Work load .... Other (specify) ....

Questionnaire used with children in CSE research in Viet Nam[95]

Demographic characteristics

1. **Age of interviewed children:**   below 13 years ....   13 and 14 ....

    15 to 17 inclusive ....

2. **Sex:**   Male ....   Female ....

3. **Ethnicity** *(if relevant)***:**   ....

Family demographic characteristics

4. **Family size:**   Father: Yes ..... No ....   Mother: Yes ...... No............

    Guardian: Yes ...... No......

    Number of brothers: ...… sisters: …...

5. **What is the family's ethnicity** *(if relevant)***?**   ....

Family housing and migration

6. **Current place of residence of your family?**...

7. **Since when have they lived there?** ....

8. **Where do you come from originally?** ....

9. **Describe the migration pattern (if any).** ....

10. **Why did they move to their current place of residence?** ....

Family socio-economic characteristics

11. **What is the educational level of parents?** ....

12. **Income?**

    — **What income-generating activities are parents and other family members involved in?**

    ....

    — **What is the family income, and is this sufficient to meet basic needs?**

    ....

    — **Is this sufficient to meet luxury needs?**

    ....

13. **Does your family have any debts?** *If so,* **as a result of what (e.g. illness, death, recruitment process)?**

    ....

14. **Is your family involved in any community work and/or groups (specify)?**

    ....

    ▶

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[95] ILO/IPEC. Le Bach D. *Viet Nam — Children in prostitution in Hanoi, Hai Phong, Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 16. Geneva, 2002, Appendix. The terminology used in this questionnaire reflects the local context of the research and not ILO/IPEC's terminology regarding commercial sexual exploitation.

Education and recreation ▶

15. **Do you attend school?**   Yes .... No ....

If not, **at which grade did you drop out of school?** ....

Why?...

If yes,   hours per day .... per week .... and per month.....................

Type of school: ....

16. **What do you think of school?**...

Possible topics:

Relevance of education (in general) for your future? ....

Quality of available education? ....

Difficulties in school? ....

Distance to school? ....

Costs involved (e.g. uniforms, teacher fees, travel costs, opportunity costs of work)?

....

17. **What recreational activities do you engage in?** ....

How frequently? ....

What other interests/hobbies do you have? ....

18. **What are your aspirations in life and in work?** ....

Recruitment, work, and work conditions

19. **Recruitment:**

Since when have you worked with this employer?...

When did you enter this profession? ....

How?...

Why?...

Explain the recruitment process, and whether
you freely decided to work here or not
(was there peer or family pressure)? ....

20. **What are your perceptions of the work**
(good, bad, acceptable) for the future,
and what are the alternatives? ....

21. **How many hours do you work per day,**
week, and month;
and when do you work (day/night)? ....

22. **What are the conditions under which**
you work, both physical and psychological?...

23. **Have you been involved in any work-related**
accidents or illnesses?
Do you know of fellow workers so involved? ....

24. **What are the work hazards?** ....

Work that exposes children to physical,
psychological, or sexual abuse...

Work underground, underwater,
at dangerous heights, or in confined spaces...

▶

Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads. .... ▶

Work in an unhealthy environment that may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health. ....

Work under particularly difficult conditions, such as long work hours, night work or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer. ....

25. Do you receive any protection against work hazards? ....

Do you have access to medical services? ....

26. Are you provided with educational facilities or training? ....

27. What is your relationship with your employer? ....

28. Earnings:

How much do you earn per month (specify base salary, piece rate, bonuses, tips)? ....

How much is deducted by the employer for costs incurred (e.g. housing, recruitment, transportation, provision of loans, work equipment)? ....

How does this compare to adult wages for the same type of work? ....

Who collects the salary (you, or your parents/guardians)? ....

What do you do with the money earned (e.g. buy things, save, give it to the family)? ....

If you give money to your family, how much is it? ....

Does it represent significant help for your family? ....

29. Do you think your work prevents you from going to school? ....

30. What remedies do you suggest to overcome work-related problems? ....

31. If you could choose another job, what would it be? ....

32. Do you have the qualifications and ability to do that job? ....

33. Do your family know what you are doing now? ....

Draft list of questions for interviews with key informants on sexually exploited children in Viet Nam

1. Size of the place where children work in terms of employees, including the number of children? ....

2. Information on money generated through sexual exploitation at the work site? ....

3. Do the employers belong to, or are they linked to, any group, association, or network? ....

▶

4.   Indexing and analyzing information

Careful note-taking is essential to data collection, but it is only the first step.

Early labelling. Indexing and analyzing the information requires careful labelling of every item of information as regards place, date, situation, from whom collected, and content. Even though an RA is conducted within a short timeframe , the amount of information collected may be very large. In addition, it will most likely have been collected in different forms at different times by several different people. Labelling must be done right away, before the researcher or field worker becomes overwhelmed with large quantities of unlabelled and uncatalogued data.

Monitoring information collected. By labelling and sorting the information into categories from the beginning, researchers can take early stock of the information they have collected. Researchers can then quickly see whether they have been gathering the kind of information needed to address their target research issues. If they have not, they can implement corrective measures to make better use of their time.

For this reason and others, the research team must hold frequent meetings to discuss collected information and any associated problems to ensure that they are fulfilling their objectives as efficiently as possible.

Data storage. It is essential to arrange for some kind of data storage. If the researchers themselves remain the only repositories of collected material, they risk its loss in the course of proceedings.

Box 42: Data organization and analysis

Data need to be organized in preparation for analysis. Without categorizing, indexing, coding, and sorting the data, it is impossible to conduct an analysis. In fact, data analysis is largely a process of sorting and re-sorting the data in different ways until trends, links, similarities, gaps, and contradictions appear.

Source: Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL). *Handbook for action-oriented research*, 2002, p. 103. (For a sample of sorting and cataloguing method, see Box 19 on p. 87 of this source. For how to index a child's interview material, consult Boxes 24 and 25, pp 102-103.)

Sorting and coding. Data analysis will be more or less complex depending on the wealth and complexity of information collected, and on the nature of the child labour under research. Analysis will emerge from the sorting or coding of the categories identified. Sorting and cataloguing are therefore important, and coding is essential if there are quantitative data or if a computer will be used to process them.

With mainly qualitative data, sorting and cataloguing will take into account the ways in which the data have been collected and briefly summarize the actual information. By these

means, the researchers can make generalizations about the information collected from the different sources, and begin to note patterns in the responses. These patterns and regularities (and other observations) should then be written up, topic by topic. This can be followed by higher-level generalizations and interpretations of the research findings later, drawing together the various sub-topics into a composite picture.

Cross-checking and verification. Sometimes referred to as "triangulation", the cross-checking and verification of findings is an important part of data analysis and interpretation. At this stage, researchers compare data from various sources for similarities and differences. Any anomalies in the data, such as contradictory findings regarding the same issue or topic coming from different sources, will need to be explained and interpreted.[96]

Box 43: Suggestions for data analysis and interpretation

- Those who do the data collection should also analyze the data.

- The six phases of data analysis are organizing and sorting data; analyzing data from each tool; analyzing data according to categories; triangulation; seeking feedback; and taking a final look at data.

- Skilled assistance may be needed for computer analysis and data interpretation.

- Written records are compiled of analysis according to tools; analysis according to categories; and triangulation.

- Results, conclusions, and recommendations should be shared with stakeholders, and their feedback included in the analysis.

Source: Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL). *Handbook for action-oriented research*, 2002, p. 109.

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5.   Indicators of child labour

Indicators are means of identifying the primary features of the target type of child labour. RAs can be used to compile these features.

Identifying a set of indicators can serve several important purposes:

- A focus on the critical factors (indicators) that emerged from the research helps to simplify the findings.

- Indicators can facilitate comparison with the findings emerging from other studies of similar child labour elsewhere, pointing to critical similarities and differences.

- By using comparisons, indicators can help to determine which are the most harmful or exploitative kinds of child labour — those forms that must be targeted first.

- They can aid in articulating policy objectives and the choice of policy instruments.

- They can help in the formulation of projects and programmes and in other kinds of interventions.

- They can aid in the monitoring and post facto evaluation of the specific child labour situation, as well as any policies and programmes introduced afterward. They simplify any before-and-after comparisons that may eventually be required, and can be instrumental in impact assessment.

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[96] Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL). *Handbook for action-oriented research*, 2002. For a guide to triangulation, see pp. 106-108 of the *Handbook*. The *Handbook* also presents a guide to the entire data analysis process (Step 10, pp. 99-109).

Following the research tabulations, those who collected the information should be able to identify the indicators, which will emerge from the data. The following box lists some areas in which indicators may be found.

Box 44: Identifying child labour indicators

Characteristics of the child (age, sex, ethnicity, family background, sexual history).

Living conditions, including education (access, affordability, attendance, attainment, perceived value); economic condition (ability to support household and inability to meet basic needs); and migration.

Working conditions, including recruitment, schedule, activities, hazards, health/sanitation, payment, use of earnings, relative wage analysis, relationship with employer, ability to quit, and child's attitude to work.

Community and national level conditions, including legal protections; enforcement; and community attitudes and awareness.

Source: Martins Oliveira, A. *Indicators from Rapid Assessment and Baseline Surveys*, presentation for the Understanding Children's Work Training Course on Measurement and Analysis of Child Labour. Washington, D.C., 2003.

These indicators can then be organized in tabular form. Unless results are the same across all locations, a separate table should be completed for each major location where the RA was conducted. Both raw numbers and percentages should be presented. An example of a table of indicators — in this case created to record information from interviews with child respondents — is given in the following box.

Box 45: Sample table of indicators[1]

	Total			Male			Female	
	Work WFCL	Not work WFCL		Work WFCL	Not work WFCL		Work WFCL	Not work WFCL
I. Socioeconomic status[2]								
% poorer	% (N)[3]							
% average								
% richer								
II. Schooling								
% currently enrolled								
% not enrolled								
Never attended[4]								
Attended, but left								
School leavers								
Completed primary								
Why left school[5]								
Case-specific indicator								
Case-specific indicator								
Case-specific indicator								
Accessibility								
Dist. to primary								
Dist. to secondary								
III. Working conditions								
Hours per day								
Days per week								
Weeks per year								
Ever been hurt badly?								▶

	Total			Male			Female	
	Work WFCL	Not work WFCL		Work WFCL	Not work WFCL		Work WFCL	Not work WFCL
IV. Pathways/causes [6]								
Why work in this job?								
Case-specific indicator								
Case-specific indicator								
Case-specific indicator								
V. Use of child income [7]								
Case-specific indicator								
Case-specific indicator								
Case-specific indicator								
VI. Migrant								
% migrant households [8]								
VII. Number of children interviewed								
<5								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								
16								
>16								
Total								

Notes: [1] A separate table should be completed for each location in the RA, unless results are the same across all locations. [2] Responses to the question "Is your family richer, poorer, or the same as other families in your village/neighbourhood/ community?". [3] Both raw numbers and percentages (of respondents by category) should be presented for all categories except for the distances to primary and secondary schools, which can just be given as the distance (in km). [4] Percentage of all respondents in each category (not just the percentage of those not enrolled). [5] Interviewers will identify indicators based on responses from the children specific to the WFCL and location under investigation. As we expect that a cocktail of factors contribute to children's participation in the WFCL, response percentage totals should be greater than 100 per cent (e.g. a child is working in the WFCL because his/her family couldn't afford school, his/her uncle was a trafficker, and it is important to his/her to help support his/her family). Please record responses for the same indicators for all locations included in the assessment. [6] See note 4. [7] See note 4. [8] This number may be derived from a series of questions such as "How long have you lived here?" "Where did you live before?", etc.

Source: Jensen, R.T.; Pearson, M. *Table of Standard Indicators.* Draft submitted to the ILO/IPEC in 2001.

The above table encompasses the standard indicators needed for comparison purposes, as identified for the 38 RAs conducted under the SIMPOC project to investigate WFCL. Needs of other RA research will likely differ, and may be much broader. For a more detailed discussion of child labour indicators, see Annex 6, on indicators derived from RAs.

6. Additional suggestions for the final report

- Readers find profiles of "typical" working-child interviewees useful, and some of these should be included in the report. Short boxed descriptions are sufficient. Direct quotes from the children describing their situation can add human colour and authenticity to the profiles.

- Those who conducted the research and the data analysis should also write assigned portions of the final report. It should then be read, discussed and, if necessary, revised by all the team members. Once a consensus finds the final content acceptable, a skilled editor should be engaged to prepare the report for publication.

- The executive summary should be written last. "This is a condensed version of the main report, not a description of [it]. It should state in clear language: objectives, methods and circumstances of the research (who, what, where, why, when), main results, main conclusions and recommendations. The summary should ideally be no more than three pages long". [97]

- The conclusions and recommendations constitute separate parts of the report. The list of recommendations must be addressed to particular stakeholders or particular publics, and grouped according to their respective publics. An example of how to structure the recommendations according to separate categories is presented in Box 46, below.

Box 46: RA recommendations: An example from Tanzania

Recommendations based on input from child and adult respondents asked to suggest ways to eliminate WFCL on tobacco plantations in Tanzania

1. Primary education and vocational education
- Improve the quality and quantity of the primary school system in terms of curriculum reform, enhancement of teacher education, management and administration, infrastructure, and financing so that the school becomes an attractive institution for conducive teaching and learning.
- Ensure that primary education is compulsory.
- Develop special programmes at primary level that will enable working children to acquire primary education as they work. This is particularly necessary for children who cannot be withdrawn from child labour because of their age and other obstacles.
- Improve the quality and quantity of vocational training centres so that more primary school leavers can get a chance to study vocational subjects.
- Improve teaching-learning of vocational subjects in primary schools. These subjects should be compulsory and be taught by well-prepared, competent teachers.

2. Legislation and legal action
- Pass legislation to prevent child labour, particularly WFCL, and punish people who break these laws.
- Take action against well-to-do parents who force their children to engage in WFCL.

3. Removal of working children and rehabilitation
- Remove and rehabilitate those children working in WFCL by taking them back to school and helping them re-unite with their families.

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[97] Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL). *Handbook for action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children.* 2002, p. 111.

4. *Improvements to working and living conditions*
   - Improve the living and working conditions and environment of children in WFCL who cannot be removed.

5. *Self-employment and alleviation of poverty at the family level*
   - Raise family incomes to alleviate poverty at the family level by giving them loans to invest in agriculture and small businesses, so that the family can pay for basic necessities, school fees, and other expenses.
   - Increase family income by diversifying cash crops instead of depending on tobacco, by finding markets for other crops such as groundnuts, beans and maize, and by increasing prices of agricultural products.
   - Provide working children with the capital needed — e.g. small loans and/or real tools and equipment — to become self-employed.

6. *Public awareness and sensitization*
   - Raise public awareness through sensitization programmes and guidance and counselling strategies on the dangers of WFCL in particular, and child labour in general.

7. *Improvements in tobacco growing*
   - Introduce modern tobacco farming technology that will free children from working in farms and plantations while enabling tobacco growers to increase production and maximize their incomes and profits.

8. *Provision of educational support to the poor and to orphans*
   - Provide support such as scholarships to the poor and orphaned families for educating their children from primary to secondary level, and to attend vocational training and other skill-oriented institutions.

9. *Establishment of canning factories*
   - Since a lot of tomatoes are produced in Iringa key locations and other places in Iringa Region, and a lot of mangoes are grown in Urambo District and other places in Tabora Region, establish factories in these areas to can tomatoes and juice and pickles from mangoes, thereby increasing employment opportunities for the unemployed population in rural areas.

10. *Labour officers*
    - Increase the number of labour officers in the country, and sensitize them to the problem of child labour.

11. *Work on the part of the able-bodied population*
    - Since a small percentage of able-bodied people are working, the Government should ensure that those who are not working do work, and work hard in productive activities.

12. *Further research*
    - Conduct further research in areas that have not been fully investigated.

Source: ILO/IPEC. Masudi,A.; Ishumi, A.; Mbeo, F.; Sambo, W. *Tanzania — Children working in commercial agriculture — Tobacco: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 9. Geneva, 2001, pp. 67-68.

Annex 2: Module on training slides

This module contains a PowerPoint presentation as an instructional aid in conducting an RA. The presentation contains information regarding proper practice as well as important lessons learned from previous experiences. This should help practitioners avoid potential difficulties in implementing the procedure.

IPEC

1. Concepts of child labour

Rapid Assessments (RA): UN CRC

IPEC

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

Defines a child as an individual under the age of 18 years.

4

Rapid Assessments (RA): ILO Convention on Minimum Age, 1973 (No. 138)

IPEC

- Aims to eliminate **all forms** of child labour.

- Minimum working age shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling (15 years); developing countries may fix it initially at 14 years.

- Includes comprehensive list of "flexibility clauses".
  - E.g. national laws or regulations may permit employment or work of persons aged 13 to 15 years in "light work", where the work is not harmful to health or development and will not prejudice attendance at school.

- Distinction between "developed" and "developing" countries.
  - E.g. minimum age for light work can be reduced to 12 years in countries with a low level of economic development

- Applies to all economic sectors and all working children, whether employed for wages or working on their own account.

5

Rapid Assessments (RA): ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182)

IPEC

- Aims to eliminate the **worst forms of child labour** as a matter of priority.

- Applies to all girls and boys under the age of 18.

- No "flexibility clauses".

- No distinction between developed and developing countries.

- Applies specifically to the worst forms of child labour.

6

Rapid Assessments (RA): WFCL

Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) as defined in ILO Convention No. 182), Article 3:

- (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children.

7

Rapid Assessments (RA): WFCL

Categories of WFCL

1. "unconditional" worst forms of child labour

2. hazardous work

8

Rapid Assessments (RA): WFCL

Unconditional WFCL

- Child labour that, regardless of working conditions, is always considered WFCL by the terms of Convention No. 182.

- These forms include commercial sexual exploitation, children engaged in armed conflict, children involved in drug trafficking, child trafficking, and bonded labour.

9

Rapid Assessments (RA): WFCL

Hazardous work

- Where exposed to physical, psychological, or sexual abuse.
- Underground, under water, at dangerous heights, and/or in confined spaces.
- Involving dangerous machinery or manual handling of heavy loads.
- Environments that expose children to health hazards.
- Particularly difficult conditions (e.g. long hours) or where freedom to come and go is restricted.

  Hazardous forms of work need to be determined nationally after tripartite consultation

10

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Definitions of child labour

Towards a statistical definition of child labour

- IPEC/SIMPOC defines "child labour" as a subset of economic activities (i.e. "work") performed by children, in line with the ILO definition of work for adults.
- However, there is debate regarding the definition of "work by children".
  Some people support a wider concept of "work by children", and consider any set of non-school activities (such as domestic chores) to fall, when done by children, under the definition of "work".

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Rapid Assessments (RA):
Definitions of child labour

Possible statistical definitions of child labour

- "Children in non-economic activities (including household chores)" plus "working children".
- "Working children" only (i.e. children engaged in economic activities).
- "Child labour" as a subset of "working children" (IPEC/SIMPOC approach).

12

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Definitions of child labour

Difference between "working children" and child labour

- Child labour as a subset of "working children":
  IPEC/SIMPOC definition of child labour is based on ILO Conventions on children at work and on the ILO definition of "work".
  "Working children":
    those engaged in economic activities within the system of national accounts (SNA) production boundary, of which only a subset is child labour.
- Child labour as defined by the consequences:
  - work that is mentally, physically, socially, or morally dangerous and harmful to children
  - work that interferes with their schooling.

13

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Definitions of child labour

Categories of work by children classified as "child labour"

- work performed by a child who is **under the minimum age** specified for that kind of work
- **hazardous work**
- **unconditional worst forms of child labour**

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IPEC

2. About the RA methodology

15

IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA)
Characteristics of the Rapid Assessment

- Makes visible the invisible.
- Collects both qualitative information (primarily), and quantitative data.
- Participatory and child focused.
- Flexible.
- Short term (6 months).
- Low cost.

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Targeting advantage of methodology

RA especially suited for hard-to-access forms

- Children involved in drug trafficking.
- Child victims of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE).
- Children engaged in armed conflict.
- Child domestic workers (CDW).

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Actors in the RA process

- Those who need the findings and will use them or promote their use (e.g. government agencies, international organizations).
- Those working directly in the local child labour field (e.g. NGOs).
- The research team.
- Community members (including boys and girls) knowledgeable about the research topic.

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Uses of findings

- Awareness raising.
- Filling gaps in knowledge and promoting further research.
- Formulating or refining action-oriented strategies (policies, country or local or sectoral programmes and projects).
- Complementing other SIMPOC methodological instruments.

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Limitations

- Results are not easily generalized.
- Potential for bias/ungrounded assumptions.

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IPEC

3. Practical aspects of
RA research

21

IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Beginning the RA

- Collecting background information.
- Formulating a workable RA plan using written sources, conversations, and in-depth interviews with knowledgeable individuals.

The more informed the researcher is at the outset, the better the research design.

22

Rapid Assessments (RA): Selecting research personnel

- Multi-disciplinary.
- Familiarity with local terrain/social environment.
- Network of community contacts.
- Experience with boys and girls.
- Consideration of sex composition and gender sensitivity.
- Specialists as necessary (eg. health experts, child psychologists).

IPEC — 24

Rapid Assessments (RA): Questionnaire design

- Needs.
- Topics and variables.
- Language and length.
- Sequence of questions.
- Pilot tests.

IPEC — 26

Rapid Assessments (RA): Creating a study focus

WHO?	Form of child labour.
	Working boys and girls under 18 years of age.
WHERE?	Cross-border.
	Country.
	Urban or rural areas.
	Informal or formal sectors.
WHY?	Knowledge gaps to fill.
	Intended use of findings.
HOW?	Logistical considerations (travel, safety).
	Budget.

IPEC — 23

Rapid Assessments (RA): Training the RA research team

- Concepts of child labour.
- Definitions: general (e.g. child) and specific (e.g. local terminology).
- Sensitive issues: gender, ethics, safety/risks, social context/culture.
- Fieldwork methods.
- Lessons learned from prior RAs.
- Good practices.

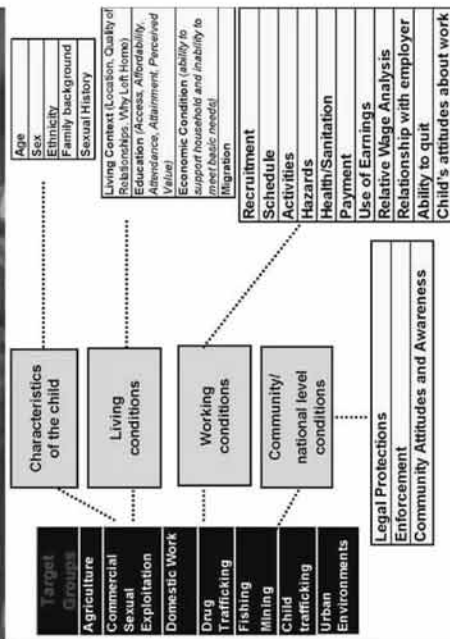**IPEC** — 25

Slide 27

IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA): Identifying informants

Early contact with knowledgeable individuals

- Individuals who may serve as key informants can be a major source of information.

- Individuals who may serve as support and provide links/introductions to further informants.

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Slide 28

IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA): Key common variables

Characteristics of the child
- Age
- Sex
- Ethnicity
- Family background
- Sexual History

Living conditions
- Living Context (Location, Quality of Relationships, Why Left Home)
- Education (Access, Affordability, Attendance, Attainment, Perceived Value)
- Economic Condition (ability to support household and inability to meet basic needs)
- Migration

Working conditions
- Recruitment
- Schedule
- Activities
- Hazards
- Health/Sanitation
- Payment
- Use of Earnings
- Relative Wage Analysis
- Relationship with employer
- Ability to quit
- Child's attitudes about work

Community/ national level conditions
- Legal Protections
- Enforcement
- Community Attitudes and Awareness

Target Groups
- Agriculture
- Commercial Sexual Exploitation
- Domestic Work
- Drug Trafficking
- Fishing
- Mining
- Child trafficking
- Urban Environments

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA): Identifying research locations
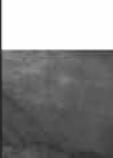
- Where are the working boys and girls? Where can they be observed/interviewed?

- Sources of information: official documents, former RAs, household surveys, site visits, key informants, observation.

- Information as departure point for more intensive investigation; basis for sample selection.

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA): Data collection methods

- Literature review.

- Mapping.

- Observation.

- Key informants (parents, employers, teachers, former child labourers, community leaders and members, NGOs, government representatives, workers' and employers' representatives).

- Child interviews (closed and open).

- Focus group discussions (FGDs).

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Rapid Assessments (RA): A flexible approach

- Components of methodology can differ from one study to another.

- RAs can range from highly qualitative in nature to largely quantitative.

IPEC
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Rapid Assessments (RA): Mapping

- Helps researchers to decide on research tools and sampling methods.

- Requires sufficient information regarding area under investigation.

- Involves "walking the area" in company of knowledgeable local individuals.

- Identifies areas of focus and target groups for interview.

IPEC
32

Rapid Assessments (RA): Guidelines for observation

- Accessibility.
- Identification of area.
- Same location; different times of day.
- Approach.
- Discretion.
- Comparing notes for balanced picture.

IPEC
33

Rapid Assessments (RA): Key observations

What to look for at workplaces

Work environment	Safety/conditions of premises; (temperatures, lighting)
	Safety/conditions of tools & machines
Working conditions	Work intensity
	Tasks
	Protective gear
	Constraints & abuses
	Emergency & personal care

IPEC
34

Rapid Assessments (RA): Sampling

Determining the universe

Purposive sampling

- interview within focused guidelines
- snowball sampling
- to be used when access to individuals difficult or where setting not conducive to research

Random sampling

- based on reliable, up-to-date listing of population parameters for random selection in sectors to be investigated
- consequently not applied for estimating populations such as those involved in CSE, forced labour, drug trafficking, or child trafficking

IPEC 35

Rapid Assessments (RA): Guidelines for interviewing

- Adult interviews (parents, employers, and any other essential key informants)

- Child interviews (boys and girls below 18 years)

IPEC 36

Rapid Assessments (RA) Individual interviews

- Appropriate interviewer-interviewee matches (sex, physical appearance, dialect).
- Introduction of interviewer to interviewee.
- Assurances of confidentiality, respect.
- Structured, semi-structure, informal.
- Immediate recording of results.
- Consideration of differing perceptions.

IPEC 37

Rapid Assessments (RA): Interviewing children

- Age appropriate: length, language.
- Presence of others, location.
- Rapport/trust.
- Ethics.
- Sensitive situations.
- Intervention plans.

IPEC 38

Rapid Assessments (RA): Researching hard-to-access child labour

Special challenges with WFCL

- Mobility of children between forms of labour and areas.
- Concealment of children and exploitative activities.
- Lack of public/community knowledge.
- Difficulties in identifying respondents.
- Risks to researchers and respondents.

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Rapid Assessments (RA): Researching hard-to-access child labour

Sources of information for WFCL

- Door-to-door surveys.
- Workplaces.
- Information from sending communities.
- Drop-in centres, health centres, NGOs, markets, streets, classrooms.
- Police reports.
- Rehabilitation centres.

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Rapid Assessments (RA): Cross-checking and verification

1. Use of control groups

Consider
- efficiency
- target group
- needs
- resources
- time

- Natural control groups
- Internal control groups

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Rapid Assessments (RA): Cross checking and verification

2. Multiple sources of information

3. Cross-checking triangulation

- Discuss findings with knowledgeable individuals.
- Compare statements of informants, written sources, observation notes.
- Compare adult and child responses, male and female responses.

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Rapid Assessments (RA): Preparation of final report

Components of an RA report

- Executive summary.
- Framework.
- Short background chapter.
- Research methodology.
- Findings.
- Conclusions.
- Detailed recommendations.
- Supporting methodological information (questionnaires, FGD guides, etc.).
- Comprehensive set of table, graphs.
- Documentary sources or bibliography.
- Glossary and annexes.

IPEC   44

Rapid Assessments (RA): Good practices

- Multi-disciplinary research teams.
- Involving stakeholders in the early stages.
- Putting children at ease.
- School/education as an entry point.
- Ethical considerations.

IPEC   46

Rapid Assessments (RA): Data review and analysis

- Preliminary analysis and coding.

- Tabulation and transcription, considering patterns and differences.

IPEC   43

Rapid Assessments (RA): Disseminating the findings

- Informal talks and gatherings.
- Sharing findings with working girls and boys and key informants.
- Press releases.
- Public meetings (with trade unions, employers' organizations, government agencies, NGOs, and, if appropriate, key informants, students, working and non-working children).
- National planning meetings.
- Reports available (print & online) at the community, regional, national, and international levels.

IPEC   45

IPEC

4. Outputs from investigations:

Country examples

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IPEC

Filling information gaps

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA):
Nepal

The RAs provided important data on child porters, ragpickers, and CDWs necessary for project development, awareness raising, and implementation of baseline surveys.

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA):
El Salvador

Urban informal sector

- Crucial in formulating project on street markets in San Miguel.

- Findings complemented national official report, *Understanding child labour in El Salvador*, based on the national child labour module survey.

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Rapid Assessments (RA):
Agriculture: An example from a WFCL

		LOWER ——— Potential Severity of Impact on Child ——— HIGHER				
		15–17	12–14	9–11	6–8	5 and under
The Child	Age	15–17	12–14	9–11	6–8	5 and under
	Starting age					
Living Conditions	Location	At home with both parents	At home with single parent	With guardian	By oneself	On a farm or plantation
	School Attendance	Full time		Part time		Not attending
	Educational Attainment	Completed Secondary	Some Secondary/Completed Primary	Some Primary		None
	Access to Education	Primary and secondary schools in town/village	Primary school only/in village	Primary and secondary but accessible	Primary school only/inconvenient but accessible	No schools are near by
Working Conditions	Work Environment	At home on family farm	On a nearby farm/plantation or market	In a nearby curing plant	a somewhat distant farm, plant or market	On distant farm/plantation
	Hours per day	Less than 2	2–4	5–7	8–10	Greater than 10
	Days per week	1–2	3	4	5–6	7
	Seasonality	Seasonal work during school vacation only	Seasonal work during school vacation and part of the school			Work all year or throughout the school year
	Activities	Picking		Planting / Tending / Pruning		Transporting / Curing
	Use of Payment	Personal items (e.g. cigarettes, toys) or savings	School fees and supplies	Personal necessities: clothes, shoes	Contribute to household expenses	Purchase food for self

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Slide 52

Raising awareness

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Slide 53

Rapid Assessment (RA):
Brazil

RA on drug trafficking

- 13 media institutions (newspaper, TV channels, agencies).
- 12 key institutions (government officers, workers' and employers' organizations, children's councils, etc.).
- Immediate reaction of the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Education to RA findings.
- Requests for future research interest and action by government units.
- Organization of awareness-raising events covering a broader scope of child labour issues.

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Rapid Assessments (RA):
Costa Rica

Commercial sexual exploitation

RA results used as an important reference in the follow-up to the application of the Convention on the Rights of the Child prepared by the Costa Rican Government.

Results of RA on CSE included in subregional synthesis report on CSE and presented in event jointly organized by the Supreme Court of Justice of Costa Rica and IPEC.

BBC news contacted ILO/IPEC for details on RA on sexual exploitation in February 2004.

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IPEC

5. Policy implications

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Slide 56

IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA): Policy implications

RAs can result in a range of useful policy recommendations at local and regional levels.

- Legal and policy reform.
- Inter-institutional collaboration and networking.
- Public education and training.
- Development programmes targeting children, parents, and communities.
- Improved access to quality social services.
- Follow-up research.

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Slide 57

IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA): Romania

RA street children action programme

662 children reached

- 501 (316 boys and 185 girls) withdrawn from work, provided education, health and support services.
- 161 prevented from being recruited into an abusive situation.
- Draft government decision for the official recognition and functioning of the National Steering Committee (NSC) for combating child labour in Romania.

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IPEC

Rapid Assessments (RA): Ethiopia

Children in domestic work

- RA findings on domestic work used in the design of the National Child Labour Strategy and Plan of Action.
- Ratification of ILO Convention No. 182 (2 September 2003)
- Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs assigned task of implementing provisions of Convention No. 182 (1999).

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Rapid Assessments (RA): Additional readings

- Accompanying RA manual.

- **RA report series:** Investigating worst forms of child labour, ILO/IPEC, 2001-2003.

- Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour: **A synthesis report of selected rapid assessment and national reports,** ILO/IPEC, 2005.

- **Handbook for action-oriented research** on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children. Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL), 2002.

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6. RA readings

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Annex 3: Module on ethical considerations

(Ethical considerations when conducting research on children in the worst forms of child labour in Nepal)[98]

I.   Introduction

Research on girls and boys who work, and on those who are vulnerable to child labour, has flourished in the wake of the growing number of projects and programmes alleviating the plight of vulnerable children and combating child labour.

Research roles for the children themselves. Article 12 of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) stipulates that children have a right to be involved in decisions that affect them. In this spirit, researchers engaged in activities throughout the world have begun working with girls and boys as direct informants and as active research partners. In any case, it has become recognized that girls and boys themselves are, in fact, a valuable source of authentic insights into their own situations and lives, and that they can propose valid recommendations and suggestions for improvement.

It is encouraging to witness how donors, United Nations (UN) agencies, and international and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) alike have accelerated efforts to explore in detail the complex causes and consequences of the precarious situations in which millions of children live and work. It is also encouraging to note that the International Labour Organization (ILO) has taken a lead role in researching the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) and in bringing to our attention the inhuman and intolerable circumstances in which millions of children work, often in illegitimate activities hidden from public scrutiny.

Need to re-examine methods. The rapid increase in child-centred, participatory research activities, however, has also made it necessary to re-examine methods. This is particularly the case when interviewing children in the WFCL, but also when children participate as enumerators and as active research partners in more generalized research on child labour. For example:

- On the one hand, children often participate in research in innovative and meaningful ways, as demonstrated by the small groups of children who, as part of the ILO rapid assessment (RA) on bonded child labour in Nepal, were engaged in an exercise that identified households where children work.

- On the other hand, children working in the streets of Nepal express scepticism and anger when asked, again and again, to provide information, yet never see any positive ensuing developments in their lives. Researchers are frequently met with the blunt query: "Why don't you just give us your research dollars?"

Responsibility entailed in asymmetrical relationship of power. Generally speaking, children have much less power than adults. This circumstance compounds the inherent power relations that arise whenever one sets out to research individual members of a society or target group. Utmost care must be taken to ensure that the children in question are participating of their own free will, and that the rights of the child are being fully respected. Children trapped in the WFCL are victims of unfortunate situations, but their integrity, morals, and safety must never be compromised in the name of research.

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[98] For the full text of this paper refer to: ILO/IPEC. Edmonds, C. *Ethical considerations when conducting research on children in worst forms of child labour in Nepal.* Geneva, October 2003. The full text incorporates a desk review of the subject and a list of references. It is available online in 2005 at: http://www.ilo.org/public/ english/standards/ipec/simpoc/reports/eth_con.pdf.

Participatory methods and languages, and the ideas expressed therein, are intended to make research a two-way learning process, with an emphasis on empowering the participants. Reflexive and gender-sensitive approaches to participatory, child-centred research further recognize the role and influence of the female or male researcher in this process. For instance, by asking, prompting, or facilitating, a researcher demonstrates a personal interest in a child's life, at the same time drawing attention to the issue being researched.

Ethical code of conduct. Research into the lives and work of children can alter the way they perceive their situation. This in turn can affect the decisions they make, the opportunities they seek, and the attitudes they form. An ethical approach suggests researchers should recognize how influential personal interactions and the nature of gender relations with informants can be, and thus strive to make positive rather than negative impacts. A rewarding exercise for all parties concerned, one undertaken prior to the research activity, involves drafting a code of conduct outlining the acceptable roles and responsibility of the researcher when interacting with girls and boys.

Ethical dilemmas. The following module explores in some detail the ethical dilemmas that confront the researcher when conducting research on and with children. It addresses three categories of issue: (a) pre-research, (b) during research, and (c) post-research. Through the use of illustrative examples from research conducted on the WFCL by the ILO in Nepal, the annex touches upon practical dilemmas to be considered when planning research, as well as on situations to avoid when going into the field and when making research results public.

Although the examples presented in this document are from Nepal, the experiences of the ILO/IPEC global project to investigate the WFCL show that similar situations face researchers world-wide.[99]

Role of ethical guidelines. In recent years, a number of publications have been produced on doing research with children and on the WFCL. While focusing on theory, methodology, and good research practice — as well as on the critical steps involved in successful research projects — most of these guides contain sections or checklists addressing research ethics.

But ethical guidelines for research activities cannot replace contingent ethics — those decisions made in specific contexts, in the unplanned and creative spaces of gender relations and social interaction. The ethical considerations outlined below, then, should only inform the decisions of the researcher throughout the research process, serving, in given cases, as aids to sound judgement.

Training and awareness. The two keywords in this paper are "training" and "awareness". A knowledgeable and reflective researcher:

- can avoid prejudicial behaviour;

- will know when the assistance of psychologists or child development specialists is called for; and

- will know how physical contact and affection during research with girls and boys is a double-edged sword.

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[99] This fact clearly emerged in the "Technical seminar on investigating the worst forms of child labour using the ILO/UNICEF rapid assessment methodology", Geneva, December 2002, where a preliminary draft of this module was circulated and commented upon by researchers who had been involved in the IPEC/SIMPOC project "Investigating the worst forms of child labour", funded by the USDOL. For more information on the RA studies from Nepal, please refer to the bibliography section: Bal, K. et al. and Sharma, S. et al. ILO/IPEC report series. Geneva, 2001-2003.

II.   Recommendations and suggestions

Four text boxes in the following three sections present recommendations and suggestions for addressing the ethical issues which arise during any research project that includes children as direct informants or as research partners.

A.   Pre-research issues

1.   Research risks

Risks to the children. When conducting research on children's lives and work, there is always a danger — due to their marginalized position in society and their vulnerability — of putting the girls and boys who participate in the research at risk. Having devoted time to filling in a questionnaire, for instance, a child porter may later be scolded for failing to deliver a load when he should have.

Thus, before embarking on interviews or related research activities, the researcher has a responsibility to ensure that no harm will befall children as a result of their participation in the research process. One way of accomplishing this — wherever it is appropriate and safe to do so — is to solicit advice and consent from the adults concerned, they are parents, guardians, or employers.

Risks to researchers. Hidden and illegal activities common in the WFCL can put the researcher at great risk. In Nepal, for example, researchers were threatened by traffickers carrying knives. If it turns out such incidents can be expected during proposed research activities, research should not proceed as initially planned.

Risks to both. A great risk for researchers and children alike is that of local conflict and unstable security situations in the target areas.

Differential risks according to gender. Female and male researchers face different risks. As outsiders in local settings, and on account of their often ad-hoc interaction with children in local communities, male researchers have at times been suspected of being agents of the state, the local militia, or even of the armed forces. Female researchers, on the other hand, face threats such as sexual harassment or even rape.

Differential risks according to type of work researched. The nature of research work thus increases the risk of becoming involved in — even becoming a victim of — the conflicts that characterize many countries in which a large proportion of children work. One patent risk factor, for researchers and children alike, is researching the plight of the thousands of girls and boys forcibly enlisted in armed conflicts.

Ways of reducing risk. Foreknowledge and planning can reduce risk:

- Experience from Nepal shows that the recruitment of persons from affected communities as local researchers and as research guides can greatly reduce the risks involved. Working with local NGOs or community based organizations (CBO) can help researchers avoid high-risk areas in the first place. Resource persons from local communities often know when a researcher is taking the investigation too far, or is asking questions that should not be raised in a given context.

- Still, it is essential that security and risk management plans be established prior to the undertaking of any research activity. At a minimum, a security and risk-management plan must include:
  - well-established channels of communication so that no researcher or child is left out of reach;

- training in crisis management for field-based enumerators;
- evacuation procedures; and
- plans for counselling and/or treatment in the unlikely event that researchers or children are hurt in the course of research.

- It is also recommended that all researchers involved in investigating the WFCL be covered by a life-insurance scheme or a similar arrangement during the time of research.

2. Informed consent

"Informed consent" is a vital aspect of research with children. There may be times when researchers are forced to conceal certain parts of the full research agenda from employers or gang leaders, who would otherwise not allow a given child to participate in the research project. Nevertheless, children who participate in the project have a right to know what they will be involved in during the research, and to be told of all of the anticipated and possible outcomes of the research.

The child must be made aware of both negative or positive consequences of consenting to participate, be it an interview, a focus group discussion (FGD), or any other activity related to doing research on children. Unfortunate cases can still arise, however. Researchers managed to identify and interview Nepalese girls in local communities about how they were trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation and about how they managed to escape. Unfortunately, however, the project led to unprecedented, and unintended, community attention, subsequently undermining the girls' attempts to regain the trust and acceptance of family and friends.

To avoid such situations, the researcher must from the outset carefully explain to the child the research aim and methods, as well as its intended and possible outcomes. The researcher should take whatever time is necessary to explain in a straightforward way the basic ideas and framework of the research.

As the participatory research process unfolds, however, it is sometimes difficult to get informed consent from children. Child-centred research is often conducted in an informal and unstructured manner, where the lines between research, informal conversation, and social engagement become blurred. To ensure full understanding among potential participants, the researchers often need to supplement verbal explanations with diagrams or appropriately written short texts. Time should be allowed for children to reflect on the consequences of joining the research and, should they wish, to consult guardians, other adults, or friends.

Unfortunately, children in the WFCL do not often have access to trustworthy adults (e.g. community leaders, teachers, guardians). As part of gaining access to research locations, researchers must apply every means possible to identify "trusted adults", and to solicit their views on the feasibility of the research and on obtaining their consent. In some cases, the children themselves can identify trusted adults; in other cases, FGDs and key informant interviews are needed to identify these individuals prior to engaging in research with children.

Furthermore, the children should be provided with the name and contact details of the research institute and of the researcher so they can ask follow-up questions. They should also be informed of other key partners involved in the research process. Too many children in the WFCL do not know how to read or write, or do not have access to a telephone. The researcher should use oral explanations when explaining to child interviewees how they can get in touch with the researcher once the interview is over.

Researchers and children need to agree on who may have access to the information produced. This is important — children may disclose personal information that should be treated confidentially. (See Section 9: The Right to privacy, below.)

3.   The right to say no

It is equally important that children understand that they have the right to say no, and that they can exercise this right at any time in the course of the research process.

Gender differences. For some children this is easier said than done. In most societies, girls and boys do not enjoy the same capacity to say no. In Nepal, for example, a boy rag picker, in negotiating a price for the information he is asked to provide, would probably say "no" as a starting point. A girl rag picker, on the other hand, would first of all be harder to make contact with, since she would likely be working in a larger group of children or with her family. Rather than engaging in a dialogue, then, she would perhaps turn her back on the researcher and start walking away. Whether the girl or the boy rag picker would say "no" or "yes" would also be influenced by whether the offer to participate is posed by a female or male researcher.

Dangers of sensationalism. It remains imperative that the child be made fully aware of his or her right to abstain from participating in research with adults or with other children. Due to the sudden increase in donor agency attention to the problem of girl trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, the demand for the stories of girls trafficked from Nepal to India has expanded. Unfortunately, this has made it difficult for some rehabilitation centres to refrain from asking girls who have recently returned from brothels in India to tell their stories again and again — to journalists, foreign visitors, researchers, and representatives of donor agencies, often at the cost of 200-300 rupees (US$2.50-3.80) per interview. Researchers should avoid at all costs contributing to such situations, where stories of misery from vulnerable children are put on public display due to pressure from media officials and donor representatives.

Right to withdraw at any stage. Generally speaking, children are willing participants in research. Yet they may also be easily persuaded, and are at times naïve, which is why the researcher should provide them with real options to withdraw at any stage of the research.

Right of researchers to say no. The right to say no applies to researchers as well. The research process must be structured in such a way that researchers can exercise their right to pull out of the research project without repercussions and in full accordance with their basic rights and needs — especially if the researchers in question find themselves in situations that endanger their health, morals or life, or those of the children that take part.

Checklist 7: Pre-research

- Incorporate clauses on ethical concerns or, alternatively, codes of conduct for researchers in all research proposals and contracts that are signed prior to the research project.

- Obtain advice from child psychologists on how best to avoid attitudes, questions, or activities that would further traumatize victims of the WFCL.

- Consult with key research stakeholders on the level and kinds of remuneration, and on whether participating children should receive compensation or not.

- Establish guidelines for the distribution of medicine and first-aid during the research process.

- Clearly outline how the various groups of girls and boys are to be involved in the research process, and consider the special needs and rights pertaining to each of the target groups.

- Integrate special training modules on children's rights, as well as on the specific target groups of children, into training sessions for researchers.

▶

- Explore the option of involving in the research process women and men as well as girls and boys from local communities.

- Establish security and risk-management plans for researchers as well as for participating children.

- Prepare contingency plans for the immediate withdrawal of children found to be in inhumane and intolerable circumstances.

- Draft lists of referral agencies for children in need of post-research support.

- Prepare identity cards for researchers as well as documents that clearly state the nature and objectives of the research.

- Print visiting cards with the researcher's name and contact information, including details about the responsible research institution and information about other key stakeholders in the project.

- Draft notes, or draw sketches, with which the researchers may clearly convey to participating children the objectives, timeframe, risks involved, and anticipated outcomes of the research.

B.   *Issues during research*

1.   Language and logic

Most technical terms, abbreviations, and abstractions employed by researchers and development agencies alike are not part of the vocabulary used by children. Moreover, an explanation that works for one child may not work for a child of another sex, caste, ethnicity, age group, or socio-economic background.

Creativity and flexibility in language and approach are required as well as patience and an understanding of the local context in which the target groups of girls and boys live and interact. Using language and logic that the children will comprehend is essential:

- It is instrumental in producing the desired results.

- It ensures that each child grasps the purpose and content of the research activity in which they have consented to participate.

When investigating the plight of Nepalese children trapped in the kamaiya system of bonded labour, the research institution teamed experienced enumerators with members of the local Tharu community. Given language barriers and the marginalized position of the Tharu in Nepalese society, Tharu respondents found it easier to participate in a research project in which people of their own caste were involved. This proved a valuable and time-saving way of generating reliable information on such sensitive issues as the lack of education or the discrimination faced by thousands of children in the far-western districts of Nepal.

2.   A matter of trust

Research takes time, and high-quality research is dependent on good relationships between informants and researchers. Small talk, play, recurrent visits, patience, and time are some of the major ingredients needed to elicit reliable data from children on such delicate issues as family background or illegitimate child labour activities.

During the ILO RA on child porters in Nepal, for instance, one of the research teams decided to follow a group of child porters for two days. By helping them to carry their loads, the researchers were able to obtain detailed information about the lives and work of children along the portering routes of Nepal.

Too many girls and boys in this world have painful stories to tell. But adopting the standard setting for doing research with children — classrooms or work sites — may not be the optimum means of obtaining such stories. To the extent possible, in-depth interviews with children should be conducted in a neutral setting, preferably in a place where children feel safe and comfortable. Researchers should ask children where they would prefer to talk and whether they would like anyone else to be present, for example a sibling or friend.

In the process of interviewing 172 girls and 206 boys engaged in domestic work, for instance, it quickly became clear that these children could not, under any circumstances, be asked to participate in interviews in the presence of their employers. As a result, the research institution that carried out the ILO RA on child domestic labour in Nepal allocated one female and one male researcher for each participating household — one researcher would approach the employer, while the other would, at the same time, interview the child domestic in a separate part of the household.

In research on child labour in the Nepalese carpet sector, adults, friends and family would often gather around the child and the interviewer. The child was frequently grateful for the attention and for the help that parents or other adults could provide in response to questions about the child's family to which the child could not recall the answer. There were questions, however, concerning their lack of education or lack of control over income, where the child clearly wished that the parents or friends were not present. It is therefore essential that both girls and boys be given the choice to decide upon the terms, place, and conditions of the interview, and to have the support of the interviewers as necessary.

If a child appears bored or distracted at any point during the interview, furthermore, a switch in conversation to a topic more familiar to them can be an effective way to take a timely break instead of ending the interview completely. Conversations about music, films, athletes, and pop stars can be helpful subjects to introduce in such instances. Still, if the child remains uncomfortable due to the venue or the line of questioning, the researcher must end the research activity immediately.

Checklist 8: Interview checklist

- Avoid technical terms, abbreviations, and abstractions use local languages and a logic in line with local contexts that the child will comprehend.

- Change topic or switch conversation if a child appears bored or distracted at any point during the interview.

- Respect the right of a child to remain silent on issues too sensitive to talk about.

- Do not ignore concerns and issues raised by the child even when these may not be pertinent to the research objectives or relevant to filling in the questionnaire.

- Combine open-ended and closed questions do not repeatedly ask questions of a nature or in a way that the child does not understand.

- Do not express disappointment if children do not tell the truth during the interview.

- Resist expressions of shock, sadness, frustration, or any other emotions listening to the information that a child has to offer.

- Maintain a positive attitude and a neutral expression when interacting with the child.

3.   Successful listening

Combining open-ended and closed questions. It cannot be taken for granted that more listening means more hearing. There seems to be a tendency among adults to ignore or misinterpret views and perceptions expressed by children, especially in situations where the researcher feels that the views and perceptions put forward by the child worker are not directly relevant to the research activity.

With regard to research on the WFCL, it is often true that children's answers and comments cannot easily be ticked off on a ready-made, pre-coded questionnaire. Rather, the researcher should listen to the concerns and issues raised — even when these may not seem immediately pertinent to the initial research objectives. Both male and female researchers should therefore be encouraged to combine a set of open-ended and closed questions when interviewing children in intolerable and inhuman circumstances.

Combining interviews with observation. In other instances as well, the opinions and experiences of children may not easily be framed in one answer or a single statement, but may nevertheless be of great importance to the research. If children are silent, there are likely to be good reasons for this. Issues of shyness, or maturity, or ability to communicate emotions might be different among girls and boys and among children from different castes, classes, and communities. Keeping in mind the children's right to say no, the researcher must also rely on observation as an important but frequently neglected tool for generating information about children's lives.

The researcher's attitude during the interview is also important. Researchers should generally maintain a positive attitude and a neutral demeanour when interacting with the child, resisting expressions of shock, sadness, frustration, or any other emotions they may have on hearing the information that a child has to offer.

Again, however, there is a fine balance to be struck. Children in the WFCL are often abused or exploited, and, perhaps, their perception of adults is that they are mostly uncaring, if not indeed cruel. If researchers do not at least show a level of sympathy and support, they risk confirming the children's image of adults.

Investigating a selection of seven of the WFCL in Nepal, even the most experienced researchers found themselves in situations where a child would start crying. One 11-year-old girl, for instance, one of 300 children participating in an ILO RA on child labour in the Nepalese carpet sector, had lost her parents and was working under exploitative conditions in a carpet factory. She burst into tears when she told her interviewer how she had come to hate her employer and her life — a natural, inevitable reaction, even with no overt encouragement from the interviewer.

Contingency plans for children in distress. In situations where girls and boys are found to be in dire straits — either physically or psychologically — the researcher and research institute must have well-established contingency plans for withdrawing a child from work and for offering counselling, treatment, and care. It is not ethical to interview children who are in dangerous and unsafe circumstances and to leave them there in this same state without taking remedial action.

In general, researchers cannot provide such necessary assistance while conducting a research project. They should therefore be equipped with an information card with a list of referral agencies and services. Such a list of national institutes, NGOs, medical services, and other agencies specializing in services to children should be prepared prior to undertaking research, and include contact information and names that children can turn to for help. Furthermore, future research projects should include funds for the compilation and duplication of these referral lists, and these should become a standard ingredient in child labour research activities in any given country. Researchers working with the ILO in a number of countries have successfully undertaken these initiatives.

4. Misinformation as a coping strategy

When doing research on vulnerable children — e.g. those who are working, in the streets, or trafficked — team members should realize that not telling the truth is but one of many coping strategies that these girls and boys rely on for survival.

Anticipating political and legal sensitivities. It is only symptomatic of the precarious situation of the children working in the streets of Nepal, for instance, that the researchers of the ILO RA on child ragpickers frequently had to meet with a child two or three times before managing to solicit accurate and reliable information about their lives and work. Similarly, given the politically sensitive nature of very young children working in the Nepalese carpet sector, it is unsurprising that many children reported that they were two or three years older than they really were.

Avoiding responses tailored to what respondents believe researchers want to hear. A less serious issue arises from the interaction between the researcher and the child, for whom the research activity is often a new and interesting event in their day-to-day life. The presence of outsiders, and the detailed questions asked about the socio-economic characteristics of the child's household, has frequently caused interviewees to respond in ways they think the researcher want them to. To avoid such outcomes, as well as any bitterness in the aftermath of the research project, every possible means should be taken to avoid children embarking on the research with false expectations about how the research project or subsequent programmes will benefit them or their families in the short or long term.

Concealing negative reactions of researcher. Overt disappointment on the part of the researcher in reaction to children not telling the truth is to be avoided at all costs. It is unsurprising that girls or boys might be unwilling to tell the truth to someone engaged in a research activity that may have consequences for their day-to-day survival, and may even cause increased burdens.

Building trust. Encouraging another person to tell the truth requires trust. To build trust with children, as mentioned earlier, interviews should be conducted in neutral settings and, if possible, in the absence of parents, employers, guardians, or other persons whose presence may inhibit the children. Depending on the issues discussed, e.g. sexual abuse or trafficking, it is also essential to ensure the right match between girl and boy respondents and male and female researchers.

Considering structures of power and fear. Such structures exist among girls and boys, within groups of marginalized children on the streets, and in society at large. As in all societies, power structures are manifested in all social relations, e.g. gender, age, class, caste, and ethnicity. Against this background, it is necessary, in assessing the veracity of respondent statements, to consider the dynamics and survival strategies of girls and boys belonging to local sub-cultures and working communities.

5. Pay and promises

Remuneration, either in cash or in kind, can be at issue when doing research with children. In a country such as Nepal, it is estimated that thousands of girls and boys have spent tens of thousands of hours responding to research questionnaires or participating in research activities. Is it reasonable to assume that children should participate on such a scale — and so intensively — yet receive nothing in immediate return?

In some cases, children and their parents have gratefully accepted awareness-raising items (e.g. programme-related T-shirts, calendars, school-bags) or health-related items (e.g. toothpaste, band-aids, bandages) in recognition of their participation. In other cases, girls

and boys have asked for meals, cigarettes, or cash. But the question remains: When is it acceptable to provide a meal, or to pay the children a small amount of money, for their time and knowledge?

Some researchers are tempted to pay the child to ensure participation and to meet tight research deadlines. Others are inclined to donate money or food out of concern for children living in acute poverty. With research on the commercial sexual exploitation of children — where access may only be gained through the researcher initially presenting him/herself as a client — some have paid the going rate so as not to diminish the child's expected earnings.

But all such justifications for giving the children money or things are highly questionable. As mentioned above, moreover, when interacting with children for the sake of research, it is imperative to avoid raising expectations of dramatic lifestyle changes as an outcome of the research activity.

In a recent ILO research seminar on building a national knowledge base on child labour in Nepal, 21 national research experts discussed the growing trend of providing medicine and first-aid treatment as compensation in doing research on children. It turned out that most researchers in Nepal carry first-aid kits with them when they embark on research projects in remote areas of the country, and sometimes offer treatment to children and adults in dire need. Although there are certainly cases where the first-aid treatment of children has saved lives, the seminar participants agreed that such interventions should be limited to an absolute minimum. Researchers are first and foremost researchers — not health-care providers.

Based on the seminar discussions and conclusions, it is believed that national-level deliberations such as the one referred to above should determine the nature of pay and compensation in any specific research activity. Given the experience and expertise of national research experts, and the specific research contexts in any given country, selected stakeholders should provide guidelines on the issues of pay and promises.

Checklist 9: Checklist during research

- Ensure that the research activity takes place in a neutral setting and a secure environment.
- Take the time necessary to explain carefully to the child, in a straightforward way, the basic ideas and framework of the research, including the aim and methods as well as the intended and possible outcomes of the research.
- If possible, seek the consent of parent, guardian, employer, or other responsible adult, for the child to participate in the research process, and allow the child sufficient time to do this.
- Clearly state the names and contact details of the researcher, research institutes, and other stakeholders in the research project so that children and parents may subsequently contact these research partners.
- Ask the child if his or her participation will conflict with other engagements or responsibilities.
- Take every possible step to avoid having the child embark on the research with false expectations about how the research project or subsequent programmes will benefit them or their families.
- Ask the child whether he or she would like anyone else to be present during an interview, a friend, family member, teacher, etc.
- Similarly, find ways of limiting the interference of other persons, should the child prefer to speak of selected issues in privacy let the child decide on the terms, place, and conditions of the interview.
- Allow the child time to understand that he or she can exercise the right to say no at any time in the course of the research process.
- Identify and provide real options for children to withdraw at each distinct stage of the research.

C.   *Post-research issues*

1.   The right to privacy

As in research with adult informants, information provided to researchers by children should be treated as confidential. Anonymity — removing names and other identifying information — must be strictly practised, and should be explained to the children. Except under special circumstances, the information should be revealed to others outside the research team only with the children's permission. Otherwise, researchers should consider breaking confidentiality, only in special circumstances, for example where a child is seen to be in danger.

Whenever a research project is focused on a specific target group — e.g. sexually abused girls and boys working in the streets, or research on HIV/AIDS prevalence among girls and boys in commercial sexual exploitation — it can be very difficult to protect the anonymity of children participating in the research. In such cases, it is recommended that the sample size be expanded to include a wider target population with a variety of girls and boys, where relevant questions can be asked to specific segments of the research target groups.

2.   Sharing research

In sharing research findings, special care must be taken not to put child informants at risk. Although case studies and photographs present powerful tools with which to convey a message to a target group of readers, it remains the ethical responsibility of researchers to ensure that the children depicted will not be put at risk. Consent should be sought from individual children whose photographs or case studies are to be used, and an agreement made between children and the researcher regarding the use of pseudonyms.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) describes how children have a right to participate in all steps of a research process. Accordingly, the outcome of any child-centred research exercise should be shared with all child participants.

Sharing results with children often presents a challenging task due to barriers of language, literacy, and accessibility. The ensuing benefits for the children involved — and for the research results — are so important that a determined effort must be made to include such an activity within the overall research framework. Hence, every effort should be made to publish the findings in ways accessible to children, whether in written or pictorial form.

Checklist 10: Post-research checklist

- Treat all information obtained from children as confidential.

- Seek agreement with the child on who will have access to the information produced and on what information should be kept confidential.

- Ask the child for specific consent if photographs are to be used or individual case-studies are to be published.

- Find appropriate ways of sharing the research results with the children involved in the research process.

III.   Conclusion: Addressing ethical concerns in research with children

The challenges faced and the lessons learned from doing research with children, as we have seen above, are such that we need to rethink:

- the way this research is normally conducted; and

- what use we typically make of research results.

This may seem an arduous task, but it is also what makes working with children both imperative and worthwhile.

Ethical research can help children gain access to channels of communication from which they are often excluded. It sheds new insights on the deplorable situations in which our youth are too often growing up. Such research is a first step towards changing the world for children who are denied access to education and exploited at work.

Addressing key ethical issues and concerns is only common sense, for most researchers involved in research activities around the world. Nevertheless, the lessons learned by the ILO from researching the WFCL in 19 countries and one border area clearly show how even the most professional and experienced researchers at times find themselves unable to avoid situations that put a child unnecessarily at risk of suffering harm.

Although ethical guidelines and codes do not address all possible challenges or risks, they can lead to asking the right kinds of questions. The checklists included in this annex have been prepared to counteract and pre-empt violations of the rights enjoyed by all girls and boys or situations that put children in harm's way.

As stipulated in the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), the ILO promotes research that can provide us with a better understanding of the causes and consequences of child labour world-wide. At the same time, as a standard-setting agency under the UN, the ILO is committed to promoting and protecting the rights of children, especially those of the girls and boys who are exploited at work, and including those who participate in research activities.

The present module has been prepared to ameliorate the situation and to safeguard the rights of girls and boys in child labour research and in research on the WFCL. It promotes the generation of new knowledge regarding the often hidden and illegitimate exploitation of millions of working children. At the same time, it highlights the importance of a well-planned and meaningful research process, where children — without getting hurt — can contribute of their own free will, providing us with authentic insights and valid recommendations for change.

Annex 4: Module on lessons learned

(Lessons learned when investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour using the Rapid Assessment Methodology) [100]

Introduction

Since 2000, extensive research has been conducted using the Rapid Assessment (RA) methodology. IPEC/SIMPOC completed over 90 RAs in the years 2000-2004, 38 of which were part of a project to investigate the worst forms of child labour (WFCL). [101] These 38 RAs had the following aims:

- to produce and make publicly available quantitative and qualitative information related to WFCL;

- to provide a clear description of the magnitude, character, causes, and consequences of WFCL; and

- to further develop and validate the ILO/UNICEF RA methodology regarding child labour, specifically the RA ILO/UNICEF draft manual. [102]

This paper consolidates lessons learned from these 38 RAs. It incorporates work undertaken by many actors, both in the field and at ILO headquarters.

The examples presented in this document are project specific. Nevertheless, the broader IPEC/SIMPOC experience with RAs shows that researchers face similar circumstances world-wide. As such, the lessons outlined will apply in any similar research situation.

The lessons consolidated in this paper were identified by these means:

- reviewing specific sections in RA reports devoted to problems encountered and lessons learned;

- through a review of the RA reports for recurring problems and corrective actions;

- from meetings and communications with ILO/IPEC field staff and researchers; and

- from experiences coordinating the project from ILO/IPEC headquarters.

The lessons are organized according to three phases of RA research:

- preparation and planning;

- data collection; and

- data analysis and report preparation.

A summary checklist of key points lies at the end of each section.

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[100] For the full text of this paper please refer to: ILO. Fee, J. *Lessons learned when investigating the worst forms of child labour using the rapid assessment methodologie.* Geneva, July 2004. The text is available online in 2005 at http://www.ilo. org/public/english/standards/ipec/publ/ download/ra_lessonslearned_2004.pdf.

[101] Funding for this project was provided by the United States Department of Labor.

[102] ILO/UNICEF. *Investigating child labour: Guidelines for rapid assessment – A field manual.* A draft to be finalized following field tests. Geneva, January 2000. Retrieved on January 2005, from http://www.ilo.org/ public/ english/standards/simpoc/guides/index.htm.

Although many issues have been touched upon in this paper, the lessons that follow share two overarching themes:

- the importance of flexibility during RA research; and

- the need to respect the specific circumstances of each respondent, with particular reference to the boy and girl respondents.

While RA guidelines can be presented in manual format, the ins and outs of conducting the research rely heavily on the resourcefulness of the research team and the sensitivities and intuitions of its individual members. Thinking "outside the box" and taking into consideration the special needs of the target group at all stages of the RA are two key elements to producing sound outputs.

The purpose of presenting these lessons learned is to improve research on child labour, particularly WFCL, and, more specifically, to improve RA methodology. The dissemination of the lessons and their incorporation into training and technical support provided to researchers by IPEC staff and experienced researchers is a step towards improving the availability and quality of information on some of the world's most exploited girls and boys and, in turn, to improve their circumstances. [103]

Preparation and planning

In-depth preparation and planning for an RA is essential to producing high-quality research results with far-reaching impact. The more informed and focused the RA team is before beginning research, the better the design of the research instruments will be. [104] RA teams are advised to undertake, among other tasks, a comprehensive desk review, identify the types of variables they will later analyze, and outline the structure of the report (including drawing up dummy tables) in advance of data collection. Based on experiences from RA teams, the points listed below have emerged as important factors to consider before embarking on RA fieldwork.

Duration. Based on experiences in the field and discussions among the programme team and field staff, a successful RA of a WFCL requires a period of six to seven months, from the research planning stages through to completion of the final report.

While the timeframe for each activity will vary from RA to RA, two months to cover the planning details and design will generally suffice, followed by two months of fieldwork, and a final two months to analyze the data and prepare the report. More time may be required when investigating hard-to-access forms of child labour since, in these situations, access to respondents and building rapport will prove more challenging.

Research on children involved in drug trafficking will require longer preparation and data collection phases than some less hidden forms of child labour, e.g. children working in the streets.

Timing. Timing can play an important part in the success of an RA. RA results, depending in part on the time of year the investigation is conducted, can be affected by both natural and social conditions.

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[103] For more information on the RA studies referred to throughout this annex, please refer to the current manual's bibliography, ILO/IPEC report series, 2001-2003.

[104] Detailed terms of reference (TOR) are fundamental to developing the research, and can be considered an invaluable roadmap for reference throughout the RA process. Similarly, definitions of terms common to the child labour field should be clarified in advance of research.

Some natural reasons for delay (e.g. those of a seasonal nature) can be planned for, and some (e.g. natural disasters) cannot. Seasonal weather (e.g. rains making roads impassable and limiting access to study sites) was mentioned as a concern in a number of countries. The harvest season and peak production periods in certain types of work must also be taken into account since, during these times, demand for child labour is likely to be higher. In agriculture-related activities, RA research will benefit from being conducted during the harvest season, when the number of accessible children in this work is greater, thereby augmenting the potential information for collection on the circumstances of child labour.

- On sugar cane plantations in El Salvador and Bolivia, researchers conducted the interviews during the cane-cutting period.

- In the RA on fishing in El Salvador, researchers took the seasonal nature of the work into account prior to deciding when to undertake the research. It was not possible, however, to plan for the earthquakes that put a temporary halt to the RAs in El Salvador.

Similarly, some circumstances created or influenced by people can be planned for and some cannot.

- Certain studies faced obstacles in conducting research due to the December holiday period, which delayed research clearance from government officials and made it hard to access school children and teachers.

- The RA conducted in Ecuador discovered that flower plantations hired more child labour during Christmas, as well as during other periods when girls and boys were not attending school.

Election periods are another timing consideration, although such events do not always follow expected timelines, and plans should once again include some flexibility. Similarly, events such as regional or national upheavals and riots cannot be planned for.

- The Tanzania RA on commercial sexual exploitation met with delays because it was conducted when the national general elections had just ended and the Government was in an interim period. The researchers had to wait for research clearance until the newly elected officers assumed office.

- The Madagascar RA experienced repeated delays when planning a seminar to present the investigation findings. A dangerous and limiting political climate during the final stages of the research made it impossible to maintain the planned timeline.

Local and national support. It is essential to foster the right environment for effective and sustainable child labour action, including favourable policies and law "at the top" together with an aware and concerned public at the grassroots level. [105]

It is vital to get political support both for conducting the RA and to increase the probability that action will be taken following the research.

- In 2 of the 38 RA investigations in particular, the delay in political approval of the RA research by specific actors at the country level in turn caused uncertainty and further delay in the launching and implementation stages.

At the grassroots level, lack of support can often be attributed to both cultural perceptions and fear.

- Obstacles to RA research appeared where members of the community did not believe that the work of the boys and girls was a WFCL, or when they feared the consequences of revealing too much. Data collection through interviews and discussions,

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[105] ILO/IPEC. *Good practices in action against child labour: A synthesis report of seven country studies, 1997-1998 by independent researchers.* Geneva, 2001.

access to sites for observation, and interaction were all made more difficult under both these circumstances.

- With regard to cultural perceptions, as reported in the RA on child domestic workers in Nepal, "Hiring a live-in person to undertake domestic household chores is an integral part of South-Asian tradition".[106] The cultural view and history of the child domestic worker situation can make it difficult to rally support at the community level.

- The impact of fear was apparent in the Ecuador RA on child labour in the cut flower industry. In this case, not only the plantation owners but the vast majority of the villagers remained silent on the issue of girls and boys working, given the risk of physical and financial sanctions entailed by providing such information.

RA researchers who understand national and local perceptions of the target group and who can anticipate likely reactions will (a) be more successful in adapting the methodology to the actual circumstances, and will (b) enhance the quality of data collected. They will also be in a better position to clear any perceptions and fears that may exist.

Building a multi-disciplinary team. In planning for the 38 RAs, it proved important to include researchers on the team who had experience of interacting with boys and girls, who were familiar with the children's environment, or whom the children held in high regard — people such as media celebrities or popular athletes. An RA team should also possess strong analytical knowledge on how to research culture and gender issues. In addressing the cultural sensitivities of the boys and girls, it proved helpful to have local members of the community — both males and females — participate on the research teams as interviewers or assistants. This not only served to put the child respondents at ease, but permitted communication in the local language. This said, however, the team should include both local and non-local members to ensure the necessary balance for observation and interpretation. (See below: Culture and perceptions.)

- In Jamaica, one of the researchers who facilitated the FGDs was a well-known actress, TV personality, child rights activist, and social worker. Additionally she served as executive director of an NGO working with street and working children. According to the report, her "public profile and her facilitation skills were distinct advantages for working with the children and she was quickly able to establish a rapport with them".[107]

Research teams should also be comprised of experienced individuals with high-level technical and analytical capacities.

- In certain instances these attributes were found together in one individual, as in the case of the RA on drug trafficking in Brazil, where the head researcher had lived for seven years in a favela, or slum, where children's involvement in drug trafficking was rampant. He knew the dynamics of the sector, the "codes" of the boys and girls, and the challenges facing the communities. He also ran an NGO related to children in drug trafficking, which further eased his access to respondents (children and key informants). His technical experience rounded out this ideal profile for RA research. He worked in a team, however, to ensure high accuracy of data processing, tabulation, and analysis.

[106] ILO/IPEC. Sharma, S.; Thakurathi, M.; Sapkota, K.; Devkota, B.; Rimal, B. *Nepal — Situation of Domestic Child Labourers in Kathmandu: A Rapid Assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 3. Geneva, 2001.

[107] ILO/IPEC. Dunn, L. *Jamaica — Situation of children in prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 8. Geneva, 2001.

Often these qualities were collectively encompassed by multi-disciplinary research teams, where members represented a variety of disciplines, e.g. statistics, sociology, and child psychology. This range of expertise strengthened the research.

- The RA team in Romania researching children working in the street included a child psychologist. She was able to evaluate the negative impact of the work on the girls and boys based on their mental capabilities as compared to standards and averages of non-working children.

Culture and perceptions. As mentioned in "Building a multi-disciplinary team", above, effective conduct of an RA presupposes the research team's familiarity with local culture and practices. This prior knowledge can improve the design of data collection tools and the methodological approach. It can also aid in explaining why boys and girls enter a WFCL, why a WFCL is accepted in a community, and the effects of WFCL on children. Too much familiarity with the surroundings and traditions can entail a risk, however, that data collection procedures are sometimes blind to potentially significant details. As detailed in "Building a multi-disciplinary team", above, a mix of local and non-local researchers is recommended.

- The RA on commercial sexual exploitation in Tanzania found that, once children complete Standard VII (last year of primary school, at about 12 years of age) they are expected to take care of themselves. During this time of early adolescence "girls attend initiation ceremonies which teach them how to maintain a house and perform sexual acts". [108] Furthermore, in Tanzania some opinion has it that, once a girl has engaged in sexual intercourse, she is no longer considered a girl but a woman. As a result, it is not unacceptable for a child under 18 to be sexually exploited, despite her age, if she is sexually active.

- The RA on child labour on sugar cane plantations in El Salvador illustrates the importance of knowing as much as possible about how girls and boys are affected by their work. There, researchers observed that girls and boys were often cut by the sharp knives they used in their work, or by the plants themselves. The children commonly fill their cuts with soil to stop the bleeding. Understanding the health implications of both the initial cuts and the likelihood of infection and disease stemming from this crude first-aid offers insight into one more aspect of the plight of working children. Practices such as these must be taken into account, in coming to understand the children's circumstances.

Involvement of local key stakeholders. Involving key stakeholders during the planning stages of the research, and preparing them for the findings while conducting the RA, increases investment in the research by important players, and contributes to the impact of the study findings.

- In the Tanzania RAs, researchers engaged the local community by informing them about the child labour situation in the country and about the aim of the research. This exercise proved an effective means of ensuring their participation during the research and of identifying ways to protect children involved in WFCL.

- Similarly, in the Guatemala RA provided an opportunity to approach local institutions that offer social care and assistance to children involved in hazardous labour in garbage dumps. Approaching these institutions prior to the investigation was useful in creating a network supported by the municipal authority. Following the RA, these institutions played a valuable role in identifying solutions and planning intervention programmes to eliminate this worst form.

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[108] ILO/IPEC. Kamala, E.; Lusinde, E.; Millinga, J.; Mwaitula, J.; *Tanzania — Children in prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour, No. 12. Geneva, 2001.

Gender mainstreaming. The gender dimension of RA research should be emphasized in the planning stages. Only then may the team collect data that effectively characterizes both boys and girls, and, subsequently, permits comprehensive analysis and presentation of this data. Boys and girls may or may not perform the same tasks and may or may not have similar attitudes towards and perceptions of their work and life circumstances. Although both sexes will be vulnerable at the hands of their employers/exploiters, furthermore, these vulnerabilities will differ.

- The methodology of the RA on the urban informal sector in El Salvador was designed to identify the different perceptions of girls and boys regarding reasons for work.

- RAs addressing commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) were designed to uncover information on the circumstances of boy victims, even when background information pointed to CSE as a form of exploitation largely affecting girls.

- The planning of FGDs organized by same-sex groups, as in the RA on sugarcane plantations in Bolivia, helped to collect information regarding perceptions of males and females without elements of gender intimidation or unease stemming from any cultural gender implications.

Security concerns. All RA teams must address security concerns, preparing contingency plans for potentially risky situations in advance of the fieldwork. This is especially important when research is focused on activities such as children in armed conflict, commercial sexual exploitation, and drug trafficking.

- The RA on children working at garbage dump sites in Guatemala encountered a setback in the first stage of data collection. When the research team went to the study site, they learned that the dumps were controlled by violent youth gangs, information that had not been evident from secondary sources. This prompted many of the researchers to resign. Subsequent meetings discussed how to adapt the research approach in a way that the gang-related circumstances of the children might be captured. A revised questionnaire collected information on drug addiction, gang affiliation, and other areas that had not been covered in the initial research plan. A new research team was recruited, and, informed about the salient circumstances in advance, they were able to take the necessary precautions, allowing successful completion of the fieldwork.

While researchers should do their best to identify security issues prior to conducting investigations, they should be aware that they may still be surprised by unforeseen threats.

- Security issues were a prime consideration in the Philippines. The experts researching child soldiers faced challenges in securing permission from the responsible authority in the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) to conduct interviews with the children. The enumerators had to wait for longer than anticipated before explicit permission was granted in the form of a letter addressed to MILF commanders in the field. A related problem was encountered when the survey respondents, and the commanders themselves, questioned the technique of mapping the location of the households where surveys were conducted. The MILF had already had a bad experience when they allowed maps to be sketched of their major camps. According to the MILF information officer, this led to an assault on their camps by the Philippines military forces. Consequently, the survey team abandoned the idea of mapping households of respondents.

- Researchers investigating sexually exploited children should note that high security risks are associated with data collection surrounding the illicit activities of commercial sexual exploitation, especially since most activities occur at night. "Researchers

should work in pairs where possible, and budget for increased costs associated with conducting research at night (e.g. higher transportation costs)".[109]

Age definitions. The definition of children, that is younger than 18 years, as defined in the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182), must be clearly stated in the research objectives.[110] Since definitions of children by age vary between countries and organizations, establishment of a common age set is essential to collecting useful data on child labour. This does not mean that young people 18 years and older cannot be included in the RAs, if they have relevant information and/or experiences to complement the research. But the data collected on them must be tabulated separately, and the focus of the investigations must be on children younger than 18 years. Different cut-offs can then be established within this category of respondent.

Researchers should use more than one approach in trying to verify the age of interviewees. Age verification can still prove a challenge, however. The RAs on commercial sexual exploitation illustrated how many girl respondents used heavy makeup and clothing to appear older, and may have been issued false identification cards.

- The RA on commercial sexual exploitation in Jamaica reported that some girls used "chicken pills"[111] to develop early, and many appeared older than their real age.

- In El Salvador, girls in commercial sexual exploitation were carrying inaccurate identification cards. Following the civil war in El Salvador (1981-1992), many people found themselves without official papers, including identification cards. In registering for new ones, it was common for girls to overstate their age. Researchers thus encountered a challenge in determining the children's actual ages, since they appeared younger than 18 years old, but their official cards said they were 18 or older.

Inclusion of key common variables in instrument design. As draft reports, proposals, and questionnaires were reviewed by the programme team, it became apparent that the data from the investigations varied widely. To obtain standardized data on WFCL, then, a smaller, standard table of indicators was developed, distributed to the field, filled out by researchers, and eventually included in the RA reports.

- The table aimed to help compile a standard set of data that allowed for cross-country analysis and further research, while leaving the researchers enough flexibility to design their questionnaires and reports in ways best suited to the particular circumstances of their RA. The use of this table provided solid quantitative information that — when combined with the qualitative analyses in the report — offered a comprehensive and instructive picture of WFCL.

Design and testing of questionnaire. In some instances, specific questions caused the boys and girls being interviewed to feel uncomfortable and embarrassed and, as a result, to close up.

- In El Salvador, when conducting the investigation on child domestic workers, the researchers reported that, when asked where they slept and what they ate, the children became reticent and reluctant to complete the rest of the interview.

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[109] ILO/IPEC. Dunn, L. *Jamaica — Situation of children in prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 8. Geneva, 2001.

[110] It should be noted that the upper age limit in the definition of a child is set in terms of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989); in addition, ILO Convention No. 182 on WFCL applies to *all* children under the age of 18.

[111] "Chicken pills" are pills containing hormones intended to enhance rapid growth in poultry. Girls and young women reportedly take these pills to quicken body development, specifically to enhance busts and hips so as to look more like an adult.

Questionnaires should be age appropriate, and a child-communication specialist should be consulted, where needed, when designing them. Questions that cause the type of reaction described in the example above should be asked at the end of an interview, when a girl or boy is more likely to feel comfortable with the process. This will better both ensure that as much information as possible is collected and show consideration for the child's feelings. Better still, when testing questionnaires, children's reactions should be noted and efforts made to determine why certain questions may afford this reaction, and how the same information can be obtained through different approaches, language, and sequence in a manner with which the children are comfortable.

"Catching the moment". It is important to stay alert for public opportunities that can give the RA momentum. Using opportunities presented within the larger context is a good way to promote awareness and action about the research at hand.[112]

- During the preparation stages of the RA on child domestic workers in Thailand, the key issues were brought to the attention of the general public when three girl servants pressed charges against the wife of a prominent Thai public figure, reporting that they had been beaten by their employer. Capitalizing on this opportunity, and focusing more attention on the findings of the RA, the consultants expanded the seminar planned to present the study's results into a comprehensive workshop, thereby capturing the in-depth views of politicians as well as government, worker, and employer representatives.

Checklist 11: Preparation and planning: Summary checklist

- Take into consideration, to the extent possible, the **natural and social conditions** of the research area.

- Assess both **local and national support** when selecting RA target groups and locations.

- Build a research team that represents **varying disciplines and backgrounds** and that is **gender-balanced**.

- Ensure that the research team includes members familiar with the **local culture and practices**.

- **Involve key stakeholders** from the planning stages.

- **Mainstream gender into the research design** by seeking perspectives and experiences of both boys and girls, mothers and fathers, female and male community members, etc.

- Make necessary **provisions for potential security risks** and establish **contingency plans**.

- Seek **clarity and consensus in key definitions**, with special attention to the age definition of the term "child" (younger than 18 years).

- Develop effective means of including **key common variables** in the instrument design.

- Consider the **comfort and age of the child respondents** when designing questionnaires; **pilot test questionnaires** and work with a **child communication specialist** as necessary.

- **Stay tuned to public opportunities** that can provide momentum to the research aims.

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[112] ILO/IPEC. *Good practices in action against child labour: A synthesis report of seven country studies, 1997-1998 by independent researchers.* Geneva, 2001.

Data collection

As explained in the background section on key concepts, RA methodology applies several research strategies simultaneously. Information-collecting approaches may be grouped broadly within the categories of observations and interviews, and include informal conversations drawing on key informants as well as FGDs.

Given the often hidden, "invisible", or illicit nature of the target groups, researchers must be both creative and resourceful in identifying the best way to conduct their fieldwork. Each target group and geographic and cultural environment requires special attention, in terms of which data collection methods will work best and how they should be implemented. There follows advice on effective ways of gathering RA information.

Accessing respondents. When a committed core comprised of NGO workers, local experts, authorities, community members, etc. provides the springboard for RA research, data collection is easier and the likelihood of inspiring positive change is greater.

- The RAs in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Jamaica on commercial sexual exploitation show how effectively information can be collected when different constituents work together. Key informants included taxi operators, community development and health workers, journalists, security guards at hotels, agencies working with street children, and community-based organizations, together with children exploited in commercial sexual exploitation and related activities, their families, and their friends. These people played a critical role in contacting girls and boys for involvement in the studies.

- In the RA on child domestic workers in El Salvador, key informants included residential security guards, community leaders, farmers, and municipal authorities responsible for social and health issues. Without the informants' support, it would have been virtually impossible to reach the children. In addition, girl interviewees also served as key informants, helping interviewers to reach other child domestic workers.

Estimating the magnitude. Primarily, the RA methodology collects qualitative data. In some cases, however combining RA with other methods makes it possible to enhance this data with quantitative data.

- The RA on child domestic workers in Nepal integrated a door-to-door household survey as one means of data collection. The survey proved to be a powerful tool to generate reliable qualitative data within a short period of time, and complemented data collected by other means.

- The RA/capture-recapture (RA-CR) methodology[113] helped provide estimates on less-hidden WFCL such as porters and rag pickers in Nepal. It proved less adequate for worst forms such as trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation.

Other means offer themselves for estimating the magnitude of a particular population, obtaining a more nuanced picture than qualitative data alone can provide. These include the use of location-based (e.g. child porters, rag pickers, children working in the street) and establishment-based (e.g. children working in the automobile industry) sample surveys. Using a probability-based representative sample survey allows the research team to estimate the number of children in WFCL at the regional or national level by permitting statistical inferences about a larger population.[114]

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[113] For technical details on the RA capture-recapture methodology, see Annex 5.2 of the current manual.

[114] For technical details and further examples on the methods mentioned above, see Annex 5 of the current manual.

Building rapport with boys and girls. A research team with the appropriate profile should be selected, but it is equally important that the researchers develop a rapport with the children.

- Prior to data collection, the RA in Turkey used elements of sports and music as entry points to establishing a comfortable connection with children working in the streets.

- The researchers investigating children working in the streets in Romania found that some of the boys and girls had difficulties answering interview questions due to both questionnaire length and lack of trust. To overcome these obstacles, the interviewers interacted with the children for a longer period of time — throughout several meetings — to create a climate of trust. These meetings involved spending time with the boys and girls, talking and playing together, going to the swimming pool or the cinema, or taking them for a snack. The questions were gradually introduced, taking into account the child's mood at the time. The researchers believe that this personal approach helped them collect more accurate and reliable data.

- Similarly, in Viet Nam interviewers worked to gain the trust of the boys and girls by creating a friendly relationship that included joining them in such social activities as going on picnics and to movies.

Certain boundaries must be respected when developing a rapport with children, especially those living under exploitative circumstances who may be particularly vulnerable when forming a relationship with a caring adult. [115]

Interviewer-interviewee compatibility. The behaviour and responses of a child interviewee can be greatly influenced by who interviews them and how they have come into contact with this person. Interviews will likely be more successful if someone familiar to and respected by the children accompanies the researchers when they make their initial approach.

- In the RA on child rag pickers in Nepal, the research team worked closely with local NGOs that already had good rapport with the children from the target community/ethnic group. This connection was crucial in facilitating data collection.

Similarly, when selecting interviewers it is essential to consider issues such as gender, dialect, age, appearance, and the form of child labour in question, with the aim of creating the best interviewer-interviewee match for the task at hand. [116]

- For example, girl victims of commercial sexual exploitation should generally be interviewed by female interviewers.

Perspectives of boys and girls. RA is a child-focused participatory research approach described as "research *with* children" as opposed to "research about children". The value of boys and girls as informants should thus not be underestimated. They often relate different and more accurate accounts of their circumstances than will a parent or employer/exploiter. To obtain a comprehensive picture of the situation, however, and to cross-check the information successfully, it is always worth collecting data from parents and employer/exploiters as well as other key informants.

- The RA on child trafficking in the Mekong border area exemplifies this. The most reliable and accessible informants in this investigation proved to be people with first-hand experience of the trafficking process — i.e. the minors who had been trafficked.

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[115] For a detailed discussion on building rapport between researchers and children, see Annex 3 of the current manual.

[116] See also the following section on data analysis and report preparation, Confidentiality and ethical issues.

The qualitative interviews with children provided a detailed picture of the process of transportation and recruitment from the minors' perspective. These interviews also provided a comparative understanding of the behaviour and experiences among the different social, gender, and ethnic groups. In this RA, children's parents were not considered a good source of information. Access to parents was very limited because the target group (trafficked children) had left their homes, parents were rarely found in the border areas, and parents seem to be unaware of the trafficking process. [117]

Interview environment. Locations for RA interviews must be carefully selected, since they can have a significant impact on data collection. Furthermore, the wisdom of having other actors present during the interview must be considered. The presence of male or female employers/exploiters in particular, as well as mothers, fathers, or other adults or peers, can influence the children's responses, preventing them from speaking freely either out of fear, intimidation, or the desire to impress. In some cases, however, the presence of family and peers actually enhances an interview. There follow examples of RA approaches and adaptations that created conducive interview environments.

- In the RA on sexually exploited children in Viet Nam, interviews were conducted at the establishments (clubs) themselves, wherever permitted by the manager. When the interviews were conducted without the manager's knowledge, the meeting often took place in a quiet location to assure the privacy and comfort of the child (apartments rented by the children, street cafés, or quiet public places).

- In Madagascar, the majority of the interviews and FGDs with sexually exploited children were held outside their homes and neighbourhoods, successfully encouraging the children express themselves without being influenced by their surroundings.

- In the RAs on commercial sexual exploitation and child domestic workers in El Salvador, girls revealed certain information during the FGDs that they had denied during the interviews, and felt more at ease when discussing sensitive subjects such as drug use, eating habits, and physical punishments.

- In some RAs on child domestic workers, the interviews were held in the household where the child worked, with the employer present. This was not an environment generally conducive to obtaining information; but, since child domestic work is a hidden WFCL, it was difficult to access boys and girls by other means. Children could not be open, and were fearful of how their employer would react once the researcher left. When this situation arose in Nepal, the researchers addressed it by conducting two interviews at the same time. Enumerators approached households in pairs, so the child and the employer could be interviewed at the same time in different parts of the home.

- In El Salvador, preliminary interviews demonstrated that, because the presence of employers created tension, the interviews should never be undertaken at the children's workplace. The employers clearly did not trust the boys and girls, and the latter were very shy. Instead researchers opted to interview the children in parks, at church, and at other locations where children spent their non-working time. This approach is impossible, however, when boys and girls are working in a situation that does not allow them leisure time or freedom of movement.

Other RA experiences illustrate that interviews at the workplace and/or in the presence of others can sometimes be the better approach.

- On sugarcane plantations in El Salvador and Bolivia, interviewing at the workplace proved an effective means of collecting information. In both cases, the researchers

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[117] ILO/IPEC. Wille, C. *Thailand — Lao People's Democratic Republic and Thailand-Myanmar border areas, trafficking in children into the worst forms of child labour: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 1. Geneva, 2001.

found the workplace to be a friendly environment for interviewing in which girls and boys — surrounded by their working peers and family members involved in the same activity — felt supported, and felt free to respond without reserve. Unlike in the cases of child domestic work, the employer was not present, and thus did not inhibit the children's responses.

In some RAs, collecting data on child domestic workers (and other children who are living away from their homes) at places of origin or "sending communities" proved a successful approach, and was easier than collecting data at their workplace. Researchers should determine whether, during the span of the RA, the children are return likely to home area to attend some major community event. In taking this approach, however, the children's leisure time and time with their families must be respected.

- As a result of the experiences of the RA on child domestic workers in Thailand, the researchers recommend that in future such data collection take place in the children's home area during important festivals when the children return to visit their families. Such occasions include Songkran (mid-April) and the Chinese New Year (January or February, depending on the phase of the moon).

- In Sri Lanka, the sending communities were also one of the main sources of information on child domestic workers. In addition to easing access to the children, interviewing at places of origin can enable researchers to better understand the push and pull factors of the WFCL in question and of migration.

- In El Salvador — in contrast to the situations in Thailand and Sri Lanka — interviews at places of origin were found unsuitable for interviewing for three reasons: large geographic distances; potential conflict with parents who decided to send their children to work; and the need to respect the limited time that children spend at home.

Identifying best times to interview boys and girls. The best times to interview children varied from study to study and between worst forms.

- In the case of children working on sugarcane plantations in El Salvador, the best time proved to be first thing in the morning before work. After work, the boys attended school and the girls engaged in household chores. The researchers soon realized that the children were in a hurry at this time to get to school or return home, and they chose not to interfere with this schedule.

- It was generally difficult to locate sexually exploited girls during the day. The best times for interviews were in the evenings and at night on Fridays and Saturdays, although special attention was necessary regarding the reactions of employers/exploiters and interference with the clients/exploiters.

Where the best times to conduct interviews are assessed early in the study, the investigation proceeds more efficiently. It is also true, however, that the researchers must be prepared for long waits and delays when conducting interviews.

- In one instance, in the RA on fishing in El Salvador, the interviewer spent many hours waiting while the child interviewee repeatedly delayed the encounter.

Schools as entry points. The classroom can provide a valuable source of data; sometimes it proves the only means of obtaining information.

- As mentioned earlier, the research team investigating child labour on flower plantations in Ecuador encountered difficulties in obtaining information from the community. Alternatively, they identified schools and informal education institutions as entry points. Acknowledging that the initial research plans were not going to provide the necessary data, the researchers found willing respondents among the frustrated teachers in the village schools, where the drop-out rates are high. When they asked the

students, during school hours, to draw something relevant to their lives, and the overwhelming number of illustrations included images of flower production and of the plantation.

- In the Sri Lanka RA on child domestic workers, school-going girls and boys (who were not child domestic workers) were given an assignment by their teacher on their perceptions of child domestic work, seeking insight into the perceptions and circumstances of this work in the local community. The school children tended to be from the middle classes, and the researchers gained insights from the children's descriptions of their household organization, which included child domestic workers.

The benefits of observation. Observation played a significant role in many of the RAs, proving an effective source from which to complement data from interviews and FGDs.

- In the investigation of children working in the urban informal sector in El Salvador, the close observation of the work environment by the research team was fundamental to determining the risks faced by children. Based on their observations, the researchers were able to conclude that often the hazards were not associated with the work activities themselves, but instead with the environment in which the work was undertaken. This was true of girls and boys working as street vendors, where the activity in itself was not hazardous, but children risked being hit by a car, robbed, becoming part of a gang, or being sexually exploited.

- The Lebanon RA investigating child labour on tobacco plantations also emphasized observation. Researchers were instructed to observe children in their work setting for at least one hour, repeated at different times of the day.

Observation should not be limited to the work environment.

- In the study of sugarcane plantations in Bolivia, valuable information was uncovered not only by observing boys and girls working on the plantations but also in their "non-working" lives. It became clear that children were also responsible for various domestic tasks including collecting water, looking after younger siblings, and cooking.

- Observation was a crucial early step in the RAs on commercial sexual exploitation in Costa Rica and El Salvador. Through observations, researchers were able to overcome the difficulties involved in accessing children and to determine the most appropriate way of approaching them.

Flexibility and creativity in data collection. RAs are often unpredictable, and researchers should be prepared to be flexible and creative in their approaches.

- During the Tanzania RA on commercial sexual exploitation, interviews were revised. Given the noisy, busy environment at the establishments where they were conducted, the more formal interviews originally planned were abandoned in favour of casual conversations.

- In Ethiopia informal education centres served as locations for role-plays about their daily lives performed by child domestic workers.

- The RA on drug trafficking in the Philippines found there was insufficient time to train the researchers in the psychology of drug dependants and the special approaches needed to interview them. Effectively adapting to the circumstances, the researchers asked social workers and NGO workers with background training on children involved in drugs to conduct the interviews.

- The RA on the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Costa Rica encountered an obstacle when, in the Limon area, the girls selected for interviews were afraid of getting involved in the investigation because of threats made to their exploiters (pimps), who were also involved in drug trafficking. The researchers therefore decided to move their fieldwork to other areas of the province.

Recording of data. "Recording of data is critical though in some instances researchers should avoid using notebooks when first making contact to put the interviewee at ease and avoid suspicion. Permission should be sought to tape interviews and discussions. Reports of observations should be completed as soon as possible after the event, as delays can result in lost and inaccurate information. To reduce or avoid suspicion, the dress and behaviour of researchers should 'blend in' to the dress code of locations being visited".[118] Still, the methods of recording data must remain flexible and be adjusted to the given circumstances and comfort levels.

- During the RA on drug trafficking in Estonia, the interviewers decided to use pen and paper to record the interviews instead of a tape recorder. This was in response to the fact that the girls and boys, fearing the recorder, were more at ease with the former method.

Checklist 12: Data collection: A checklist

- Work with **knowledgeable individuals** to assist in **accessing respondents** and gaining information.

- Examine the **possibilities of collecting quantitative data** that would enable **estimation of the magnitude** of the child labour problem.

- Devote the necessary time and energy to **building rapport** with the boy and girl respondents.

- Arrange for a **person familiar to the respondent** to introduce them to the interviewer; try to organize **compatible interviewer-interviewee matches**.

- Do not overlook the **perspectives of boys and girls as valuable sources** of information.

- Facilitate an **interview environment** that puts boys, girls, and other respondents at ease, both in terms of **location and other actors** present.

- Conduct interviews at **times conducive to the schedule of the respondent**; undertake the necessary **background review** to determine these times.

- Consider using the **classroom as an entry point** and a valuable source of data.

- **Observe girls and boys** at various stages of the research and at **worksites, as well as in other spheres of their lives**, to gain insights into their circumstances.

- Be **flexible and resourceful** when conducting data collection, **always ready to adapt to given circumstances** where necessary.

- **Record data discreetly and limit delays** between data collection and recording.

Data analysis and report preparation

Careful planning and data collection, when conducting an RA, should be followed by sound analysis and an accurate, readable report. Additionally, once data are gathered, and prior to processing and analysis, it is important that data are safely stored and copies made. Data should also be organized into broad categories, processed, cleaned, and labelled in preparation for analysis and report writing.

RA reports make a succinct and accessible means of disseminating important research findings. Sometimes the RA is considered "finished" once the fieldwork has been completed, with deadlines and financial constraints compromising the hard work that has been put into

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[118] ILO/IPEC. Dunn, L. *Jamaica — Situation of children in prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 8. Geneva, 2001.

the RA at the final but crucial stages. But this section is intended to help RA research teams maximize their final efforts in terms of data analysis and report preparation and, in doing so, their final achievement.

Data analysis and the tabulation of results. "Analysis and tabulation from both quantitative and qualitative research have to be done carefully, extracting and cross-checking data several times. Presenting the findings in a responsible way that provides details of the experiences of boys and girls but does not sensationalize or trivialize the information is very important as well as very time consuming".[119] RA reports should integrate the findings collected from FGDs, key informants, and other means as well as from data obtained in interviews.

- The programme team operating out of ILO headquarters met with obstacles in getting RA data from the research teams, largely because the request for raw datasets from researchers as a separate output to the report had not previously been common procedure. Delays were also caused, in some cases, by lack of data-processing documentation by the research team. Financial constraints played a role, in other instances.

High-quality results are served by a research proposal that clearly outlines data preparation and submission expectations, together with a budget that provides for these tasks.

Handling misinformation and inaccuracies provided by the respondents. Misinformation can stem from both employer and child respondents.

- In Ethiopia, when researchers approached CDW employers, the latter were cooperative, providing them with appointments. They would then display conditions and treatment, however that were judged as entirely different from what would normally obtain, when observers were not present.

- Again in Ethiopia, when observing the children's appearance, the researchers noted that a number of respondents did not wear shoes, yet their feet showed no signs of having regularly gone bare. The researchers suspected that the children had heard rumours that the more destitute they looked, the more likely it was they would receive support from NGOs. Along these same lines, the researchers believed that some of the information provided by the children might have been exaggerated in hopes of encouraging financial assistance. All this was the case despite the fact the researchers made their aims clear from the start. Data analysis took into account the related potential for misinformation.

- As previously mentioned, researchers encountered misinformation in the RA on flower plantations in Ecuador. Following great challenges in gaining access to the plantations, the researchers did not see any girls or boys working there. This appeared to contradict information they had collected directly from the children, who said that they worked on the plantation. As it turned out, the plantation owners were misrepresenting the circumstances.

Potential value of misinformation. As the above examples suggest, instances where data obtained do not support one another can also be of value, yielding new child labour knowledge. The interpretation of such contradictions can lead to important insights into the dynamics of the child labour situation.

Confidentiality and ethical issues. Care must be taken to avoid publicizing the names of actual participants and the venues where boys and girls have been observed. Failure in this regard entails security risks to the children and legal ramifications. This applies particularly to cases of illicit activities such as commercial sexual exploitation and drug trafficking.

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[119] ILO/IPEC. Dunn, L. *Jamaica — Situation of children in prostitution: A rapid assessment.* Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 8. Geneva, 2001.

Other ethical issues also demand attention. To this end, a document has been prepared, within the framework of the current IPEC/SIMPOC project to investigate WFCL that addresses ethical issues when conducting research on children. Topics include informed consent; avoiding putting children at further risk; raising children's awareness of their rights; language use and approach; trust; conditions of listening; coping strategies; compensation; the right to privacy; and the sharing of research. [120]

- The RA on drug trafficking in Brazil illustrates some of the potential dangers of RA research, and the importance of confidentiality, particularly when dealing with illicit activities. The researcher was a resident of a *favela* neighbourhood controlled by a drug gang. He worked with a local NGO, simultaneously conducting the RA research in a nearby neighbourhood controlled by a rival *favela*. During the span of the RA he was interviewed by the media in connection with his work at the NGO, and he happened to mention his RA work. In consequence, his wife was kidnapped and he was warned on pain of death against trying to help her. (Fortunately, she was released safely after some hours.) Although the researcher was not endangered as a direct result of his involvement in the drug trafficking RA, this example serves to illustrate the great danger that can arise from working with children engaged in illicit activities. In light of this experience, the researcher took extra precautions for himself and the rest of the RA team. Individual names were never mentioned in press releases or similar contexts, since it was essential that confidentiality be maintained. A repeat episode, or an even more serious one, had to be avoided.

Considering the reader. The RA reports displayed a range of styles and approaches. The best of them shared the following features:

- The reports were especially successful where the authors consciously addressed their texts to both generalists and specialists.

- In general, the language of RA reports should be easily understood, simple rather than complex.

- The level of sexually, religiously, or politically sensitive descriptions and/or examples should be balanced, taking into account the values and cultural and social attitudes of most target readers.

- To serve the expected local, national, and international readerships, furthermore, and to avoid potential misinterpretations, the report should include a glossary of terms.

- A clear outline, prepared in advance, is essential to any good report. [121]

Checklist 13: Data analysis and report preparation: A checklist

- **Present qualitative and quantitative data accurately and responsibly**; budget the necessary time and financial support.

- **Weigh responses for misinformation** and discuss strategies for handling potential inaccuracies with the rest of the RA team.

- **Follow up on the inherent potential for new insights** when data from various sources do not support each other.

- **Ensure that confidentiality and ethics** are taken into account throughout the research, with special attention to preparation of the final report.

- **Address the text** of the final report **to both generalists and specialists**, using easily understood language; **consider the attitudes and values** of the majority of anticipated readers, and **include definitions of terms** as necessary.

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[120] For further details on confidentiality and other important ethical issues, see Annex 3 of the current manual.

[121] See Part II of the current manual for a suggested RA report outline.

Applying the lessons learned

The project of investigating the WFCL, to some extent, has been an experiment — the researchers have had to adapt the conduct of their respective RAs within a wide variety of contexts involving many different forms of child labour.

Nearly 40 different research teams have adapted and applied the methodological theory in field studies across countries and child labour sectors. Each research team has encountered its own share of challenges, whether due to weather conditions, difficulties in accessing respondents, unexpected circumstances demanding adaptations to the research strategies, unsupportive contexts, or time pressures. The RA teams have met these challenges with resourcefulness, persistence, and expertise, and the lessons learned illustrate the extent to which each RA proves unique.

There is no one recipe for conducting an RA on child labour. Neither is there a formula for a perfect research team, or a single means of accessing hidden girl and boy respondents. As those involved in the fight against child labour around the globe know, neither is there one solution to ending this form of exploitation.

What this project has demonstrated is that the RA methodology is effective in investigating certain WFCL situations for which traditional surveys are ill equipped. It provides a flexible tool for generating a new understanding of the work and lifestyle conditions of child labourers, particularly those engaged in WFCL. As evidenced by the 38 successful projects, RA is a methodology that works.

Research on child labour is expanding, and there is a concomitant need to improve data collection and analysis. Too often, research projects come to a close without passing on new experience to those who could benefit from it. This annex aims to help promote more effective communication between researchers. The lessons learned from implementing this project offer a wealth of useful guidance for the effective, efficient, and sensitive conduct of RAs on WFCL.

In addition to being incorporated in the revised in the current manual, these lessons will be shared through training and technical support provided to researchers by those overseeing RA investigations. The dissemination of the lessons is a step towards improving the availability and quality of information regarding some of the world's most exploited children and, further, towards improving their circumstances.

It is the hoped that future research on child labour will take these lessons into account, and benefit from the experiences of this extensive, challenging, and information-rich project. More fundamentally, of course, it is also to be hoped that the boys and girls currently exploited in the WFCL will benefit from this sharing of knowledge.

Annex 5: Module on quantitative approaches for supplementing RA findings

Annex 5.1: Baseline surveys

A. *Concept of baseline surveys*

A baseline survey (BLS) refers to a data-collection exercise that captures initial/existing ("baseline") conditions of a situation by measuring variables for the construction of indicators. In the context of primary data collection in a particular WFCL, the baseline survey serves two primary purposes:

- it provides inputs for the formulation of project interventions; and/or

- it can be used to generate empirical data on child labour with special emphasis on the worst forms with the aim of informing and improving a national policy process.

Whatever the goal, baseline data can provide an important means of verification.

The baseline survey is not an independent methodology. It is rather a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques that facilitate the measurement of a complex set of indicators relevant to the WFCL. Data collection on all forms of child labour is challenging, but it is especially so when investigating the WFCL, the focus of this document.

Note: The term "survey", in this context, refers to primary-data collection that can use both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

i. BLS in the project cycle

IPEC projects operate within a typical cycle that includes broad components such as project design, project interventions or implementation, monitoring and evaluation (M&E), and child labour monitoring (CLM). See Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Project cycle and baseline survey
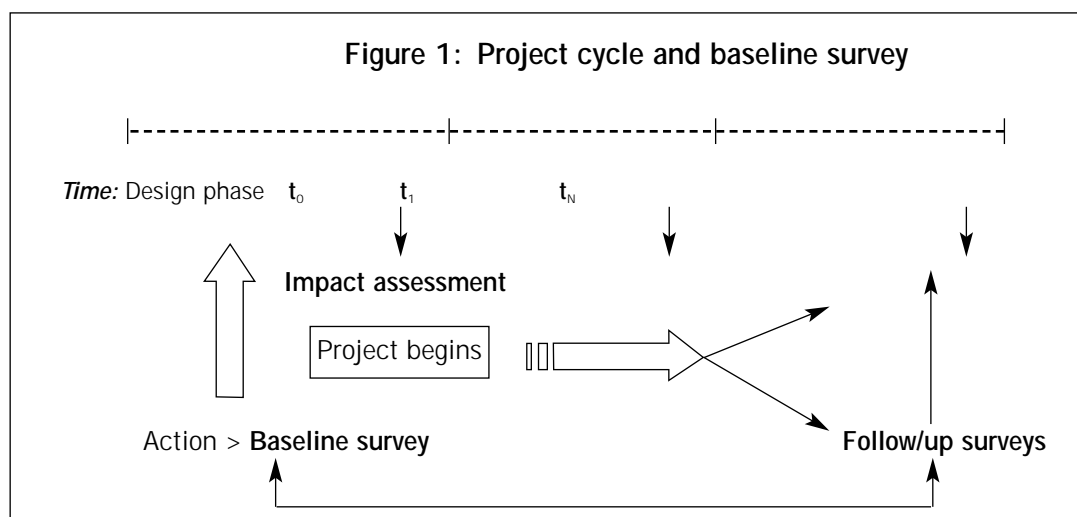
In the context of the project cycle, the BLS aims primarily to estimate, at time t0, the incidence and distribution of child labour in a particular worst form. This information can then be used throughout the project cycle for targeting, to inform project design, and to formulate interventions, thus facilitating the strategic allocation of resources. Further, the baseline data gathered at an initial time can help to establish benchmarks, such that incremental changes can be measured via follow-up surveys to facilitate monitoring and evaluation at a later stage.

ii. BLS as a means of generating sector-specific empirical knowledge

If the scope of the research includes generation of sector-specific domain knowledge, the information-gathering exercise does not need to be limited to the immediate project/programme objectives. Instead, data collection can include:

- policy-relevant indicators that may reflect a country's legislation;

- urban-rural labour market dynamics;

- adult labour and unemployment dynamics; and

- other relevant socio-economic and market mechanisms in the economy that have a bearing on the status of the sector in question, at a point that can be designated time to.

A sector usually operates within a policy context, and the idea is to get a sense of how sector mechanisms might respond to a change in certain policy parameters. Depending on the scope of the research, estimating the incidence of the target population pre- and post-policy change can be undertaken at the community, regional, or national level.

B. Basic definitions: Household and establishment/workplace

In most child labour surveys, the survey sites are the places where boys and girls live and/or work. These can be broadly classified as households or establishments/workplaces. It is essential to clarify the meaning of "household" and "establishment/workplace" for the purposes of the survey.

Household member. A household member is typically defined as meeting these three criteria: (a) has lived under a "roof" or within the same compound/homestead 15 days or more out of the past year; (b) has shared food from a common source while there; and (c) has shared in, or contributed to, a common resource pool.

Establishment/workplace. The store, shop, office, or other single location at which a combination of resources and activities is directed by one owner in operating one kind of business. The establishment includes associated ancillary units, e.g. subsidiary warehouses, garages, and offices in its vicinity. [122]

For the purpose of surveys of child labour — because the type of workplace can be as diverse as the types of WFCL — the above definition may be limiting. In other words, in the WFCL, workplaces can include formal workplaces such as factories, informal shops, or fixed premises; they can range from the street to the household to the brothel to a fishing boat. Since the survey sites can range from household-based sites to location-based sites [123] to work-place-based sites, depending on the site of the target activity, the surveyed unit, rather than the establishment, should be considered the workplace for analytical purposes, since it represents an all-inclusive reference to the workplace of the child.

Family/household. For measurement purposes, "family" and "household" are distinct terms, and have correspondingly specific definitions.

Occupational injury/illness. An "occupational injury" is not defined in the same way as "occupational illness" and, to avoid confusion, researchers must recognize the difference.

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[122] UN. *International recommendations on statistics of the distributive trades and services.* New York, 1975, p. 13.

[123] The term "location-based site" is being used here to refer to non-standard units where children engaged in the WFCL are sampled. These locations are usually their workplaces, and they can range from a street intersection to a fishing boat to plantations to dumpsites to a variety of other sites.

For example, the timeframe dimension (short term or long term) needs to be considered when defining occupational injury versus illness. An occupational injury is short term, whereas an occupational illness can be long term.

C.   Methodological framework

Data collection regarding children engaged in the WFCL employs a combination of probability-based sample surveys and participatory approaches. The relative proportion of the respective approaches will depend on the sector and scope of the survey.

i.   Qualitative techniques

Advantage. The "qualitative" approach generally refers to the RA method. The current RA manual includes an in-depth exploration of qualitative research methods used in investigating child labour. Producing, as they do, descriptions of a target population in a certain sector and geographical area, RA methods are essential to understanding the contextual information of a sector.

Limitation. The qualitative approach is limited, however, in that statements made on the basis of these observations must be limited to the sample itself. Because they are not representative of a larger population, the results are difficult to compare across geographical locations or programmes.

Need for complementary approach. "Quantitative" techniques are thus used to complement the qualitative methods, providing magnitudes and more nuanced pictures of the target situations.

ii.   Quantitative techniques

Advantages. Quantitative techniques refer to probability-based sample surveys, where the units of interview are selected according to a known non-zero probability. The advantage of using the sample-survey approach is four-fold: (a) indicators are measurable and therefore objective; (b) indicators are verifiable; (c) indicators permit comparison across time and space; and (d) results are replicable.

Indeed, one of the main advantages of using a probability-based representative sample survey is the capacity to estimate the number of children in the WFCL at the regional or national level by allowing statistical inferences about a larger population.

Limitation. Surveys using quantitative techniques generate only numeric data. While numeric data are useful as a means of verification, they do not address the policy context and the broader dimensions in which the sector operates.

Need for complementary approach. Qualitative approaches to data collection can complement quantitative methods, enriching our understanding with contextual information.

D.   Implementation

A BLS is usually a non-household based survey, and the target population is usually "invisible". Certain factors therefore need to be taken into account.

The children in these target groups are often mobile or hidden from public view. This means that many unknowns present themselves, in terms of how the sector in question operates and who the main actors are. In practice, then, programme managers/researchers are

often confronted with a situation where preliminary information about a particular sector is lacking, and it may be unclear what should be measured, where it should be measured, and how this might be accomplished.

Given that children engaged in the WFCL are difficult to access, doing estimations of the WFCL can be especially challenging. The following eight steps are therefore intended to facilitate the data-collection process, clarifying what is being measured, where it is being measured, and how it is being measured.

Step 1: Generate initial information about the sectors

The first step is to show how a sector or a particular type of WFCL operates, providing a basis upon which the problem can be better conceptualized. In part, this will enable the project team to sharpen the relevant definitions and clarify what it is that needs to be quantified.

Either primary or secondary sources can generate the initial information that sheds light on the mechanisms of the sector or system under study. Primary sources such as RAs or quick enumeration of the sector-specific characteristics must identify minimum parameters, e.g.:

- how the sector operates within an area;
- number of children engaged in that sector;
- intensity and distribution of child labour in that sector;
- nature and location of their work;
- details about their production processes;
- degree of associated work hazards; and
- distribution of the number of workplaces.

Thus, it can be argued that this type of sector-specific information clarifies who the main actors (parents, employers/exploiters and teachers) are in the universe of the child's work, and what the parameters might be in terms of the incidence, distribution, and concentration of the target group. This further clarifies what needs measuring, where this should be done, and how to measure it. This step is crucial, since it provides the parameters necessary to facilitate subsequent steps such as design of the sampling frame.

Step 2: Prioritize the sectors where surveys are needed

Selection of sectors for survey may be "external", in the sense that the Government and/or other stakeholders may determine the priority areas of intervention using such criteria as availability of resources and the relative intolerability of a given WFCL.

Even then, it is pragmatic to rank or prioritize the sectors on the basis of sound technical criteria from an enormous list of WFCL that need attention. Given constraints on time and other resources, the programme manager/researcher should always prioritize sectors for research and action programmes. The information generated in Step 1 (i.e. intensity and distribution of child labour) should permit a ranking of sectors on the basis primarily of two technical criteria: (a) the degree of hazardousness; and (b) the number/intensity of child labour in a particular sector.

Step 3: Determine the main unit(s) of observation in the sector

In any WFCL research, the main unit of observation is the child.

To ensure credible data and robust results, the children must be interviewed, since they have the best knowledge of their own working conditions; the circumstances that forced

them to become involved in a WFCL; and the health hazards they face at work. Although a range of actors are significant in the universe of children's work (e.g. parent, employer, exploiter, client, intermediaries and pimps), a minimum of three respondents must be interviewed in a BLS of a particular sector: the child; parent(s); and employer. How these respondents are approached, and how they are sampled as units of observation, is the basis of the following discussion of the sampling universe and sampling methodology.

Step 4: Determine the sampling universe

Given that the main unit of observation is the child, the sampling universe is fixed by the child, even though such other actors as parents, employers/exploiters, teachers, intermediaries, and clients may help to constitute that child's universe.

The "universe" refers to where these actors can be located/identified and measured. It is not always obvious what that universe should be. In sectors such as trafficking, where movement is involved, the issue of what and where to measure is less obvious. The nature of the universe for this target group is ambiguous — candidates range from the destination to the origin to any point in between. The workplace, therefore, may be comprised of several different sites, depending on the nature and reality of the worst-form sector in question. The main elements in establishing the sampling universe are these:

- The child can be identified primarily through the workplace. The workplace may be the household, if the activity is household-based (e.g. the bidi industry in India); it may be a formal establishment (e.g. carpet factories in Nepal); it may be the street, if the target group is children working in the streets; it may be a brothel, if the child is a victim of commercial sexual exploitation; or it may be a combination of any of the above.

- The parents can be located/identified through the household, unless they are also working in the same workplace as their child; and

- The employers/exploiters can be located through the workplace.

To reiterate, the sampling universe is child driven — the child is the chief respondent and main unit of observation. This means that there can be no sampling frame for the parents and employers/exploiters. Thus, the parents and employers/exploiters are interviewed only if they can be found and if they are geographically accessible.

Step 5: Determine the level of analysis

Following identification of the main unit of observation, the "level of analysis" must be determined. This refers to the domain where the unit of observation is recorded/sampled. It can be restricted to a geographical area/locality/community, or it can be a higher level of aggregation, perhaps at the regional or national level. More often than not, these decisions are governed by budgetary considerations, among others. Irrespective of the level of analysis, however, the child remains the main unit of observation.

Step 6: Determine sampling methodology

Once the parameters of the sampling universe are established, designing a sampling methodology becomes more manageable.

In other words, once the sampling universe of the child respondent is determined — i.e. the specifics of the workplace where the child is likely to be found; in the trafficking example this could be the destination, origin, or any intermediate point — the sampling methodology prescribes how to reach the child within this sector-specific universe. The

components of the sampling methodology must therefore include the geographic/stratification scope of the survey; the sampling framework; the sample size for child respondents; and the distribution of the sample across the sampling sites.

The challenge. Indeed, designing a sampling frame in terms of the distribution of the sample across the sites will depend upon what is empirically determined in terms of the intensity and distribution of children and their workplaces. The challenge here is to design a sampling framework such that, for a particular target group, statistical inferences from a representative sample can be made to a national-level population.

iii. Inherent limitations

Unlike with the household-based survey, however, developing a sampling plan for specific WFCL in a BLS can hardly be standardized for all WFCL. This difference is primarily due to the fact that the population of children being estimated is often hidden, invisible, and mobile. These children are usually not attending school, and are actively engaged in a WFCL that cannot be captured by means of traditional surveys. When one is conducting national labour force surveys or national income and expenditure surveys, administrative units (and therefore sampling frames) are easily obtained from national statistical offices. But when one is doing a survey of a target WFCL group, these are unavailable.

For this reason, conducting a survey in the WFCL is unique. One has to design a sampling frame specific to the characteristics of that target group — if the conditions/realities of that sector allow for it. A probability-based sample survey is possible, if we have full knowledge of the nature, incidence, intensity, and distribution of the workplace of the child labourer.

Sampling methodology determined by workplace/sampling site, which is in turn a function of the targeted worst form. The nature and identification of the workplace, however, will be a function of the type of WFCL being targeted, and this, in turn, will determine the sampling methodology. The nature of the workplace, for example — or, alternatively, the sampling site where the child is to be interviewed — can range from the household to the street to the informal/formal establishment, streets, dumpsites, off-shore fishing boats, and other locales that so far remain undiscovered or beyond imagination. Where the activity occurs in the household, a household-based survey may be considered. If the activity is workplace based (formal or informal), a workplace survey may be considered.

Probability-based sample surveys. Under these circumstances, it is usually possible to design a probability-based sample survey, since a list of households/establishments can be prepared to indicate the incidence, distribution, and concentration of the target group, as well as the sampling units in a geographical area. Thus, depending upon the nature of the target group, decisions must be made as to the choice of suitable primary sampling units (PSUs) and of other modalities related to sample selection along the designated sampling sites. As can be seen from the above illustrations, the sampling site — depending on the location of the child-labour workplace — can be location-based, it can be household-based, or it can be establishment-based.

In some other hidden sectors, however, inadequate information is available regarding the incidence and distribution of workplaces where the intolerable worst forms are played out daily. For workplaces such as off-shore fishing boats or brothels, and in other situations where preparation of exhaustive listings are out of the question, one has to make certain creative assumptions before proceeding with quantifications of the target group. Particularly challenging sectors include trafficking, commercial sexual exploitation of children, and children engaged in armed conflict.

Non-probability based techniques such as snowball sampling. For the sectors where it is impossible to create a sampling frame without further knowledge of detailed processes

of the operations of a sector, non-probability based techniques such as snowball sampling can be used. This involves the purposeful selection of participants, settings, events, or documents that provide the information needed to address the research question.

Specificity of sampling frames. Thus we can see that the sampling frame for one target group is generally inapplicable to another target group, and that there is not much room for conventional and safe modes of data collection. For example, the sampling frame will be different for child porters (location-based) as opposed to child rag pickers (location-based) or child domestic workers (household-based) or child workers in automobile industry (establishment-based) or children working in the streets (location-based). The reason for the difference is that surveys of target groups such as child porters, child rag pickers, and children working in the streets are typically location based. A survey of child workers in the automobile sector is establishment based, whereas a survey of child domestic workers is typically household based. Thus, there will be as many sampling frames as there are target groups.

Step 7: Determining the sampling strategy for employers/exploiters and parents

The above examples suggest that constructing a sampling frame for children engaged in a particular WFCL is not a standard exercise, nor is it straightforward. To construct a representative sample of children in a target group, the sampling universe is fixed by the child.

The primary respondent and unit of observation is the child which means that there can be no sampling frame for the parents and employers/exploiters; they are only interviewed if they are found — if they are geographically accessible and willing to answer questions. Thus, if the parents of the child are living in an area not being covered by the survey, chances are that the parents will not be tracked down and interviewed.

These decisions are often governed by practical and operational considerations. This leads to the main limitation that the sample size for parents and employers/exploiters is small, and conclusions based on this sample must be limited only to that sample.

Step 8: Developing an appropriate questionnaire

A range of questionnaires can be administered in a BLS, and they can employ multiple modules to capture the various dimensions of child labour.

The specific data-collection instrument applied will depend upon the scope of the survey; what is being measured (e.g. child labour and its worst forms, supply of schools, quality of education, access to services); and at what level (local, provincial, regional, or national).

Examples of multi-topic questionnaires include household, child, employer, school-based, and community-level questionnaires.

E. Challenges in conducting a BLS

i. Methodological challenges

Assumptions and limitations. Because we are dealing with incomplete information, and the number of unknowns is too great, constructing a probability-based sampling frame is not straightforward. Designing a probability-based sample survey is only feasible for sectors when complete enumeration is possible. In other words, a complete listing of households/establishments can be made on the basis of which sampling frame is then constructed, such that the sample is representative of the whole population for that target group. Thus, the main assumption is that an exhaustive listing of survey sites is possible.

While this assumption is valid for household-based or establishment-based surveys, it is doubtful for location-based surveys. For instance, quantification of sector populations such as CSE, forced labour, or trafficking in drugs has to be limited due to the inherent nature of these sector populations. For these target groups, a complete listing of workplaces (both observable and unobservable), for example, may not be possible. For workplace locales such as off-shore fishing boats or brothels, on the other hand, a complete listing is out of the question, and RA procedures would be more effective in gathering information.

There are limitations and constraints associated with doing non-household based surveys, in particular with the above mentioned location-based surveys. These constraints arise due to the specific conditions that are unique to child labour: (a) the sampling frame for one target group is generally not applicable to another target group; and (b) using probability-based sample surveys does not facilitate monitoring and evaluation (M&E) goals when households and individuals need to be tracked. In other words, it is impossible to track a child who was sampled in country x, at a certain street location, at time t0, for instance. Standard practice, when selecting sampling units, is to assure confidentiality and anonymity of the subject, which implies that tracking children for M&E purposes under the sample survey framework cannot be considered. Thus, these constraints limit the role that baseline surveys can play in facilitating M&E objectives in the realm of child labour.

ii. Non-methodological challenges

The challenges of doing research on child labour are not limited to methodological difficulties. Others include (a) special interview techniques for children; and (b) identifying/locating children.

In child labour research, the child worker is the chief respondent, and the primary challenge is interviewing children in a respectful and sensitive manner. Further, interviewing girls versus boys, or younger children versus older children, requires differential techniques. Awareness of these is a key to minimizing non-sampling errors and, therefore, to increasing the quality of data collected.

A second unique aspect of doing child labour research has to with identifying child workers under adverse circumstances in sectors about which little is known. Some baseline surveys are non-household based surveys, and locating respondents in hard-to-access target groups complicates the research process. More details on the non-methodological challenges common to any kind of child labour research can be found in this RA manual.

F.   Quality control procedures

To minimize errors in data collection, the following measures are recommended when implementing a BLS:

Questionnaire design and pre-testing. All questionnaires, to the extent possible, should employ pre-coded questions. Open-ended questions should be avoided as much as possible, and the collection of numeric data ought to be emphasized throughout. Pre-testing of questionnaires in the local context is a prerequisite, and translation of the questionnaire questions into the local language must not jeopardize their original intent.

Selection of the research institute, and criteria for its selection. In any survey exercise, the quality of the research institution (and, therefore, of its enumerators) will have a direct impact on the quality of primary data collection. By nature, surveys are technically rigorous, time consuming, and input intensive, so the research institute must be carefully evaluated. The key selection criterion here should be the technical capacity of the institute.

Organization of logistics. In the field, emphasis is on composition of the field staff and team logistics, including determining optimum times, given the situation in a particular sector, to approach the child workers for interviews.

Rigorous training of enumerators. Staff training is important, as is development of a data-collection manual for enumerators and supervisors. The manual must address the relevant terminological definitions as well as the conceptual, empirical, and technical issues related to the survey and the questionnaires. Training must include a special session on gender and age issues, as well as on communication and cultural issues in general.

G. Conclusion

In summary, the BLS is a primary-data collection exercise that uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques. It is not a prescriptive methodology. It is usually anchored around an intervention, and, whether it is applied at the project, programme, or policy level, its scope is linked.

The BLS can employ a probability-based sample approach for national-level estimations for selected sectors of WFCL. But it has its limitations in terms of quantification of populations of children involved in CSE, trafficking for drugs, and forced labour. The survey remains a powerful means of gathering data on existing conditions and, eventually, as a means of verification.

Annex 5.2:   RA capture-recapture [124]

- The rapid assessment capture-recapture (RA-CR) is a methodology designed to generate (a) estimates of the size of a given population of interest and (b) data that are representative of the characteristics of that population.

- The RA-CR aims to generate quantitative data from an RA.

- The quantitative data generated can be valuable for policy and programme planning.

An RA-CR provides information that can help researchers make statements about the general condition of all children working in a particular WFCL. By producing quantitative data on a hidden population, the RA-CR approach helps overcome a limitation of the RA methodology, which generates accurate statements only about the specific children who are interviewed. Quantitative information regarding the entire affected population is essential in the design of certain types of intervention programmes aimed at combating hidden child labour, including its worst forms. Examples of important information include these:

- the percentage of children involved in a particular WFCL who are orphans;

- whether children working in a specific WFCL all come from the same place of origin; and

- how children in a specific WFCL were recruited.

By providing this otherwise unavailable data, the RA-CR methodology provides a significant improvement over alternative methods for generating, counting, and measuring statistics on many hard-to-reach populations.

Supplementing the RA

The RA-CR supplements the RA methodology by adding a few questions or repeat interviews, coupled with a simple statistical calculation that can be performed in most basic spreadsheet programmes. The technique, although powerful, is simple to implement, requiring a minimal amount of effort beyond what is already involved in creating and implementing the RA methodology.

It is important to remember, however, that, since the RA-CR is based on the RA methodology, it suffers the same limitations.

Box 47: Assumptions of the rapid-assessment capture-recapture methodology

Researchers must remember and be wary of the assumptions underlying any methodology. The following describes the assumptions upon which the RA-CR methodology is based.

1. The population under study must be "closed" and the study area "complete"

Closed population. The methodology must operate in an environment where the number of children in a specific area is fixed. Should there be frequent change in the number of children moving to and from a specific area, it will be difficult — since the population during the recapture stage may differ significantly from that of the original capture — to derive reliable estimates from the procedure.

Population regular movements. Movement within the population may be acceptable if it occurs in a predictable fashion. If a regular pattern of movement is observed

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[124] More details are available on Jensen, R.; Pearson, M. *Rapid assessment capture-recapture: A field guide.* Draft submitted to the ILO/IPEC in 2002.

and information is known about it, e.g. through seasonal movement, then separate surveys can be conducted for each situation.

Equal probability. Every child within this so-called "closed" population must pass through the area where the survey is conducted on at least one occasion. This is important in ensuring an equal probability of capture for all of those within the population. The research team must therefore collect information about the movement and working places of all children in the area. Consultation with key informants including social workers, NGOs, and government officials can provide this information.

2. Being captured in one round does not change the likelihood of being captured in future rounds

A reliable statistical survey depends on having equal probabilities of capture between segments of a population. A capture-recapture survey could be severely corrupted if capture of a specific portion of the population affects the probability of its recapture. This could happen, for example, if children initially interviewed avoid being interviewed a second time, thereby affecting the probability that they will be recaptured.

Avoid recapturing difficulties. Interviewers should make a concerted effort to note which children are avoiding them and which are more readily approaching them. If such activity occurs on a large scale, it may result in an ineffective capture-recapture, and such techniques as keeping questionnaires short or replying on memory rather than conducting formal second interviews should be considered.

3. It is possible to accurately identify which persons have previously been interviewed

To ensure accurate estimates of recapture, the interviewers must be able to accurately identify children who have been recaptured through the process. It is therefore important to collect identifying information from children, e.g. names, addresses, place of birth, and mother's name. If children do not have sufficient information in this regard, it may be more advisable to verify recapture, where appropriate, through photographs or video cameras.

4. All individuals have a non-zero likelihood of capture

It must be true in the capture-recapture procedure that no children have a zero chance of being chosen. If the latter is true, it will significantly affect the chance of estimating the number of children in a specific kind of work; therefore, the interviewers must do their best to ensure access to children who may be hidden or out of sight. As long as there is at least some non-zero probability of capture, the methodology should work.

5. All persons have an equal likelihood of being captured

Ideally, all children in a survey should have the same probability of being captured. Yet it may occur that some children are more or less likely to be captured than others. For example, some children may be more or less likely to pass through the area in which a survey is being conducted. A significant level of so-called "capture likelihood heterogeneity" must therefore be taken into account.

Overcoming difficulties. The difficulty of varied probabilities may be addressed by asking children questions that indicate the probability of their capture. Such questions may include "How often do you come to this square?" or "What time of the day do you typically happen to be in this area?" This information can help estimate the probabilities necessary in understanding and identifying children with varied probabilities of capture.

Basics of statistical sampling

Before discussing details of the RA-CR process, it is worth reviewing the basics of statistical sampling. Two procedures are available:

1. Census

A complete enumeration of all individuals is conducted. The census includes the total population, so any characteristics of the sample represent the corresponding values for the full population.

Potential disadvantages of this method are these:

- It can be costly and time-consuming.

- It may be difficult or impossible to conduct a census accurately, since some individuals may be difficult to find or may move around a lot, and these individuals may differ significantly from the rest of the population.

Inferences regarding the population. In a complete and perfect census, the sample is the population. Thus, for example, the average income of the sample would represent an accurate estimate of the average income of the population. An estimate of the total number of persons in the population, or any sub-sample such as the elderly or children, is given by the total number of such persons interviewed in the sample.

2. Simple random sample (SRS)

In this method, individuals are surveyed at random from a complete list of all individuals in the relevant population (e.g. from a census). If 1 out of every 1,000 names is chosen at random, then each individual chosen represents 1,000 persons in the total population.

The basic principle involved in the SRS. Since the data are drawn at random, there is no reason to suspect that the sample is any different from the population and thus the sample will be representative of the population.

Inferences regarding the population. In an SRS, the researcher begins with a list of all persons in the population (a census) and randomly draws a group of individuals from that list. It is the principle of randomness that ensures that the sample will reflect (on average) the population.

Box 48: Simple random sample: An example

If we find that 100 people in a given sample in the United States of America are over 7 feet tall, then we can infer that, since every person represents 1,000 people in the whole population, that approximately:

100 * 1,000 = 100,000 persons are over 7 feet tall in the United States of America.

Thus, an SRS makes it easy to generate, for any variable, averages and counts of populations or sub-populations.

The WFCL and sampling

Applying sampling techniques to cases of the WFCL can prove difficult. Since this work is often hidden, a census of the population may be unavailable or unreliable. Conducting a simple random sample is extremely difficult without a proper list of the population from which to draw a sample. The capture-recapture approach thus provides a step in the right direction towards gathering important estimates of populations involved in specific hidden and/or WFCL.

The RA-CR methodology: An step-by-step process

The following summarizes the most important steps in applying the RA-CR approach.

In examining these steps, it is important to remember that the RA-CR can be conducted in one of two ways:

Repeated rounds of interviews. This involves the physical recapturing of children involved in specific work through multiple rounds of interviews at the same sites. This procedure has the advantage of allowing for physical confirmation of recapture, thus adding to estimation accuracy.

Simulated recapture. This approach, rather than recapturing children through repeat interviewing, tries to gain the likelihood of recapture through specific questions. These would include, e.g., "If I were here next week, would I see you here again?" or "How many days a week do you come to this location?" With this information, it is possible to estimate the chances of recapture of children without actual physical recapture. Although potentially less costly and time consuming, this procedure should be viewed with caution, since it depends so much on the accuracy of information gathered from children.

Step 1: Determine whether the RA-CR methodology is appropriate for the type of WFCL under study

The RA-CR will not prove ideally suited for every type of the WFCL. This strategy is best applied under such conditions as these:

- where children perform the work in specific, well-defined places (or where children pass through specific, well-defined areas); and

- anyplace where children are visible and unlikely to hide what they are doing.

Place of capture. The so-called capturing of children need not be applied at the children's place of work. Instead, capture and recapture can be accomplished at a "central" location, one where it is likely that children working in that kind of work are known to congregate or pass through.

> **Box 49: Children's work appropriate to the RA-CR methodology: Examples**
> - Urban informal sector
> - Rag pickers
> - Porters
> - Commercial agriculture
> - Fishing
> - Mining

Other kinds of child labour not listed above may be applicable given a specific context. For example, it may be possible to apply capture-recapture in commercial sexual exploitation in countries or regions where this activity is transacted in the open, e.g. on a beach.

Knowing when a particular WFCL is suitable in a particular setting is difficult, and ultimately depends on a researcher weighing the assumptions and limitations of the approach before making a determination based on the available information pertaining to that WFCL in the setting under consideration. Meanwhile, determinations of exact sites within which to capture children should be based on local expertise and prior knowledge from key informants.

Step 2: Determine key physical site locations for interviews

Understanding the nature of the population and area to be studied. Effective capture of children involved in the WFCL means determining the number of different sites where

children of interest can be found. It is important to choose an area, or set of areas, such that one can be certain that every child visits the area at least once during the study. Meeting this condition also meets the necessary statistical condition that every child involved in that WFCL have at least some non-zero probability of being captured. This helps to ensure that the survey site is exhaustive and achieves complete coverage.

On-site interviews

- Researchers may determine that children involved in a specific WFCL can be found in several locations. If so, it is possible to conduct interviews at multiple sites. Where children in a specific sector are known to work in two different areas and do not interchange, for example, these two areas can be surveyed separately and the data cumulated.

- The interview location does not have to be a place where the children work directly or one that they visit all the time, even on the day of the interview.

- If there are only a few sites, interviewers should try to survey at all of these points.

- If there is more than one site, but children tend to move between them, it may not be necessary to conduct interview in all of these places.

- Create a list of sites, if children engaged in some specific work can be found at a large number of locations. From this list, draw a random sample for the RA-CR. If, for example, the RA-CR is conducted at a randomly selected 10 per cent of all sites, one can estimate the size of the whole population as 10 times that of the estimate of the population from the sites sampled.

- If there are many sites, each with specific characteristics, then it may be worth categorizing them as small versus large dumps, for example, small versus large numbers of children, or more versus less hazardous conditions. The sites may then be chosen randomly within these categories, thus ensuring that the sample does not overly represent small or large sites. This can also help to provide data that is disaggregated within each group of sites.

Step 3: Design the questionnaire: Include questions needed for RA-CR

To ensure a successful RA-CR, interviewers need to add a few essential questions to the standard RA survey. These questions are designed to assess capture likelihood or heterogeneity of movement, and include these:

- how often the child comes to this area;

- whether they are more likely to come at certain times of the day or on certain days of the week; and

- how long they stay.

It is also possible to ask children about the movement of other children, to check whether the survey methodology is missing a significant portion of the population.

If repeat rounds of the RA-CR are to be conducted, additional questions are needed:

- whether the child was in that location at the same time the previous week; and

- whether the child will be at that survey site at the same time the following week.

It is worth asking the child respondents to estimate how many children they think are involved in their type of activity. These numbers should be treated cautiously, since they may not be accurate; nevertheless, they do reveal interesting information about children's perceptions of their work and how many children are involved. Further, the RA-CR estimates are

best used with as many alternative estimates as possible, and checked in a discussion of the limitations and assumptions of these other estimates.

The questions provided above, it should be noted, are merely examples. In addition, depending on syntax and language across cultures, terminology that is more appropriate to a specific culture may exist.

Step 4: Interview

RA-CR interviews proceed exactly as do those in an RA. The only difference lies in the additional questions discussed above.

Generally, one should keep questionnaires as short as possible because children tend to be impatient and unwilling to answer long series of questions. The number of questions ultimately depends on the survey goals. These can range from describing basic child characteristics to a comprehensive analysis of children's work within a specific area.

Step 5: Re-interview, if appropriate

If feasible, and appropriate, the survey team should return several times to interview children (in addition to the questions on simulated recapture), perhaps even over consecutive weeks. Of course, the more visits, the more the likelihood of recapture may change. Multiple visits, furthermore, may begin to create unrealistic expectations among the children that they will receive support or assistance. The need for information, therefore, should be balanced against these costs; in practice, two or, at most three, visits are sufficient for the method to work.

Children may hesitate to provide information that would help identify them in repeat interviews. They should thus generally be identified through a combination of questions and the ability of interviewers to recall previous interactions with individuals. Although neither of these methods is entirely accurate, in combination they should provide sufficient reliability.

The following provides an example of additional questions to be added for initial CR interviews and for determining recapture (Round 1 and Round 2 respectively).

Box 50: RA-CR supplementary questions: Examples

Child rag picker survey questionnaire

Round 1: Capture

1. Is the child male or female? (answered by interviewer)

2. What is your name?

3. What is your age?

4. What is your origin?

5. Do you attend school?

6. Do you do any other activities to earn money?

7. How many days a week do you come to this place?

8. Do you come more often during weekends, weekdays, or both?

9. What time of day do you most often come here?

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Round 2: Determine recapture

1. Have I or any members of my team spoken with you before (for example, last week at this time)?
2. What is your name?

If interviewed BEFORE: check on list to verify name: end interview.

If NOT interviewed BEFORE: continue with interview

3. Is the child male or female? (answered by interviewer)
4. What is your age?
5. What is your origin?
6. Do you attend school?
7. Do you do any other activities to earn money?
8. How many days a week do you come to this place?
9. Do you come more often during weekends, weekdays, or both?
10. What time of the day do you most often come here?

Step 6: Data processing and reporting

Once information is collected from interviews, the probability for likelihood of capture must be estimated. Calculating the probability models involves statistical software and spreadsheets. Probability models involve the following steps:

i) **Create a recaptured variable.** First, generate a variable defined as "captured in the second round", defined for each child in the first survey as:
   - **1** — if the child was re-interviewed in the second survey (or if, from a simulated recapture, it is determined that they would be there the next day); or
   - **0** — otherwise.

ii) **Estimate a model for the (predictors of) probability of capture for each child.** The next step is to estimate a regression in which Y_i is the dependent variable and X_j is the right-hand, or explanatory, variables including the child's age, sex, years of education, and any other characteristics collected in the survey that are thought to affect the likelihood of capture (such as where they live, whether they live with their parents, how often they come to this area).

   This regression should look like this:

   $$Y_i = B_o + B_1 X_{1i} + B_1 X_{2i} + B_2 X_{3i} + \ldots + B_k X_{ki} + E_i$$

iii) **Estimate capture probabilities.** After the regression is run, we find estimated regression coefficients $B_0, B_1, B_2 \ldots B_k$. Therefore, the predicted probability of recapture for a specific child is the values of X for that child multiplied by the estimated coefficients. Alternatively, this can be written as follows:

   (Probability of capture for child I) = $P_i = B_0 + B_1 X_{1i} + B_2 X_{2i} \ldots B_k X_{Ki}$

iv) **Calculate adjusted averages.** If we want to calculate the population average $X^\wedge$ for some variable X, we then multiply the value of X for each person by the probability weight P_i, and divide by the sum of those weights across all individuals in the sample (as opposed to dividing by the same size).

   In this procedure, the estimated probabilities stand in place of the sampling weights.

v) ***Calculate the total number of children involved.*** The probabilities discussed can also be used to calculate the total number of children. If C1 is the number of children interviewed the first day, C2 is the number interviewed on the second day, and R is the number interviewed on the first day that are re-interviewed on the second day. Given this, the simplest estimate for the total number of children can be expressed as:

N = (C1 * C2) /R

Other estimators have also been proposed, one of which is the following:

N = [(C1 + 1) * (C2 + 1) / (R + 1)] — 1

○ *Remember that these are estimates.* Both the adjusted averages and the total number of children, calculated in the fourth and fifth steps respectively, are only estimates. These estimates are based on statistical estimators using our sample data. Because of underlying randomness or random errors, the estimates may not be exactly equal to the true value for the population.

The best description of the estimator is this: it implies a probability distribution for what the true value for the population may be.

○ *Confidence intervals.* While we are not certain, for example, that our estimated population size, say N^, is the true population size N, we can be 95 per cent certain that, under the maintained assumptions of the model, the true population size is within some number "b" above or below the estimated population N^. This range above or below N^ is called the "confidence interval".

Confidence intervals are important because they determine for how wide a range we can be certain that, within an estimate, a true population exists. If, for example, we have a 95 per cent confidence interval, but the range is 100,000 +/- 50,000, we have quite a wide range in which our population could fit. Although this estimate has 95 per cent confidence, it may not be that useful for programme and targeting purposes.

○ *Finding the software.* Software used — named CAPTURE — to calculate estimates of population size and confidence intervals for capture-recapture is available free in 2005 at: http://www.cnr.colostate.edu/~gwhite/software.html.

Annex 6: Module on indicators derived from RAs

Introduction

This module discusses the construction of indicators based on the information generated through the RA methodology. Although RA-derived child labour indicators provide information exclusively applicable to the specific sector/region/target group investigated, they can be combined and analyzed with indicators derived from other studies focusing on a specific period of time. RA child labour indicators can effectively identify the primary features of the investigated form of child labour or WFCL by:

- assessing the characteristics and magnitude of child labour;

- identifying patterns that may point out potential causes, consequences, and correlates of child labour;

- creating awareness and contributing to the design of intervention programmes/projects at regional/sectoral levels; and

- facilitating the monitoring and evaluation of the achievement of specific interventions.

The RA methodology

The RA methodology contains specific tools with which to gather information regarding indicators:

- household-based sample surveys;

- employer-based sample surveys;

- school-based sample surveys;

- direct observation;

- structured or semi-structured interviews; and

- focus group discussions (FGDs).

The following diagram illustrates interactions between the three levels from which information for indicators is collected. As outlined, these levels include that of the boy/girl, the household/family (for example mothers and fathers), and the community level (for example employers/exploiters, teachers, social assistants, community leaders).
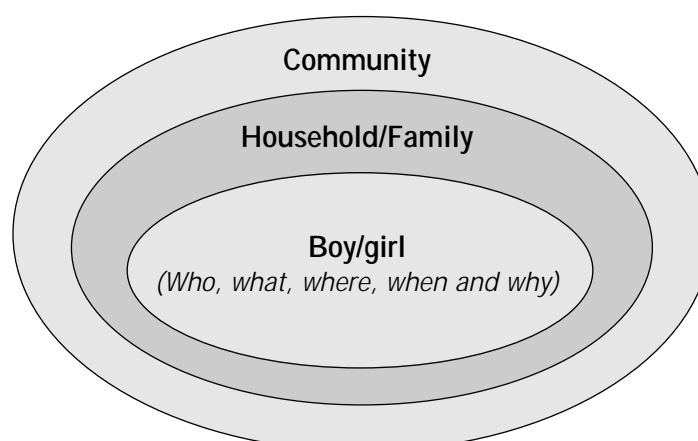
The RA survey tools are used to collect responses to the following key questions:

- **Who?** Which children? What is their background? How old are they? How many are working?

- **What?** What kinds of work are they doing? Under what conditions?

- **Where?** In what parts of the country is the form of child labour present (including place of occurrence and source of the labour)?

- **When?** How many hours per day does the work entail? At what time of day? How many days per week and months per year? Is the work seasonal?

- **Why?** What are the root causes of children being engaged in the form of child labour?

RAs also provide contextual information on key variables that effect the decisions that boys and girls make or are forced to make, including information regarding their working and living circumstances and about their community.

RAs have a particular advantage when it comes to providing information on the most "hidden" forms of child labour:

- commercial sexual exploitation;

- child trafficking;

- children in bondage;

- child domestic work;

- children engaged in armed conflict; and

- children involved in drug trafficking.

Child labour indicators and the RA. Well-designed RA indicators can:

- describe and compare the primary factors related to children's engagement in non-schooling activities, particularly in the WFCL across countries, across forms, and over time; and

- identify ways to manage the complexity and pinpoint factors critical to each specific form of child labour — especially the WFCL — for purposes of comparison; project, programme and policy design; and their monitoring and evaluation.

RA indicators can result in a range of useful information that can contribute to a comprehensive understanding of child labour for a particular context. Specifically, child labour indicator information can provide the following:

Profiles of child labourers. The origin of the child will assist in identifying girls and boys at risk, and includes information such as region, age, sex, caste/ethnicity, and socio-economic status. Information about the profile of the children involved in a WFCL may also include data related to their sexual history, specific community environment, family contexts, etc. In this way, indicators are useful for providing a rounded view of child labour, its potential causes, consequences, and correlates.

Nature of work hazards. Application of child labour indicators can help to assess how hazardous the work is for children. As shown in Annex 6.A at the end of this module different key factors can help to identify the relative impact of hazards related to the number of hours, environment, risks associated with the use of tools, etc. Moreover, indicators permit an understanding of types of recruitment and relationships with the employer.

Effective interventions and policies. Information from child labour indicators can provide useful information for policy intervention. Discovering a high level of indebtedness among families with child labourers, for instance, may result in policy interventions aimed at the implementation of credit schemes or insurance programmes. This is especially relevant when dealing with short-term economic needs or income shocks. Indicators can also be used to learn where girls and boys work in order to provide targets for withdrawal and rehabilitation efforts, as well as for identifying the demand for child labour. Similarly, if child labourers come mostly from large families, a family-planning policy might be considered.

Characteristics of indicators from RA studies

Exclusive applicability

- Information from RAs is specific to a sector/region/target group. Resulting indicators are therefore exclusively applicable to the specific sector/region/target group investigated.

Time specific

- Indicators on child labour derived from RAs focus on a specific period of time, and are therefore not always comparable across time.

Susceptible to being combined

- Indicators derived from RAs can be combined and analyzed with indicators derived from other studies, including national household surveys on child labour, baseline surveys, and information from secondary sources in order to enhance the understanding of contextual and external factors related to the specific form of child labour being investigated. These can then be compared across regions/sectors and time.

Box 51: Desirable attributes of child labour indicators: A summary

1. Child labour indicators should be easy to:
   - obtain;
   - calculate;
   - understand; and
   - interpret.

2. Child labour indicators should be comparable:
   - between forms of child labour;
   - between regions/sectors; and
   - over time.

3. Child labour indicators should be:
   - gender sensitive.

Building child labour indicators with information derived from RAs

Various steps must be followed in building well-designed indicators on the basis of RA-generated information. These included establishing a conceptual framework through definitions, identifying key variables for study, and disaggregating the variables to establish useful indicators.

Two key questions. First, however, one needs to answer two key questions:

- What are the most important factors related to children's participation in each specific case of child labour, especially the WFCL?

- How can we most appropriately match those factors to gaps in our knowledge and to interventions, including legislation and policy?

The answers to these questions will help to identify what information the investigation should be designed to collect.

Conceptual framework through definitions. Both the definition and specific form of the target child labour must be clarified (see the technical glossary). The definitions should distinguish between "child labour" and "children's work", and the specific activities/sector of the target group investigated.

The definition of child labour and its worst forms should be based on the relevant international legal instruments, including the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182); Recommendation No. 190, ILO Convention on Minimum Age, 1973 (No. 138); Recommendation No. 146; and Article 32 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 1989. At the national level, pertinent legislation and relevant policies should be identified. These includes acts related to childhood and adolescence, compulsory education laws, and labour laws.

On the basis of this information, one can establish a conceptual framework for building child labour indicators. This framework should outline, among other things, the minimum age for work allowed in the specific country; activities/occupations considered hazardous; number of hours for work allowed per industry or work performed; industry or type of work; work-related risks; work defined as a worst form; and unsafe conditions of work.

Identification of key variables for study. The data derived from the RAs are a rich source of information for analysis and presentation according to the three levels illustrated in the diagram at the beginning of this annex. The key is to analyze and present data according to the specific research needs and aims. The following section discusses these different levels of information and their corresponding contents.

Child (boy/girl)

Characteristics of the working girls and boys. These include sex, age, caste, and ethnicity. The RA can also be designed to gather information on the family background and characteristics of the communities, children's migration and work histories, and the influences that contributed to their entry into the workforce or into certain situations.

Environmental and working conditions. These include numbers of boys and girls in the area or in a particular situation or occupation within the area; work processes; the work environment and physical effects on the boys and girls; hours; time of day; place of work; rates of pay; and the children's relationship with their employer.

Relationship between school and work. This category encompasses the attitudes of boys, girls, and parents towards education; the forces, pressures, and attitudes that push boys and girls in one direction or another; and the availability, accessibility (economic and physical), and condition of schools in a given area. The information may also include school enrolment data in the area, financing education, etc.

Nature of hazards. The RA can collect data on work hazards and risks. These include, among other things, unhealthy, morally unsound, or illicit conditions in child activities in

the area; the number of boys and girls involved; the pathways that led to this involvement; chances for improvement or removal of the children from these conditions; and possibilities for rehabilitation.

Household/family[125]

Living conditions. This includes information regarding the children's living context (location, living alone or with parents, either mother and/or father; quality of relationships); and economic conditions (ability to support household and inability to meet basic needs, quality of housing, assets available, access to basic services).

Family composition. Information includes number of members; family head; relationship with head; age; or marital status.

Socio-economic status. This includes information on income; state of indebtedness; and assets.

Parental education and work. This includes information on literacy; level of schooling; achievement of mother and father; and work status of mother and father. It also includes information on being employed or unemployed; formal/informal labour market; status in employment; occupation; place of work; age at start of work; and relative wage analysis.

Parental perceptions. This includes information on valuation of and other attitudes towards education; present and future goals for girls and boys; awareness of child labour; and attitudes towards it, particularly the WFCL.

Migration. This includes information on the place of origin of household members; number of years lived in the current place; and urban-rural mobility.

Community

Attitudes and perceptions of the community towards interventions by governments and NGOs. This includes an appraisal of actions and agencies that can help address problems. Other important variables include existing legislation and enforcement mechanisms.

Level of awareness about child labour. This includes information on societal awareness of child labour issues and existing legislation.

Level of open dialogue, discussions in the media and society regarding child labour-related issues. This includes information valuable for planning interventions, particularly those related to communication and awareness raising.

Socio-cultural context. This section includes information on cultural practices and traditions. It can include a comprehensive amount of information on these issues.

The policy environment and socio-economic context. The RA can collect data for areas in which child labour is prevalent, and where interventions on child labour will take place. Such variables might include existing legislation and its enforcement; policies on related aspects such as poverty, education, and other social aspects; or community attitudes and awareness. This applies at both national and community levels.

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[125] Refer to the definition of household and family in the technical glossary. "Family" is included here because of the impossibility of obtaining information about the household in cases where the working girls and boys live away from home or where it is difficult to access information from a household member. This applies mostly in WFCL situations such as commercial sexual exploitation, children engaged in armed conflict, and children involved in drug trafficking.

Disaggregating variables for building indicators

Once the desired variables have been identified, and the necessary information collected, it must be disaggregated by sex, age, caste/ethnic group, and, if applicable, by urban/rural area and region/province. The following chart illustrates the process of building indicators.

Building indicators with the RA methodology
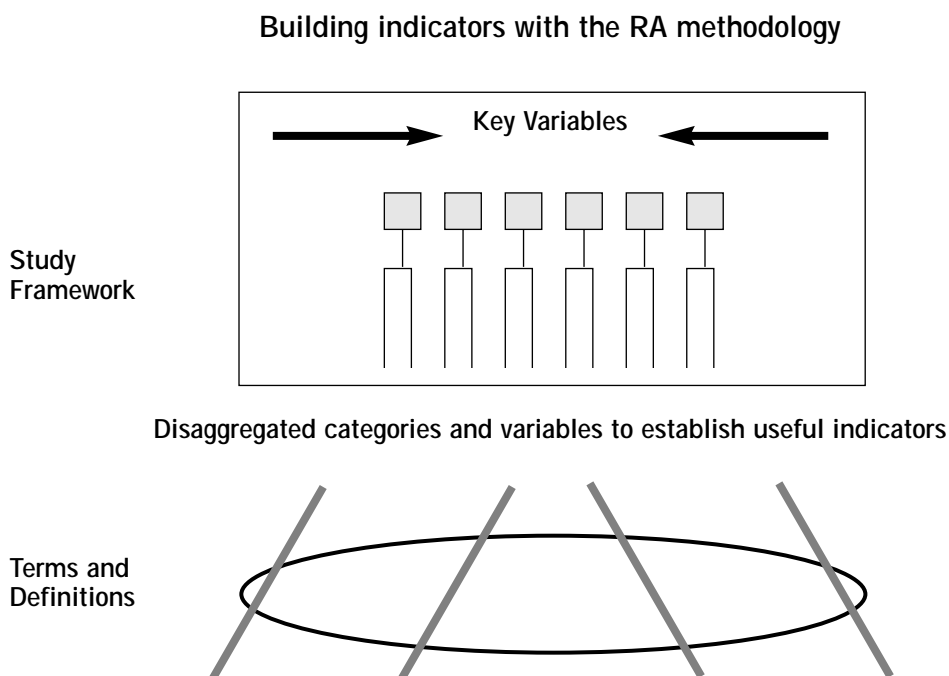
Organizing data for indicators

There follows an example of how to organize data for various indicators to identify priorities, risk groups, and the level of impact of specific factors. This organization can be particularly useful in designing effective policies and intervention programmes.

Box 52: How to organize data for various indicators: An exemple

Category	Indicator	Definition
Child labourer.	Current child labourers by sex, age, order of birth, living with parent, orphan, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Number and per cent of girls and boys who reported working forpay (in cash or in kind) and/or working for the family without pay during the reference week, meeting one of the following conditions: child is below the minimum age established in the legislation for the industry or type of work performed; child works excessive hours or more than the maximum established in the legislation for that age, industry or type of work; work is one of the worst forms; or child works in unsafe conditions.

For a more comprehensive example of organizing data, see Annex 6.A at the end of this module. For a suggested list of core indicators on child labour and housekeeping activities, see Appendix B of the *ILO/IPEC Manual for child labour data analysis and statistical reports* (2004).

Importance of a gender perspective

Information gathered in a RA should always be disaggregated by sex and analyzed by gender to reveal any gender-based disparities among girls and boys engaged in different activities within diverse contexts and various ethnic origins.

Work in the market, for instance, can often be labelled as work for boys and household work characterized as chores for girls. At their core, however, the activities of girls around the home can be as hazardous and time-consuming — and thus potentially interfere as much with schooling — as any other form of child labour. Special care, then, must be taken in assessing this often unrecognized situation. A gender perspective is also important in the context of the WFCL, such as armed conflict, where both the expected role and effect on girls and boys can be quite different. For instance, boys may be more heavily recruited to fight in conflicts than girls, while girls may be expected to participate as cooks for combat units or be sexually exploited.

Analysis of child labour data should therefore go beyond simple desegregation by sex to include comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the sex-disaggregated data. It is necessary to understand if, how, and why the nature and possible causes of child labour differ between girls and boys, and how these girls and boys may be differently affected by work situations and environment.

Capturing the respective work experiences of girls and boys requires analyzing a number of relevant variables including, among others, socio-economic status; occupation; status in employment; nature of employment (permanent, seasonal, etc.); income; benefits received at work; hours of work; location; time of day of work; school attendance/ and the incidence of work-related accidents and illnesses.

Annex 6.A: Organizing data for indicators: A model

Category	Indicator	Definition
Characteristics of the child labourer		
Child labourer	Current child labourers by sex, age, order of birth, living with parent, orphan, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Number and percentage of girls and boys who reported working for pay (in cash or in kind) and/or working for the family without pay during the reference week. In addition, those who meet one of the following conditions: child is below the minimum age established in the legislation for the industry or type of work performed; child works excessive hours or more than the maximum established in the legislation for that age, industry or type of work; work is one of the worst forms; or child works in unsafe conditions.
Household chores	Girls and boys performing household chores in own home — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Number and percentage of girls and boys who reported performing household chores in their own home above a minimum amount of hours per week considered to interfere with their schooling and development.
Reason for involvement	Identification of main reasons for involvement in work or situation — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage reporting reasons for involvement in work or situation by child labourers. These could include income need; pay debt under contractual arrangement; assist household enterprise; education not suitable; school too far; forced; voluntary.
Perceptions, awareness, and motivations	Perceptions, awareness and motivations regarding risks/hazards/implications of working and situation — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage reporting perceptions of awareness of risks/hazards/implications of working and situation including psychological, mental, and physical effects, future, etc.
***Drug addiction	Incidence of drug use/addiction among child labourers — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage reporting being drug users/addicted.
*Sexual history	Age at first sexual encounter — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Age at which child had first sexual encounter.
	Cause of first sexual encounter — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage reporting cause of sexual encounter (e.g. love and curiosity, forced and coerced).

Category	Indicator	Definition
Working conditions[126]		
Intensity of labour	Number of hours worked — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity and urban/rural area.	Number of hours worked per week/per day by child labourers.
Industry	Child labour in various industries — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Number and per cent of all child labourers in various industries.
Occupation	Child labour in various occupations — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Number and per cent of all child labourers in various occupations.
Location	Child labour by place of work — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, and industry or occupation.	Number and per cent of child labourers who work at home versus away from home.
Status in employment	Child labour by status in employment — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, and industry or occupation.	Number and per cent of child labourers who work as employees, own-account, unpaid family workers, or other.
Work environment	Child labourers that work under adverse conditions at workplace — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, and industry or occupation.	Number and per cent of child labourers who report working with dust, fumes, gas, in a noisy environment, with extreme temperatures or humidity, with dangerous tools, underground, at heights, in confined spaces, with insufficient lighting, with chemicals, or carrying heavy loads.
Injuries/ illnesses sustained at work	Injuries at work among child labourers within a specific time-frame — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, and industry or occupation.	Number and per cent of child labourers hurt at work among all who have ever worked within a specific timeframe.
Use of earnings	Percentage of girl and boy labourers who work for own family vs. external employer — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, and industry or occupation.	Important in identifying the role of child labour in household livelihood and subsistence.
Type of payment	Characteristics of employers/exploiters — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, marital status, level of education, urban/rural area, industry or occupation.	Important for understanding the employment circumstances of girls and boys. Also relevant for understanding the role of child labour in household livelihood and subsistence.

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[126] Does not apply to unconditional forms of child labour including slavery, commercial sexual exploitation, drug trafficking, trafficking, armed conflict, or debt bondage.

Category	Indicator	Definition
Employer	Characteristics of employers/exploiters — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, marital status, level of education, urban/rural area, industry or occupation.	Important in determining nature of relationship between girl and boy labourers and parents who are also employers and between child worker and external employers. Information regarding employers'/parents' sanctions and rewards to girls and boys at work is also useful.
*Characteristics of employers/ exploiters	Characteristics of employers/exploiters by — sex, age, caste, ethnicity, marital status, level of education, and urban/rural area.	Important in determining profiles of employers/exploiters.
Recruitment	Intermediaries in recruitment: parents, employer, exploiter, friend, broker, stranger — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, industry or occupation.	Percentage of girls and boys who reported being recruited by parent, employer, friend, broker, stranger, or involvement on own initiative.
Relationship with employer	Incidence and existence of psychological, verbal and/or physical abuse.	Percentage of girls and boys who reported being abused psychologically, verbally, and/or physically by employer (or members of the employer's household, in the case of child domestic workers).

Education

School attendance	Labourer students — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Number and per cent of child labourers who attend school.
School enrolment	Net school enrolment ratio — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, whether currently child labourer.	For girls and boys of the official primary school age group, enrolment in primary education, expressed as a percentage of the population in that age group.
School participation	Never attended school — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, whether currently child labourer.	Percentage of all girls and boys who have achieved the age of mandatory attendance in primary school who have never enrolled in school. It is also important to identify those girls and boys who are idle (neither work nor study).
School leaving	School dropout rate — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, whether currently child labourer.	Percentage of all girls and boys who are older than the age for mandatory attendance in primary school and below the legal school-leaving age, who are not attending school, but have attended school at some point in their lives.
Progress in school	School-age distortions — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, whether currently child labourer.	Percentage of girls and boys of a certain age enrolled in school who are behind the grade that corresponds to their age.

Category	Indicator	Definition
Work and school	Student labourers — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage of all child labourers who are currently enrolled in school.
	Work interference with schooling — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Among respondents (parents, child labourers, teachers, key informants), percentage reporting their work interferes with attending school or studies.
Access	Distance to nearest school — by urban/rural area.	Among respondents (parents, child labourers, teachers, key informants), percentage reporting distance to school affects/does not affect school attendance and performance.
Cost	Cost of education (tuition, uniforms, school materials, etc.) — by urban/rural area.	Among respondents (parents, child labourers, teachers, key informants), percentage reporting costs of education as an obstacle to attendance.
Relevance	Reason child works: educational not suitable — by urban/rural area.	Among respondents (parents, child labourers, teachers, key informants), percentage reporting education not suitable.

Household/family level

Category	Indicator	Definition
Family/ household background	Child labour, by family size — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, migration status, urban/rural area.	Number and per cent of child labourers by family members.
	Child labour, by family status — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage of child labourers who live with both parents/only father/only mother/only, alone, relatives, other adults, peers.
	Child labour rate, by sex of household head — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage of girls and boys from female-headed households who are child labourers vs. child labourers from male-headed households.
	Child labour rate, by state of indebtedness of the household — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage of girls and boys from households who are indebted and are labourers.
	Child labour rate, by migration status of the household — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage of girls and boys whose parents/guardians have migrated (urban/rural; other regions/countries) who are child labourers.
	Child labour rate by head of household's educational status — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage of child labourers with parents with different educational levels (none, primary, secondary, above secondary); percentage of child labourers with literate/illiterate parents.

Category	Indicator	Definition
Family/ household background (cont.)	Child labour rate — by parental literacy, by mother/father, sex, age, caste, ethnicity, and urban/rural area.	Percentage of child labourers with literate/illiterate mother/father.
**Living conditions	Living conditions of girls and boys who live in a place other than own home — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area.	Number of meals offered to the child labourers; access to proper accommodation; access to meals; access to medical care when required.
**Ability to quit	Ability to quit and/or forced and bonded labour — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area.	Percentage of child labourers who reported on their ability to quit, and or the incidence of forced and bonded labour.
**Freedom	Frequency and possibility to visit their family and return home — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area.	Percentage of girls and boys allowed to visit family and/or return home; number of days per week/month/year in which girls and boys are allowed to visit their families go home.
	Frequency and possibility to practice religion — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area.	Percentage of girls and boys free to practise their religion/attend services of worship.
*Intra-family violence	Incidence and existence of intra-familiar violence (e.g. rape occurrence from step-father/ guardians/other household members) — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area.	Percentage of girls and boys who reported intra-family violence situations (e.g. rape; physical, psychological, or sexual abuse).
Family health status	Incidence of ill, injured, HIV+ or disabled household members — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area.	Percentage of girls and boys who reported incidence of ill, injured, disabled household members.
Economic level	Income level — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area.	Number and kind of assets, level of income/expenditure relative to national poverty line.
Community context		
Health	Incidence of HIV/AIDS/ infectious diseases — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/ rural area.	Percentage of the population infected with HIV/AIDS and/or other infectious diseases.
Poor quality of schools	Perception from key informants, school visit or parents/girls and boys about quality of schools and education — by urban/rural area.	Measures of school quality: number of students and teachers; whether have textbooks; physical structure (building, walls, ceiling, bathrooms); teacher absence a problem; teacher qualifications.

Category	Indicator	Definition
Education system	Presence of schools (public, private), highest grade offered, availability of vocational centres/night schools/informal education centres — by urban/rural area, level (primary, secondary), type (public, private).	Characteristics and availability of schools useful for assessing the "school" factor as a correlate of child labour.
Attitudes and perceptions about child labour	Attitudes and perceptions about child labour — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, type of informant.	Attitudes and perceptions on whether girls and boys should work and on how much schooling is ideal; from parents (mothers/fathers), employers/exploiters, recruiters, teachers, firms, trade unions, local and national governments.
Attitudes and perceptions about education	Attitudes and perceptions about children's education — by sex, age, caste, ethnicity, urban/rural area, type of informant.	What parents/youth think returns are: ask about earnings of persons with various amounts of education; ask about amount of education needed for various jobs and pay for those jobs.

* Relevant indicators, especially for specific target groups (commercial sexual exploitation, drug trafficking).
** Relevant indicators, especially for child domestic workers, commercial sexual exploitation, bonded labour, child trafficking.
*** Relevant indicators, especially for drug trafficking.

Annex 6.B: Factors related to WFCL[127]

		Potential severity of impact on child	
		Low	**High**
The child	Characteristics of the child (age, age when started work)	Older ⟶	Younger
	Gender	Gender parity ⟶	Gender inequality
	Ethnicity	Ethnic parity ⟶	Ethnic inequality
	Sexual history	None/non-violent ⟶	Rape/incest
Living conditions	Living context (location, quality of relationships, reason for leaving home)	At home ⟶	Not
		Good ⟶	Poor
		Own initiative ⟶	Forced/deceived
	Education (access, affordability, attendance, attainment, perceived value)	Accessible ⟶	Not accessible
		Affordable ⟶	Not affordable
		Attending ⟶	Not attending
		High attainment ⟶	Low attainment
		Valuable ⟶	Not valuable
	Economic condition	Ability to support household ⟶	Inability to meet basic needs
	Migration	No migration ⟶	Migration

127 Adapted from Jensen, R.T.; Pearson, M. *Investigating the worst forms of child labour: Rapid assessment synthesis report — A report to the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour at the International Labour Organization.* Draft submitted to ILO/IPEC in 2004.

	Potential severity of impact on child	
	Low	**High**
Work conditions		
Recruitment	Own initiative →	Forced or deceived
Place of recruitment	Home →	Work site
Work context	N/A	
Schedule	Light →	Heavy
Activities	Light work →	Hard work
Hazards	Minor hazards →	Major hazards
Health/sanitation (access to food, potable water, health care)	Adequate food Adequate water Access to health care →	No food No water No access to health care
Payment	Fair, timely wages →	No pay
Relative wage analysis	Lower pay →	Higher pay
Use of earnings	Personal effects →	Sole household support
Relationship with employer	Good →	Bad
Ability to quit	Can quit →	Can't quit
Child's attitudes about work	Like/happy →	Dislike/unhappy
Community/national conditions		
Legal protections (laws, enforcement)	Strong child protection/WFCL laws Strong enforcement →	No laws No enforcement
Community attitudes and awareness (work, gender, education)	High awareness of WFCL Low value of girls & boys working Gender parity High value of education →	No awareness High value of girls & boys working Gender inequality No value of education