Children's Perspectives on their Young Lives

Report on Methods for Sub-Studies
Peru Pilot, April 2006

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Young Lives
An International Study of Childhood Poverty

Foreword

This report was prepared by Joy Johnston following an initial Young Lives pilot study of qualitative methods carried out in April 2006 in Peru. The aim of the pilot study was to test a series of methods that could be developed for use in the newly established qualitative component of Young Lives, beginning with a first round of longitudinal qualitative data gathering which would involve a sub-sample of the two cohorts of Young Lives children. The methods were identified through an extensive review of literature detailing participatory, quantitative and qualitative work with children and adults and developed for specific age groups and research questions. The research investigated four inter-related themes: children's time use, wellbeing, understandings of poverty and their social worlds.

The results of the pilot study in Peru facilitated the refinement of the qualitative research questions and informed the development of a shared methods toolkit for the first round of Young Lives qualitative research ('Qual-1', August-December 2007). The latter was implemented with 200 case study children, between 5 and 6 and between 11 and 12 years old at the time, across the four study countries.

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Contents

Executive Summary

Alongside the Young Lives full-cohort surveys carried out every four years, Young Lives sub-studies are to be carried out to investigate pre-identified themes in greater depth across all four countries. These will be carried out by sub-sampling sites and index children within the main sample frame. This pilot project aimed to implement and develop methods for these sub-studies, especially the use of semi-structured methods with groups of children to gather both quantitative and qualitative data.

The methods were identified through an extensive review of literature detailing participatory, quantitative and qualitative work with children and adults and developed for the specific age groups and research questions. Methods were chosen and evaluated using the following criteria:

- Semi-structured – to ensure that the core themes can be studied consistently through an agreed set of methods, to allow for inter-country comparability;

- Applicable in diverse settings – these methods will need to be implemented in very diverse settings across all four countries, including by fieldworkers with very variable research training, orientation and experience;

- Flexibility – to allow children to identify themes and issues that are important to them, including collecting detailed data from selected group discussions and individual interviews;

- Efficient recording and analysis of structured and semi-structured data - since coding full focus group transcripts can be highly costly in terms of time and money; and

- Adaptability – since there is a great variation in educational levels, cultures, and preferred methods of communicating amongst children within the Young Lives project.

The research investigated four inter-related themes: time use, wellbeing, poverty and social worlds. Four groups (31 children) in an urban site and three (21 children) in a rural site were identified for the research. The children in one group in each site were eight to nine years old, while the others were 11-12 years old. A session for each of the themes was designed and conducted with each of the older groups, while a sub-set of these methods were used with the younger groups. A number of individual interviews were also conducted.

The process allowed different groups to focus flexibly on the issues that concerned them, while retaining an overall structure that enabled core research questions to be answered by all groups. On some topics, a degree of consensus emerged between the groups. There were occasions when the semi-structured methods did not appear to create sufficient opportunities for discussion and opportunities for children to explore issues that concern them. Consequently, adaptations need to be made to the methods and additions to the training to ensure that discussion is encouraged alongside the collection of structured information. Recommendations for where there are opportunities for inclusion of more unstructured 'extension' methods are given in this report. These are for use flexibly

by fieldworkers, according to the circumstances of groups, their preference for more open discussions versus other ways of communicating, recognising that they may be less appropriate in contexts where children are less used to talking to adults.

While sessions were audio recorded, most were not fully transcribed because of a desire to find less costly ways to summarise, code and analyse data. For some of the methods, the facilitator made written notes, and a recorder was asked to note down other key features of children's response to activities and questions, following a simple pro-forma. For other methods, the recorder was asked to note down all the key information raised in the discussion. However, the recorder's role proved difficult and the structured and semi-structured data were often preserved by two people, sometimes at the expense of children's other comments. Consequently, decisions need to be made about the depth and detail of data that are required and whether to fully transcribe the sessions. Further, time following each session should be used for drawing data, recollections and notes together to preserve more information.

For each session, this report outlines methods that can be kept, adapted, added or removed in planning for the sub-studies with children. It also outlines modifications for making the methods more appropriate for use with non-literate or younger children and for contexts where more unstructured methods are feasible. These changes need to be worked into future protocols for sub-studies, which then need to be piloted. These protocols should be viewed as a 'tool box' for the research, with a core of agreed methods, but scope for teams to make some adaptations and extensions as appropriate.

1. Introduction

The Young Lives project is an international research project that is recording changes in child poverty over 15 years. The research is taking place in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam and includes 3,000 children (known as 'index children') in each of these countries. 8,000 of these children were born in 2000 (the 2000 cohort) and the remainder in 1994 (the 1994 cohort). The Young Lives project has as one of its aims to develop new ways to integrate qualitative and quantitative research on child poverty. The different levels of research incorporated into the Young Lives methodology are:

1. Full sample: Every four to five years, a household survey is carried out with the caregivers of the index children and, from age eight, with the children themselves. This level of research gathers quantitative information.

2. Sub sample: Alongside this full-scale survey, there is scope for sub-studies with subsets of children to investigate pre-identified themes in more depth in a smaller number of sites. These themes will be the same in all four countries and will test the core hypotheses of the project using semi-structured methods with groups of children and gathering both quantitative and qualitative data.

3. Case study: Additionally, there will be issue-led studies with smaller samples of individual children. These studies may include focus groups and methods that are more intensive with individual children. These could be a further subset of (2) or could be a different group of children.[1] The data collected here would be in depth qualitative research.

The Peru Pilot project described here had as its aim to pilot and develop methods for use with sub samples of children in all four Young Lives countries to investigate themes in the way described in (2) above. The timing of the Peru piloting followed the first round of full sample surveys in 2001 and preceded the second round, planned for 2006. The aim of these sub-studies is to:

1. Address specific themes through more extensive data collection, including quantitative and qualitative methods;

2. Validate measures used in the full-sample survey using more extensive data; and

3. Pilot measures that can be used for full sample in later phases and develop questions, indicators and hypotheses for these phases

As well as piloting methods, the Peru research also provided the opportunity to consider the characteristics of potential facilitators and observers, the logistical aspects of carrying out the research, and the various techniques for observing and recording the data.

1.1   **Selection of Methods**

Specifically, the themes identified for this pilot research were children's time use, their perspectives and experiences of poverty, their concepts of wellbeing and their experiences of social exclusion. The specific hypotheses under investigation are outlined in the relevant sections below. For each area of interest, the broad hypotheses of the Young Lives project are summarised and the specific contributions of the sub-studies are outlined in the form of research questions.

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[1] These three phases and their related methodologies are outlined in the conceptual framework for the Phase III proposal (Boyden, February 2006: 55)

Before piloting in Peru, an extensive review of the literature was undertaken to identify methods used for investigating these themes with adults and children in different countries. In selecting methods, various criteria had to be borne in mind. Firstly, the aim of the sub-studies is to supplement the full sample questionnaire by adding children's voices, their categorisations and stories, and identify new areas, questions and issues for the full sample research. Therefore, it was important that methods allowed children to identify the issues that were important to them. At the same time, the methods also needed to provide enough structure to ensure that they could be implemented in all four countries (where research approaches and experiences differ significantly) and to ensure comparability of results between countries. Given the high cost of coding full focus group transcripts, the data collection needed to be structured or semi-structured for efficient recording and analysis. Finally, given the variation in educational levels between and within the Young Lives countries, methods needed to be adaptable for use with non-literate or semi-literate children, as well as with well-educated children.

Many of the methods that were chosen have their roots in participatory work with adults and children. For example, we learned from the work of the Wellbeing in Developing Countries team at Bath University, and the work of Jon Hubbard at the Centre for Victims of Torture, Minneapolis. Where applicable, we adapted their methods for our purposes and ages of children. Like many of the original participatory rural appraisal methods, some of the methods chosen collect structured quantitative data as well as qualitative information. However, despite their origins in participatory research, these sub-studies cannot be fully participatory in all the ways outlined by Hart (1992), since some areas of interest had been predefined in the Young Lives conceptual framework and during the previous five years of the project. The extent to which these methods proved to be participatory are explored in this paper's conclusion (9.1)

1.2　　Sample and Logistics

The pilot project was conducted in Peru in April 2006. The primary aim of the pilot was to develop methods for use with the 1994 cohort to follow the second round of the full sample survey. Therefore, the majority (39) of the children were aged 11-12. However, we also chose to pre-pilot the methods with a few (13) younger children, aged eight to nine, in preparation for work with the 2000 cohort when they reach age eight. Two sites were chosen for the research: a poor urban area, and an isolated poor rural area. The urban site is Lives site[2] but the children were not Young Lives index children. The rural locale is a site that has been used for piloting the quantitative surveys but is not itself a Young Lives site. None of the children had been involved in previous pilot projects. A Young Lives fieldworker[3] approached the local community kitchen in the urban site to negotiate access to children of appropriate ages. In the rural site, the fieldworker approached a state school for this purpose. In both instances, she then visited the parents of the children, explained the project and obtained informed consent.

The fieldwork was conducted over four weeks, with seven groups of children:

Urban Site	Rural Site
Group 1: 11-12-year-old girls	Group 1: 11-12-year-old girls
Group 2: 11-12-year-old boys	Group 2: 11-12-year-old boys
Group 3: 11-12-year-old boys and girls	Group 3: 8-9-year-old girls and boys
Group 4: 8-9-year-old girls and boys	

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[2] One of the sites chosen for the full-sample questionnaire.

[3] Who has been involved in previous surveys

The timetable for sessions is shown in Appendix 1. Four sessions were conducted with each of the groups of 11-12-year-olds, three sessions with the younger group in the urban site and two sessions with the younger rural group. At least two sessions were conducted on most days, with three on some days in the rural site.

In the urban site, the research took place in the local community kitchen or a local community basic hall when children were not in school. In the rural area, the research was done during school time, with children attending the sessions in an empty classroom. In each site, a handful of short individual interviews were carried out in the same locations, to pilot various methods for further investigating the key themes with individual children.

The research team consisted of two facilitators, a Young Lives fieldworker, and an observer, all of whom were female. The two facilitators were Maria Balarin and Claudia Pedraglio, both of whom are Peruvian. Maria has recently completed a PhD in education policy at Bath and Claudia is a qualified psychotherapist who has also done work with children in Thailand. Both are experienced in qualitative research with this age group but had not used these semi-structured methods before. The Young Lives fieldworker, who is also Peruvian, negotiated with organisations and families and played a vital role in finding the children before each session, introducing the research team, and observing and recording the information. Further, she was often able to rephrase questions for the children using terms they understood and thereby assisted with the facilitation. Finally, the author, a member of the Oxford Young Lives team, which developed the methods, also attended all the research sessions. Her role was to observe, reflect on and develop the research in process in order to report how well the methods catered for Young Lives project needs in terms of the research process and the data yielded.

Since the main aim of the study was to pilot the methods, there were several important differences between this pilot study and future sub-studies, including:

1. The research team included an observer from the Oxford Young Lives team (the author) who would not be present in the main study. The presence of the observer[4] meant that children were sometimes distracted when English was spoken between the facilitators and observer, and the size of the research team often felt too large.

2. The analysis was conducted in Oxford, as it was a necessary part of evaluating the methods. It was, therefore, necessary to translate all the data, not just the reported results. As discussed later in this report, the Young Lives team will need to decide where, when and how analysis takes place but at least some of the process would be undertaken in country in the local language.[5]

3. The children were not Young Lives children. This meant that they did not know about the project and had less familiarity with the fieldworker. It also meant that the extensive information available about Young Lives children, their families, and communities was not available about the children participating in this study. Consequently, the results from this study cannot be contextualised using the community and household information that will be collected in the main study, and the results cannot be triangulated with the results from the child questionnaire to build up a fuller picture of the child's life.

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[4] An observation made by Balarin and Pedraglio (2006)

[5] The importance of country involvement in analysis is raised by Balarin and Pedraglio (2006)

4. Because children were not Young Lives children, it was impossible to form groups based on shared criteria, beyond gender, age, and location. In the main study, sub-samples will be chosen based on certain criteria of interest, such as children who leave school early or children who seem to have a high burden of work.

5. The facilitators were bilingual so they could communicate with both the fieldworker and the observer. However, it would not be necessary to have English-speaking facilitators in the future. Consequently, the protocols used as guidelines by the facilitators would need to be translated into the local language.

1.3   This report: Sources and Structure

The material in this report draws mostly on detailed field notes kept by the observer. These notes were organised under the following headings, usually on the same day as each group session:

1. Children present, Facilitator, Observers: Those present and their functions were noted down.

2. Notes on Context: The location of the session, any distractions, concurrent activities, and delays were noted down.

3. General Observations on Methods: During each session, detailed observation notes were made. These included a step-by-step description of the activities, children's behaviour and participation, the contributions of the facilitators, unusual incidences and information about the timing of the activities.

4. Specific Comments after Session: This section included specific suggestions from the observer and the team about how to improve these methods in the future based on reflections on the process and the data.

5. Data: The fieldworker's handwritten notes of children's responses were translated and entered into this section, along with any structured information, such as answers written on post-it notes during activities or data from worksheets.

Debriefing discussions with the facilitators and fieldworker were also noted down. Additionally, a research journal was kept to note down other aspects of the research that did not relate to a specific session. This report also draws on an unpublished internal report by the facilitators detailing their impressions of the research process. Where they introduced ideas that had not been recorded in the author's field notes, the report is credited as 'Balarin and Pedraglio 2006'. Finally, many of the suggestions for improvement have come from discussions after the pilot project with other Young Lives team members and associates.

The aim of this report is to detail and reflect on the process of conducting the pilot in Peru. As well as evaluating the methods and reporting on their development during the project, suggestions will also be made concerning the improvement of the methods and the research process in the future. This report also makes recommendations for the selection and training of facilitators and observers and outlines some decisions that need to be made by the Young Lives project.

Sections 2-5 of this report review and evaluate each session in turn. For each group session (time use, well being, poverty, social worlds), the following sections are covered:

a) The broad hypotheses and specific questions under investigation;

b) A brief description of the method, how many times and in what contexts it was piloted;

c) An evaluation of the methods and description of how the activities/sessions evolved and were adapted as the pilot proceeded;

d) An evaluation of how the information was recorded and problems encountered as well as suggestions for data recording in the future;

e) A summary of the results, outlining the kind of data that were yielded and a summary of the main findings;[6] and

f) Suggestions for the future, including methods to include and improve methods to exclude and methods to add. Further, adaptations are suggested for children who are non-literate, younger or in contexts where free discussion is possible.

Section 6 reviews a further method that we introduced into a number of sessions using a digital video recorder and evaluates its usefulness for the future. Section 7 reports on the interviews conducted with individual children. Finally, in section 8, some of the logistical issues are considered, including recommendations for future sub-studies. The conclusion evaluates the methodological approach, summarises which specific methods should be used in the future and outlines the next necessary steps and decisions for the Young Lives team.

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[6] Only summary findings are recorded here, for evaluating the method. A further report will be written detailing the results of the pilot project.

2. Group Session 1: Time Use

2.1 Hypotheses

This session sought to investigate how children use their time and their perceptions of these activities. The broad hypotheses and specific questions under investigation were as follows:

Broad Hypotheses:

- **Poverty will affect time use.** For example, poor children may spend more of their time contributing to family poverty reduction strategies and less time in school.

- **Time use has implications for children's life course outcomes and affects their opportunities.** For example, work may equip children with certain skills whereas school equips them with others. These skills will differ in their usefulness for children at different stages of their life course, and lead to different outcomes for them.

The specific role of the sub-studies in testing these hypotheses is to answer the following questions:

- **How do children spend their time? What proportion of their time do they give to different types of activities?** Between-group comparisons will allow us to see how poverty, gender and age affect time use. Further, this data will supplement data collected from the full sample survey on children's time and allow links to be drawn with outcomes later on. Details of paid and unpaid work will be gathered through this activity.

- **How much choice do children have over their use of time? Which activities can they choose to do? Which do they have to do?** This is an important issue, since agency is likely to vary between different groups and will have implications for children's options later in life.

- **Which activities do children value and for what reasons?** This will illustrate the perceived usefulness of school, work and other activities, as well as children's subjective experiences of their time use.

It was considered impossible to obtain detailed analysis of the skills acquired through different activities in a group context. However, discovering the reasons why children value certain activities will begin to illuminate these issues, which can later be investigated further on a case study level.

2.2 Methods and Contexts

Time use was the topic of the first session conducted with all seven groups of children. Therefore, it began with introductions to the project, equipment and team. Time use was deemed the least sensitive of the topics and, therefore, the most suitable for the first session. The original protocol is shown below. If there was time at the end of the session, and literacy was judged to be high enough, the facilitator handed out and explained the worksheets shown in Appendix 2, which asked children about the jobs and activities they do and their feelings about these activities. These were only used in two instances: with groups 2 and 3 in the urban site. For the other 12-year-old groups, we either ran out of time, or judged the children to be too tired to do another activity.

Facilitator's Guidelines for Session 1: Time Use

Main Activity

(For eight-nine-year-olds only)

Drawings

Draw the different things you did yesterday.

Then gathered together to discuss the drawings and the discussion proceeded as below).

Ask children:

What do you do when you are not in school?

Write each answer on a separate index cards. Draw a very quick simple symbol on the card as well, to help those who are non-literate. Children can suggest these symbols themselves but the researcher should draw the item (even if this is a bit embarrassing – it breaks the ice, and stops the most competent children dominating).

As each item is mentioned, ask children to put their hands up if they do this activity. Write this number on the card. Ask questions around these activities as you fill in the cards, for example about whether they are paid, who else does it etc, whether they enjoy it.

Buckets activity

When you think all the obvious areas of life have been covered, ask children to put these cards into different buckets for:

School:

Homework;

Helping others at home/domestic chores;

Work outside home;

Leisure activities.

Give out counters

Give each child 12 counters, all the same colour, so each child has a unique colour. Tell them that these counters represent a day. Tell them to divide up the counters between the buckets depending how long they take doing these activities. (Fieldworker demo if they do not get it).

Paid activities/Domestic chores

Pull out the 'activities helping others at home' - which should be domestic and paid chores.

Ask children whether they have a choice to do this activity. Gather a pile of 'yes' and 'no' (allow observer to note piles)

Then rank them in the following ways:

1) Which do you most enjoy doing? Allow children to talk about why (allow observer to note the rank)

2) Which do you think will be most useful for your future? (allow observer to note the rank)

Ask children how useful they think school is for their futures, and where they would put 'school' in this list. Ask the same about homework and school measures.

Ranking may need to be progressive: 'which do you prefer: X or Y…Y or Z…'

2.3   Evaluation of Method

Each aspect of the session will be evaluated in turn.

Drawings (eight-nine-year-olds only)

The younger group in the urban site were asked to draw what they did yesterday on individual sheets of A4 paper. This was intended as a warm-up activity in which they could start to generate ideas of what they do on a daily basis. However, children were reluctant to start until the facilitators joined in and seemed insecure about their abilities. Children tended to draw a scene, possibly including one activity, rather than a number of activities and children also found it hard to capture their 'day' in one drawing.

To encourage children to include more activities in their drawings and to reduce children's concerns about their drawing being judged, in the rural site children were asked to all draw on one larger sheet of paper the different activities they did yesterday. This elicited more concrete activities, such as watering plants and feeding animals, and some children drew more than one. This, therefore, seemed to work better as an idea-generating exercise (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1: Activities Drawing, Group 3, rural site
(whole page and enlarged section)

10

What do you do when you are not in school?

Wide-ranging lists of activities were yielded by the question 'What do you do when you are not in school?' Most groups mentioned games and leisure activities first, and a few domestic chores and school work. Other domestic chores were easily elicited by asking what else they did at home. Interestingly, the urban girls' group mentioned domestic chores first and different groups focussed on different aspects of time use as discussions progressed, showing that this method has a degree of flexibility, allowing a focus on those areas chosen by the group.

Facilitators were also able to focus the discussion on particular areas of interest. For example, children did not talk about paid work to start with, but asking 'do you help your parents at work?' generated a wide range of work activities outside the home. The question 'do you have any other responsibilities' also opened interesting avenues for the discussions in the rural site.

The children tended to make suggestions very quickly, so the facilitator did not have time to draw pictures or ask questions about each activity. Therefore, the facilitator just wrote down the type of activity on card and waited for a natural break in children's suggestions to ask how many children did each activity. Most children in the older groups seemed literate enough to be able to read the cards but in contexts where this is not the case, rapid drawings would need to be made for at least some of the activities mentioned.

Most of the children seemed to enjoy this activity and joined in spontaneously although a few quieter children in each group needed to be drawn in. This first discussion tended to take between 20 and 30 minutes.

Buckets activity

This activity tended to take about 15 minutes and seemed to be enjoyed by most children but various lessons were learnt about its implementation along the way:

■ Because children did not necessarily see the jobs they did as 'work', this category was described as 'helping parents with their work or jobs outside the home' as contrasted with 'helping at home', which covered domestic chores. It is also important to note that the category 'helping parents with their work or jobs outside the home' in the rural area did not necessarily correspond to the same category in the urban area, nor the conceptual category of 'children's work', denoting work for someone other than the household. This is because children in the rural area considered tasks outside the home, such as animal care and farming, to be in the same category as working for a hotel, i.e. 'work outside the home'. While not necessarily a problem, it is worth considering whether the inside/outside home distinction is the most relevant and interesting.

■ It was important to involve the children in dividing the tasks between the 5 different buckets. On one occasion (urban site's girls' group), the facilitator described the activities she had put in each bucket but did not involve the children in making the divisions. However, the task was much clearer for children when they had been involved in dividing cards between buckets. Further, in several instances in the rural site, there was debate over which bucket certain cards should go into. These debates tended to centre on the issue of whether activities counted as domestic

work (inside the house) or helping parents/paid work (outside the house); and around whether the internet should be assigned to homework or leisure. In these instances, additional cards were written so that one could be put in each disputed category. This demonstrates the importance of asking children for their own categorisations, rather than making assumptions about them.

■ Originally, children were given 12 counters to separate between the five buckets and were told that these correspond to 'about one hour'. However, some children found it difficult to divide this number since they are awake for longer than 12 hours per day. Consequently, in the rural site, each child was given 15 counters. Cups were used to enable children to handle counters more easily and children were told that this cup represented 'their day'. This seemed to clarify the task and make it easier for children to undertake.

■ In all sessions, children did the task one by one while the others watched. It is possible that children were intimidated by the fact that others were watching and might see what choices they made. They may have been embarrassed to say what they do day by day or may have wanted to show off about something. For example, one 12-year-old boy in the urban site had talked a lot about Pinball 'addiction' so pretended he spent all his time on this, but he was only joking and distributed them out more after a while. Despite moving the buckets away from the rest of the group, children still seemed to rush the task and not necessarily think about the allocations they were making. For these reasons, it would be useful to think of a way to make the task a private, not a public, one. The rest of the group could be given a concurrent activity while one individual uses the buckets. Alternatively, children could be given small cups (e.g. an egg box) with labels or pictures designating the category of each cup so that children assign counters on an individual, private basis and then tip them into the buckets.

■ There was some confusion when children did jobs at the weekend but not during the week as to how they should allocate their counters. For this reason, it was necessary to introduce a discussion about weekends and school holidays after the bucket activity but to keep the bucket activity as representative of a school day.

■ This method was used with the younger age group in the urban locale, despite the fact that it was considered likely to be too complicated for them. They did find it very difficult to divide their counters between buckets, probably as their capacity for and experience of division and numeracy was insufficient. For this reason, with the younger group in the rural site, we only used the buckets for the division of tasks into categories.

One issue that was impossible to resolve during the pilot was how valid children's answers about their time use were.[7] There were some indications that children were not always accurate in their allocations, for example the fact that children often allocated different numbers of counters to the 'school' category despite being in the same class and not reporting any after-school activities. It is possible that children's answers reflect perceived importance of activities rather than time use. While both are interesting, it would be worth triangulating this method with another, such as observation or diary keeping, to establish how valid it is as a measure of time use.

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[7] This issue was also raised in discussion about this method at an Open University seminar, 17th May 2006
(Woodhead, personal communication, 17th May 2006)

Ranking

The original ranking activity was drawn from Woodhead (1998) who asked participants to rank different jobs that children do, and to complete preference rankings based on criteria they mentioned. These were intended to yield structured data in the form of rankings, as well as discussion around the topics and anecdotal stories. However, the groups in the current study were much less homogenous than those in Woodhead's study, which made the task difficult because children had such different experiences of work and domestic chores. Similarly, the degree of choice that children had concerning their time use varied and it was difficult to divide the activities into categories. Although discussion was elicited in some instances, it did not tend to answer the research questions. Consequently, the facilitators asked children to raise their hands if they thought an activity was enjoyable or useful, and hoped to create a ranking from these figures to generate discussion. However, this activity was fairly tedious for the participants and facilitators and did not generate particularly interesting information.

In an attempt to generate more discussion through disagreement and debate, we devised a new activity for the rural sites. Facilitators asked children various open questions and also asked them about their weekends and holidays, to build up a broader picture of their lives and thoughts about time use before using a 'forced choice' activity to generate more structured information. Some of the questions used were:

- What do you do at weekends?

- What do you do in the holidays?

- Considering all the things we have talked about, including those activities in the buckets, what do you feel happiest doing? Why?

- What do you least like doing?

- Who tells you what to do at home?

- What happens if you do not do what they say?

- What do you want to do in the future?

- Of all the things you do with your time, which will be the most useful for your future? Why? Which will be the least useful?

Following this broad discussion, children were asked to focus on the three buckets, 'domestic chores', 'school', and 'work/helping parents outside the home'. Two of these buckets were chosen and children were asked to stand by the one they found more enjoyable. Children were asked why they had made these choices, before replacing one bucket with the third and repeating the activity. The final combination was then used. Following this, the activity was repeated but children were asked to make their choices based on which kind of activity would be most useful for their futures. It was hoped that choices made by children would be reflective of what they really thought because the activity had been set in the context of discussion. However, it was also anticipated that this activity might encourage debate between the two groups of children who had chosen different options. Such debate was not very forthcoming, probably due to the fact that children had already discussed their thoughts prior to the forced choice activity.

Children seemed to enjoy getting up and moving around, which also produced a good break in activities. Some children were quite slow to understand the task. For this reason, it may be worth having a practice activity, for example, 'Which do you prefer, football or volleyball?', so that children understand the task. Generally, children seemed happy to do this exercise and were able to disagree with their co-participants and make individual choices. However, some answers were contradictory (e.g. some children said they liked school more than domestic work, paid work more than school, but domestic work more than paid work), which suggests that this activity may not be very meaningful to children.

Worksheets

The worksheet in Appendix 2 was used to collect individual-level data on time use in two of the urban site groups. This method is only appropriate for children who have high levels of literacy. All children listed the domestic chores they do and homework, some mentioned the ways in which they help their parents with work and most also mentioned leisure activities. Given the breadth of activities mentioned, it seems that children did not focus only on those things that they 'know how to do' since this was not emphasised in the instructions. Therefore, it might be useful to revise the wording or instructions. Interestingly, when answering the question about which *trabajo/actividad* they most and least liked, all the children wrote down domestic chores or work activities, suggesting that they had concluded from the session that this is what we were interested in.

Although it was usually possible to ascertain what children were communicating, there were some instances where it was difficult to read children's handwriting and/or understand the meaning of their writing. This was particularly the case for the questions about who usually does the activity at home. To improve the worksheet, it could be developed as shown in Appendix 3 to include an example entry, multiple choice questions and small picture prompts for each question. It would also be useful for facilitators to circulate and ask children if they understand, ask them about their answers and discuss the worksheets with them. Further, it would be advantageous to read the worksheets at the end of the session and ask children to explain any areas of confusion at the next session. Including questions about who does each task in the earlier Time Use activities would prepare children for this question.

2.4   Data Collection

We tried various different observation protocols for recording information children give about the activities they do. Originally, an unstructured protocol was used and the fieldworker was asked to note down as much as possible about who said what and when. However, this was too vague so a sheet was used with a section for each child's name, in which to note down things they said. This did not preserve much information about the discussion, and also duplicated the information collected on the index cards. We decided it was more important to preserve the interesting comments that were made rather than the identity of the speaker, especially if not all sections of the audio recording were to be transcribed. Consequently, a 'tick list' of the commonly mentioned activities was designed, with a box for observations. However, this often yielded no more than what was preserved on the index cards, as it was hard for the observer to find the right place on the form and then write her observation, comment or something the children had said next to this entry. However, when a blank sheet was used, the observer only collected the activities mentioned by each child. Consequently, more training is needed to encourage the observer

to note down aside-comments rather than the salient points (activities) mentioned by children during this activity. Alternatively, if a full transcript (with speaker IDs) is required, training in shorthand and noting down who says what would be necessary.

In order to aid note-taking and transcription, children were encouraged to speak one by one and more clearly where necessary, or the facilitator to repeat what they said. This had the dual benefit of slowing down the conversation and allowing the observer to hear what had been said.

The worksheet produces written information which is sometimes hard to read, but is otherwise in a very useful format.

2.5   Summary Data

The bucket method yielded individual-level data that could be used to establish group and individual divisions of time. The rest of the session produced lists of specific time use activities and a discussion about how these are valued. The following is a summary of the main findings:

Which activities are valued by children, and why?

- **School** was considered to be the most useful activity and was enjoyed by most children. However, they often thought teachers were too harsh and the urban girls-only group thought that school was sometimes boring.

- **Work** outside the home consisted of work on the family farm, helping parents with their jobs, or children's own paid jobs. These activities were usually not labelled 'work', were usually enjoyed and children felt they were taught useful skills through them. However, some children had difficult working conditions, such as herding animals in the rain or washing up in cold water, while other jobs were considered shameful.

- All children spent some of their time doing **domestic chores** at home, especially the girls. While most children were used to these tasks and enjoyed them, they were sometimes thought to be boring and were less enjoyable than school and work outside the home. Only the girls in the urban site thought that these tasks were more useful for their futures than school or work outside the home, a view reflected in their aspirations to be, for example, maids or kindergarten teachers. Other groups thought that these tasks taught useful life skills, especially for bringing up a family in the future.

How much choice do children have over their time use?

- Children expressed little ability to **choose** their daily activities and felt that domestic tasks had been allocated from an early age. Although some choice may have been exercised at the beginning, children in both age groups said that they had little choice in their day-to-day activities. However, a greater sense of self-efficacy was expressed by the rural boys' group with regard to their futures, and by the urban boys and rural girls to a lesser extent.

The worksheet method yielded discussion of many of the same activities that were discussed in the session but a few extra activities were noted. Further, this method enabled the collection of individual level data. However, a note of caution if this method is to be used for individual data collection: many of the new activities were repeated on different children's forms and children conversed during the exercise, so there was probably an element of collaboration/copying during the task.

2.6   Suggestions for the Future

Methods to keep/improve:

- Listing activities for the facilitator to note on index cards should be kept as children enjoy this and it is a good introduction to the session.

- While bearing in mind the reservations noted above, the bucket method can be carried forward to the next stage of piloting, using 15 counters and a way to do the allocation that is more private and measured. However, it would be good to also establish a way to validate the method, to ascertain how far the method measures time use and how far other factors, such as importance, affect children's answers.[8]

- The ranking exercise could be used with homogenous groups but an additional step needs to be inserted where children identify the criteria for making judgments, so that the ranking becomes a matrix ranking exercise. However, the suggestions below may be better ways to generate discussion about usefulness and agency.

- Worksheets can be used with literate groups, using the modifications in Appendix 3.

Methods to exclude:

- Ranking of jobs (if not a homogenous group);
- Abstract discussions of agency and the forced choice activity.

Methods to add:

- A discussion about what is done at the weekend should follow the buckets activity.

- Dawes (personal communication, May 2006) suggested that we use vignettes to discover more about agency e.g. 'Maria has to do an important homework assignment but she also has to take the cows to the field, which one can she do' etc. These are more likely to get consensus but the consensus opinion can then be spun back to participants by asking if that is what they would do in order to get individual opinions or stories.

- Since children did not talk in much detail about how useful school is compared with other work activities, alternative ways of exploring this would be useful. For example, children could be asked what they want to do later in life and then ask what inputs, preparations and steps they would need to get there. This method could use mapping methods or take the form of a freer discussion depending on the context and the characteristics of the children.

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[8] The buckets allocation method it also used in the quantitative questionnaire but is not proceeded by the other time use activities and is, therefore, explained in less depth. The data from the two instances need to be compared and further validated using other methods.

Adaptations for non-literate children:

- Draw picture prompts for activities on index cards;

- Draw pictures on buckets;

- Use pictures during 'mapping the future' exercise if added;

- Use pictures during matrix ranking exercise;

- Do not use worksheets.

Less structured extensions:

- To generate discussion among more forthcoming groups, common phrases, newspaper headlines, or video clips, that make controversial statements about children's lives could be used as a prompt for discussion. For example, 'There's no point to children staying in school after they are 15'. This kind of method works well in England (Punch 2002) but it may not work so well in many Young Lives sites where children may not be so used to critical debate. It may be worth considering for Peru if not for other Young Lives contexts.

Methods for eight-nine-year-old children:

- Introduce session with drawing activity, altogether on a large sheet and use this as start for discussion;

- Modify buckets activity so that tasks are divided between buckets but counters are not used;

- Exclude vignettes, ranking and future mapping, as these are too complicated.

3. Session 2: Wellbeing

3.1   Hypotheses

This session sought to investigate children's concepts of wellbeing, and their subjective feelings about their own standards of wellbeing. The broad hypotheses and specific questions under investigation were as follows:

Broad Hypotheses:

- ■ **Children have stable constructs that can contribute to our understanding of wellbeing.** Asking children about their concepts of wellbeing, satisfaction and quality of life will yield important data on their perceptions of wellbeing. It is important to understand these constructs because there is growing recognition that people's own perceptions of their situation should be taken into account when seeking to develop or improve their living conditions (Camfield and McGregor 2005).

- ■ **Poverty affects wellbeing.** The multi-faceted nature of poverty affects wellbeing in different ways, not always detrimentally.

- ■ **Wellbeing affects functioning.** Functioning in turn affects developmental outcomes and life opportunities.

The specific role of the sub-studies in testing these hypotheses is to answer the following questions:

- ■ **How do children in different Young Lives sites define wellbeing?** Because of the subjective nature of the concept of wellbeing, the most important place to start is to identify the criteria by which wellbeing is understood in particular cultures or communities. These indicators can then be included in future research to ascertain individual children's wellbeing.

- ■ **What do children worry about?** This is another way of addressing the issue of wellbeing but will also demonstrate what children perceive as detrimental to their wellbeing. Cross-group comparisons will demonstrate whether this varies with wealth status.

- ■ **How do children rate their own quality of life?** Cross-group comparisons will demonstrate what factors affect these judgements and ascertain what aspects of poverty affect wellbeing in which ways.

3.2   Methods and Contexts

This session was the second used with each of the 12-year-old groups. Certain methods were used with the eight-nine-year-olds in their second session, as indicated below. It is pertinent to note that this session was envisaged as less of a coherent whole than the first session, and more as individual methods. Further, as discussed in section 3.3, the order in which these methods were used changed significantly throughout the research process.

Facilitator's Guidelines for Session 2: Wellbeing

Satisfaction with Life

Tell children we want to know how happy they are with different areas of their lives. Distribute 'satisfaction with life' worksheets (see Appendix 4). Introduce the ladder (on a large sheet of paper). Tell them, if they are very happy with this aspect of their lives, to put a mark on the top step. If they are very dissatisfied with it, put a mark at the bottom. Go through each example in turn (to help less literate children). The ladders will be different colours to help children identify the right ladder. Tell them to write their name at the top of the sheet.

- My Health (orange)
- My Education (green)
- My Family (yellow)
- My Friends (red)
- My House (blue)
- My Neighbourhood (purple)

Then ask whether they think they will be able to do things to make this aspect of their lives better in the future (this assesses their sense of agency about this area of their lives). Ask them to put a tick or a cross in the box next to it and go through the items as above (to aid non-literate children).

Items needed: Big SWLS example, SWLS individual forms and pens

Satisfaction with Life – eight-nine-year-olds

Set up three pictures on the floor: ☺ ☹ and ☺. One by one, ask children to stand next to one of these depending on how they feel about the relevant aspect of their life. Ask them about:

- School
- Home
- Neighbourhood

When they have chosen, ask them why, what they like and what they do not like about this aspect of their lives.

Wellbeing Exercise

Think about a girl/boy (same gender as group) who is about your age who if you were asked 'Are they basically doing well?' you could say 'Yes, they're doing well.'

Ask them to draw a stick figure of that person. Then ask them:

> In what ways is this child doing well?

> (alternative wording: How do you know that they are doing well?
> What allows you to say that they are 'doing well'?)

Phrasing has to be carefully used to avoid obtaining causal reasons why the child might be doing well.

Tell them to write down four things.

When they have done this, ask them to feed back to the group (this allows the observer to note any differences in spoken and written vernacular)

Think about a girl/boy (same gender as group) who is about your age who if you were asked 'Are they basically doing well?' you could say 'No, they're not doing very well at all.'

Ask them to draw a stick figure of that person. Then ask them:

> In what ways is this child not doing well?

> (alternative wording: How do you know that they are not doing well?
> What allows you to say that they are 'not doing well'?)

When they have done this, ask them to feed back to the group (this allows the observer to note any differences in spoken and written vernacular)

Items needed: A4 paper, pens

Body Map

Select one child to lie on the map. Select two more children of the same sex who like drawing and ask them to draw around the first child. Ask children what makes them feel bad or sick and identify the body part of place in the body that feels bad by drawing a circle on the body. Children can add labels if they want/can. As it is drawn on, ask:

- What causes this feeling/condition?
- What are possible cures?
- Who could help you if you had this feeling/condition?

Encourage other children to discuss this condition/feeling, even if they were not the ones who suggested it. Write a summary of this information on the map.

Items needed: large piece of paper, pens

Worries and Concerns

This method needs to be carried out step by step and will depend on literacy. It is taken from MacMullin and Loughrey (2000) who carried it out in Gaza, Palestine. Only step one is given here, but this can be used to design a questionnaire – the children's worry scale.

Step 1 – This session

1. Explain that we want to know what young people their age worry about.

2. Explain the word 'worry'. Do not give examples but explain that to worry is to be very concerned about something. To think a lot about things that cause young people to be upset.

3. Give all of the children a blank piece of paper. Ask them to indicate if they are a boy or a girl at the top of the paper, and to record their age. Now ask them to write down the things about which they, or young people their age, worry. This should take the form of a list, with each different item on a new line.

4. Provide extra pieces of paper, if needed.

5. Collect the children's lists.

Map of the area – eight-nine-year-olds

Lay out a large sheet of paper for the whole group to gather around. Ask the group to draw their area including things they like and things they do not like. Allow them time to finish their drawings. Then ask each child in turn what it has drawn, what it likes about the area, and what it does not like. When each child has discussed their part of the drawing, ask the group what they are afraid of and what worries them.

3.3 Evaluation of Methods

Satisfaction with Life Scale

The sheets were colour-coded to allow the facilitator to talk children through each domain before moving onto the next one. However, most 12-year-old children could read the limited amount of writing and chose to spread out and do it on their own. Children were instructed to mark their satisfaction with life, and then their feelings of agency. The first of these instructions was more clearly understood by the children, although some variation in results was also obtained through the agency question.

To increase understanding in the future, different labels could be applied to the numbers on the scale, and a multiple-choice option given for the agency tick box (a variety of symbols were used which were sometimes unintelligible). The facilitator was able to offer targeted support to the minority who had literacy problems. Where literacy is lower or there is greater variation, the sheets could also be folded so that children that are more literate cannot rush ahead, or pictures used instead of words, and the written introduction removed so that it does not intimidate less literate children. New versions of the scale are shown in appendices 5 and 6.

There was some concern among the research team that children did not really understand the task, and that it was not producing very interesting data.[9] Consequently, in the rural site, we decided to try having a discussion about the different domains before handing out the scale, so that children had a context for answering the structured questions. A big piece of paper was set out to brainstorm their thoughts about the different domains on spider diagrams. However, the rural children really enjoyed drawing and wanted to draw on the sheet so each child was given a different domain to draw (Home, Friends, School, the Area, Family and Health). An example of the drawings produced is shown in figure 2.

Figure 2: Drawing used as prompt for discussion about satisfaction with life, Group 2, rural site

While children were drawing, the facilitators asked how they felt about these different areas and all children joined in the conversation, not just the one drawing that domain. This helped to clarify the topic to the children and started them thinking about their feelings about these areas.[10] Children were then asked to fill in the sheets and asked fewer questions about the task following a preliminary discussion. There was still a degree of confusion about the agency question and it may be necessary to have a discussion about what is meant by being 'able to change' an aspect of your life in the future before asking them to fill in this box.

The Satisfaction with Life activity came first with group 1 in the urban site but this probably prejudiced the wellbeing discussion. Consequently, with other groups this exercise was done after the wellbeing exercise, at the very end of the sessions in the rural site, and between the wellbeing exercise and the body map with groups 2 and 3 in the urban site.

Satisfaction with Life eight-nine-year-olds

It was anticipated that the eight-nine-year-olds would find it difficult to understand and use the scale so the method using face symbols was designed to generate information about their feelings about different aspects of their lives. This was conducted with the younger group in the urban site only. It was thought that to ask children to move as a group would be too manic so each child was asked individually to go to the place they wanted to and then asked why. This meant that we could get individual perspectives but also meant that the others got a little bored in the meantime so the exercise could not be repeated for more than three areas. One child did not want to do it but the observer was able to get the information from her when she was sitting down on the mat. There was some evidence that children went to join their friends, but most individuals still seemed to make their own decisions, with some choosing differently from the rest of the group.

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[9] Balarin and Pedraglio (2006)

[10] The only one of these that may have caused confusion was the health domain – they ended up drawing the health clinic, which may then have caused them to answer about their satisfaction with health services, rather than their personal health, although facilitators asked about health not health services during the discussion.

This method was not piloted with the younger group in the rural site due to time constraints. It is possible that another group of children, who were less confident or mature, would be unable to do this exercise individually. In this context, asking them to move altogether but allowing each individual to make their mind up may be better. If there is disagreement between children, this could generate discussion about the area in question.

Wellbeing Exercise

This exercise always started with children drawing a child (same gender and age) they know who is doing well and writing indicators ('how do you know this person is doing well) before discussing them as a group. We experimented with different ways of doing this activity. Sometimes, children only did one drawing but on other occasions (e.g. urban site group 1), they also drew a child who is not doing well. On one occasion (urban site group 3), children drew someone who is not doing well and the indicators, and wrote indicators of wellbeing on the reverse. The exact combination depended on how much children enjoyed drawing and how much time the drawings took. The original protocol anticipated that children would draw stick figures and concentrate on writing the indicators but stick figures are considered to demonstrate psychological problems in Peru, so children tended to spend more time producing detailed pictures.

The most interesting and diverse lists of indicators were gathered when children had time to think and reflect individually before the group discussion. In some groups, for example the urban site's group 1, the children did their drawings very much independently and were spread around the room, whereas others did the exercise more collaboratively, producing their own drawings but discussing the indicators together, (e.g. the girls in urban site group 3). Although doing the task individually worked best in terms of producing independent lists similar to those elicited by the individual interview devised by Jon Hubbard and others (Hubbard, personal communication, March 2006), this also meant that there was a large variation in the amount of time that children took over the exercise so filler activities (mini interviews with the microphone) were required.

The facilitators had some difficulty finding the correct translation of 'doing well' and the wording used greatly affects the data yielded: 'feeling well/bad' elicited health-related factors; other wording yielded a range of different factors.[11] It was also necessary to split up the instructions and repeat them to individuals and small groups, so that children drew the person and then wrote the indicators.

The discussion of the indicators was usually quite limited. While its aim was to collect the vernacular forms (see Armstrong et al. 2004), we had also hoped that it would generate some interesting discussion. However, the discussion in all groups was fairly brief, despite various attempts by the facilitators to encourage it. In this instance, useful information was gathered through the drawings, writing and feedback. In a setting where children are not so used to drawing or writing, it would be necessary to consider ways in which a more open discussion about wellbeing could be conducted.

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[11] We got back in touch with Jon Hubbard to see whether the exercise had been used in Peru. His colleagues at CAPS (centre for torture treatment) in Lima are piloting the same exercise with adults and it would be worth finding out what wording they use.

Body Map

This exercise was conducted in much the same way in all sites, following the outline given in the protocol, and usually following a break after the wellbeing exercise.[12] In all sessions, children enjoyed the activity and volunteered interesting information about pains, illnesses and other emotional and social problems. Some examples of body maps are shown in figure 3.

Figure 3: Body maps from rural site group 1 (1),
rural site group 2 (2) and urban site group 1 (3)

All groups found this exercise enjoyable. There were always many volunteers to do the drawing or be drawn around, and children enjoyed sticking the post-its on the map. As in other sessions, post-it notes were considered quite extravagant and it may be wiser in future to use index cards and blue tac or even to write or draw straight onto the map.

Different groups produced different kinds of information, with some similarities shared by all groups. Various prompts were developed for covering information that was not forthcoming. When a good number of items had been collected, the facilitator asked about the causes and cures for a selection of the items. This usually worked well, except where the information on the post-it note already related to the cause (e.g. people saying bad things about me), in which case it would have been appropriate instead to ask more details about the resulting feelings.

Less literate children participated less well in this exercise. For example, the boy in the urban site's group 1 who does not go to school was quite distracted during this exercise and the younger groups could not concentrate for as long as the older groups. For this reason, it was suggested that only key words be written on the post-it notes, instead of longer explanations. With completely non-literate children, it may be necessary simply to mark on the body where the pain occurs and for the facilitator to discuss each pain in turn (causes, cures) rather than revisiting the item later.

The urban site's mixed sex groups did this activity separately, with one facilitator per group. Occasionally, this led to some copying and competition between groups, and the boys usually finished before the girls. With the older mixed group, the facilitator felt this was because of a lack of trust between the boys and herself. In the rural site, there were fewer children in the mixed group so they all did it together. In this instance, it was mostly the boys who joined in the discussion. As stated elsewhere, all of the activities worked better in single sex groups and this should be the aim in the future.

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[12] On one occasion (rural site group 2), we went straight from the wellbeing exercise into this one without a break as the girls had done the activities quite quickly. However, they were significantly less attentive to the discussion and more distracted.

Worries and Concerns

This exercise was conducted as outlined in the protocol with the urban site's group 1 and with the boys in group 3. With the first group, the facilitator told them to think of a boy or boys their age and write down what they worry about, and the participants felt this was a repetition of the wellbeing exercise. The answers were also similar to the wellbeing exercise and indicated that they were thinking about a specific boy so it was important in future to make sure we asked what 'boys (or girls) like you' worry about. We discovered during this session that one participant in each group had serious literacy problems and, for their benefit, it would have been better to do this as a discussion rather than a written activity. Further, this session included many individual activities.

When given the choice, group 2 in the rural site (the girls) chose to have a discussion rather than write their concerns down. The facilitator changed the wording as recommended after the session with group 1 and the girls discussed many issues that they worry about, from exams to sexual harassment. Being 12-year-old girls, they focussed on some fairly sensational aspects of life, but these obviously reflect genuine worries they have. During this discussion, a number of girls lay on the map and the tone was very much a 'girlie chat', although two participants dominated it. The facilitator felt that this could have been quite depressing for the girls because some of the issues were quite serious, so she ended by asking what could be done about these issues and telling them, they had many good ideas.

On reflection at the end of the fieldwork in the urban site, we realised that there was some repetition between this exercise and the social network sorting activity, which includes a section about problems and difficulties. For this reason, and in an attempt to make the overall research process less focussed on negative aspects, this activity was excluded in the rural site and the issues were discussed in more detail during the social world session.

Worries and Concerns: Map of the area eight-nine-year-olds

With both the younger groups, in the rural and urban sites, children drew a map of where they live and highlighted the places they like and do not like to visit. The children in the urban site split up the paper so that each had their own section. This was very interesting because they were reluctant to do their own drawing in the first session but later preferred to do this rather than a collaborative drawing: splitting up the paper provides a good mix of structured, private space, and a team effort.

In the rural site, the boys and girls did separate maps and did them more collaboratively within these single sex groups. The drawings from the rural site are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: The girls' (1) and boys' (2) maps, Group 3, rural site

While the drawings did not show very clear maps of the area, the facilitator was still able to ask the children about what they have drawn and where they like and dislike going. This provided a good introduction to talking about the area and the concerns they have about it. After this, she moved on to ask 'Where do you worry about going?' and 'What do you worry about?'. Finally, she asked them who was responsible for solving these problems. With the rural site's younger group, she also asked about whom they tell their secrets to and who helps them if they have problems, since this was the final session with this group and the last opportunity to discuss social support. This followed well from the previous discussion about problems.

3.4   Recording the Data

For the wellbeing exercise, a form like the one below was used, although the words were in Spanish:

Name	Wellbeing Indicators	Ill-being Indicators	Comments
	1. 2. 3. 4.		
	1. 2. 3. 4.		
Etc.			

However, only in a few instances, where children had worked independently and conceptualised their own sets of indicators, was it possible to capture the child's name and their distinctive indicators. More often, a long list of indicators was collected. No further information, such as comments made by the children or short stories, was captured by the fieldworker in the 'comments' column. In addition, there were no big differences between what the fieldworker recorded as spoken vernacular and what the children wrote on their pictures. Therefore, if the written exercise was used, it might be beneficial to ask the fieldworker to note down other things that the children say, and take the indicators from the drawings.

For the Body Map exercise, the observer was able to capture most of the information in the following table (in Spanish), which was quite easy to fill in and did not duplicate much information.

Symptom/Illness	Body Part	CausesCures/Help
Etc.		

The Satisfaction with Life discussion, during the drawing, was noted on a blank sheet of paper with instructions to the fieldworker written in Spanish. Although a lot of information was preserved, and the audio recording could be listened to for more information, it would be useful if the fieldworker and facilitators had time to write up a fuller version of the discussion directly after the session, using the notes as an aid to memory.

3.5 Summary Data

The Wellbeing Exercise:

This exercise yielded indicators: short sentences or phrases that indicate well- or ill-being. This concurs with the data yielded by the exercise when done with individual adults by Jon Hubbard's group. A child who is 'doing well' is likely to:

- Be conscientious and successful in his/her studies;
- Be good, affectionate, punctual, respectful, polite and obedient;
- Be sociable, have a lot of friends and avoid anti-social behaviour, including gangs and fighting;
- Have his/her family around him/her and be loved and understood by them;
- Be well-off economically (rural site boys only);
- Be healthy.

Although there is lots of ongoing work using this wellbeing exercise, there are few published results, especially for children. However, these results compare well with those in Armstrong et al. (2004). When these researchers did this exercise with adolescents in Sri Lanka, their results followed the following themes: 'socially valued behaviours (studying well, helping with housework, etc.), good interpersonal qualities (moving well with others, being loving, etc.), cognitive competencies (getting good grades, doing well at school etc,) and health, hygiene and fitness (keeping clean, washing often, playing games etc)'.

Satisfaction with Life:

- These results show that most children were generally happy with most areas of their lives and average score was lowest for the domain of neighbourhood;
- A high proportion of all groups (80% or above) answered yes to the agency question for all domains except the neighbourhood domain. Since this is a domain that is harder for an individual to change and yet exerts an influence on perceived wellbeing (UNICEF 1999, World Bank, 2000), this suggests that children had understood the instruction;
- The boys in the rural locale were generally more satisfied with all aspects of their life than other groups and also demonstrated the highest levels of perceived agency.
- Eight-nine-year-olds in the urban site were mostly ☺ (happy) at school, although two girls were 😐 (neither happy nor sad) because they do not like the boys shouting. The boys were all ☺ (happy) at home but the girls were mostly ☹ (sad) because their brothers tease and beat them or because their younger brothers get more attention. Most children were ☺ (happy) in the neighbourhood, although one boy did not like being kicked while playing football.

Worries and Concerns:

Since this was not conducted in all groups and yielded information that is very similar to the problems discussed in the social worlds section, these results are reported in 5.5 below.

Body Map:

Most groups started with illnesses and pains, and progressed to talking about emotional and social problems. Many answers were directly related to poverty:

- A lack of housing, money and food were all identified as potential problems. Specific points included: having no socks or shoes was thought to lead to sore feet and having no money can mean that the doctor can't be paid;

- A poor diet was though to lead to stomach problems, malnutrition, anaemia and TB while dirty water or air were also thought to make you feel unwell;

- A lack of social support can make you feel sad in your heart and give you headaches;

- Discrimination on the basis of poverty can make your heart and stomach hurt;

- Difficulties with studies can give you a headache and may result from being too poor to go to school, having an inadequate diet, or not having the support of your family.

Discussions about help and cures corroborated and was analysed with the data collected in the social worlds session and is reported below (5.5).

3.6 Suggestions for the Future

Methods to keep and improve:

- The wellbeing exercise using drawings, writing, and feeding back. Young Lives is following up with Jon Hubbard concerning the validated wording for his wellbeing exercise in each language being used. If validated wording does not yet exist, Young Lives will need to discuss specific wording.

- The satisfaction with life scale, starting with a discussion of the different domains, using drawings, to contextualise the collection of quantitative data.

- The body map, using the following questions:

- What pains or illnesses do you have sometimes?

- What pains or illnesses do people around here suffer from?

- What other parts of your body hurt sometimes?

- What situations cause hurts?

- How does this make you feel?

- What causes this?

- Who can help?

- Is there a cure? What is it?

Methods to exclude:

■ Worries and Concerns discussion.

Methods to add:

■ Dawes (personal communication, May 2006) suggested using local folk stories to discuss ideas about what constitutes a 'good' and a 'bad' life. This would be interesting but would require some preliminary research in each context.

Adaptations for non-literate children:

■ It will not be possible to ask these children to write down indicators of wellbeing. Instead, ask them to think of a person, draw them (if confident) and discuss the indicators.

■ For the body map, ask children to circle the part of the body that is being talked about and discuss the pain or disease without writing anything down. In addition, it will be easier to discuss the causes and cures for this pain immediately after it is mentioned, rather than returning to it later, which would be confusing if it is not written down.

■ The Satisfaction with Life scale has been designed to be usable with non-literate children but it needs to be administered differently: the facilitator needs to guide the group through the sheet using the colours to indicate which box is which. Further, if the group is of mixed literacy, it is advisable to fold the sheet so that children that are more literate do not rush ahead.

Less structured extensions:

■ Following the reading and discussion of folk stories, ask children to improvise and/or write their own modern day folk stories.

■ Armstrong et al. (2004) took a further step after the wellbeing exercise. They organised small focus groups to discuss what children with certain characteristics (e.g. 'kindness') might do. This would be an interesting further step to elaborate the indicators gathered through the wellbeing exercise.

Methods for eight-nine-year-old children:

■ The body map works well with this age group;

■ The wellbeing and SWL scales are too difficult so, instead, draw a map of the area on a large sheet and use this to discuss liked and disliked places and places that children worry about. Also, use this as prompt for discussing other worries.

■ Use 'faces' to discuss how they feel about the different SWL domains.

4. Group Session 3: Poverty

4.1   Hypotheses

This session investigated children's definitions of wealth and poverty and their understanding of the causes and consequences of poverty. The broad hypotheses and specific suggestions were as follows:

Broad Hypotheses:

- **■ Social definitions of poverty may not concur with economic definitions.**
  Poverty is
  a 'a multifaceted, dynamic and contextualised form of adversity in which material lack interacts with and is mediated and compounded by social exclusion, inequity and powerlessness, with multiple effects' (Boyden et al, 2003:20).

The specific role of the sub-studies in testing these hypotheses is to answer the following questions:

- **■ How do children define poverty?** For example, is poverty understood to be material lack or are other, social, non-economic indicators included?

- **■ What do they understand to be the causes and impacts of poverty?** What do children see as the impact of poverty on children's current lives and future opportunities?

- **■ What do children see as potential routes out of poverty?** For example, who has the power to make the necessary changes for children to escape from poverty?

4.2   Methods and Contexts

This activity, which took as its inspiration various World Bank participatory studies with adults (for example, World Bank 1999), was conducted with each of the groups of 12-year-olds, as well as with the eight-nine-year-old group in the urban site. Like the time use session, this is a more coherent session than the wellbeing activities. This session often took less than the allocated time and the remainder was usually filled with a video production of some description (see section 6 below).

Facilitator's Guidelines for Session 3: Poverty

Main Activity

Drawing the tree

As children arrive at the session, ask them to draw a large tree as a group on a large (A2) piece of paper. When everyone else has arrived, 'gather' children.

Wealth Indicators

Tell the children to:

Think of a family with a boy/girl (same gender) your age you know very well who is rich/well-off.[13]

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[13] If children cannot think of one, ask them to imagine one.

When they have all thought of a family ask them:

What is it about this family that lets you know they are rich/well-off?

Gather ideas on index cards. Ask questions about which of these things are most important/how many of the 'imagined families' have these characteristics etc.

The Poverty Tree

Then say:

Think of a family with a boy/girl (same gender) your age you know very well who is poor/struggling.

Remove the 'rich' cards. When they have all thought of a poor family ask them:

What is it about this family that lets you know they are poor/struggling?

Gather ideas on post-it notes. Write single summary words or pictures (e.g. 'holes in their clothes') not every single thing mentioned so that the tree becomes a reminder, not a distraction from the discussion.

What do you think makes families like this one poor?

Explain that you want to know what makes families like this one poor, how people become poor etc:

Gather these ideas on post-it notes of one colour and arrange them to the left of the poverty cards.

What are the results of poverty for families like this one?

Write these suggestions on post-it notes of a second colour. Also ask children

What are the results of poverty for children your age in families like these?

And write these on cards of a third colour.

Ask children to draw links between the causes and impacts. Draw arrows if feasible (if on a large piece of paper).

Solutions

Then explain that you want to know how people can stop being poor/become richer. Ask them:

What could children's parents do to stop being poor?

What could children your age do to stop being poor?

What could the government do to help children your age stop being poor?

Items needed: large piece of paper, index cards (4 colours), blue tack.

4.3 Evaluation of Method

The research team felt that discussing poverty in the explicit way suggested in this method was far too sensitive, especially given the difference in class and wealth status between the facilitators and the participants, as well as the obvious poverty of the participants. For example, eliciting that poor children have holes in their clothes, when several participants have holes in their clothes, or that rich people own mobiles, when the participants have seen the facilitators use their mobiles, serves to widen the gap between participants and facilitator and make the participants uncomfortable. This was especially true for the girls groups who were considered more likely to compare themselves with the female facilitators. For this reason, it was suggested that, if this method were to be used in the future, a slightly older child from the same poverty group and same area could be trained to facilitate the research. While this would not overcome all the problems and would need to be done very sensitively, it might be worth trying. Further, other researchers (e.g. Feeny and Boyden 2003) have explicitly discussed poverty without any reported problems and it would be valuable to consult those who have done such fieldwork for their perspectives. For now, however, the method as it was carried out will be evaluated in more detail in case it can be modified for future use.

Drawing the tree

In the urban study site, where children arrived at different times, we asked those who arrived first to start drawing the large tree and this proved a good way to start the session. However, it sometimes took children a long time to finish it and those who were less involved got bored. An example of a tree is shown in figure 5.

Figure 5: A blank poverty tree, group 2, rural site

Wealth Indicators

Indicators of wealth were considered less sensitive and threatening than poverty indicators so introduced the main part of the session. Even though most groups had just drawn the tree and this required that we leave the tree for a few minutes, this did not seem to matter to the participants.

It was important to ask children to think of the richest/wealthiest boy/girl their age who they know well in order to capture indicators of relative wealth. In the first session when this was not emphasised, the boys mentioned mostly commodities, some of which were fairly far-fetched items (e.g. helicopters). While this demonstrates that economic factors are included

in children's concepts of wealth, it was also clear that the social and other indicators that relate more to relative wealth were not being captured. In future sessions, it was emphasised that they needed to know the child they were thinking of and talk about them, without using their name. The facilitator gave them time to think about that person and checked that they all had someone in mind before beginning the discussion. When it was clear that children were thinking of someone they knew, the results concurred much more with previous work with children about the non-economic indicators of relative wealth and poverty (e.g. Ridge 2003, Feeny and Boyden 2003).

The Poverty Tree

The position of the tree during the discussion and the nature of information written on the post-it notes were two factors that were important for the success of the method. With the first group, the poverty tree was stuck on the wall but this meant the facilitator had to sit on a bench, changing the dynamic to be more school-like. It worked best to have it on the floor. As children mentioned indicators of poverty, which started out as the antonyms to the wealth indicators but developed further, the facilitator wrote them on post-it notes and stuck them on the trunk. In the first session, the facilitator wrote in quite a lot of detail but she felt this impaired her ability to facilitate the discussion, and also seemed to isolate the child with lower literacy levels. In future sessions, she was able to write less on the post-it notes. With younger children, the facilitator tried to draw pictures instead of writing words but it was hard to draw quickly enough. Another option may be to only write one post-it note for each broad idea, instead of each specific suggestion, and add a picture, allowing the observer to write down all the other suggestions, although it would be important to emphasise to children that they had been heard.

Both age groups easily understood the concept of root causes and fruit/consequences from the tree analogy, often volunteering this idea before the facilitator introduced it. With the older groups, it was possible to collect the consequences for the child and the family separately, using different coloured post-it notes. The younger group did the exercise much more quickly than the older group, being much less analytical. Pictures of some completed trees can be seen in figure 6.

Figure 6: Completed Poverty Trees, urban site Group 1 and rural site Group 1

Solutions

This part of the session took the form of a group discussion. On some occasions, the facilitator used post-it notes or index cards to record this information, although there was no obvious need to and this made a lot of the fieldworker's notes redundant. This discussion often led into political conversations because the elections coincided with our research visit.

4.4 Recording the Data

Wealth and poverty indicators and the discussion about solutions were recorded on blank sheets with headings, while the information from the tree was recorded by the observer in a table as follows (in Spanish):

Causes of poverty	Impacts for the family	Impacts for the child
Etc.		

If, as suggested, the facilitator were to write less on the tree, this observation method would be very useful. However, if lots of information is preserved on the tree, this observation form becomes redundant, as it does not yield much additional information. In this case, it would be necessary to train the observer in the kind of additional information required, for example if speaker identities were required to be matched with transcripts.

4.5 Summary Data

How do children define poverty?

Rich children are satisfied, happy and get pocket money when they want it but children who are poor may have:

- A lack of material things, especially in the house including sanitation and technology;

- Old, holed or dirty clothes and poor personal hygiene and presentation;

- Poor health and nourishment;

- Problems with education, including not going to school, not having the right uniform or supplies, not studying well;

- Problems at home, including alcoholism, domestic violence or lacking parents (through abandonment or death).

The children felt all these aspects of poverty could lead to social exclusion and discrimination and poor children may also be involved in gangs, drugs and theft.

What do children understand to be the causes of poverty?

Main themes expressed by children were:

- There are no jobs and the government does not work hard enough to change this situation of poor people;

- Intergenerational transmission of poverty, as a lack of education, lack of jobs and alcoholism are passed on from parents to children;

- Parents have died;

- Parents got pregnant at a very young age.

What do children understand are the consequences of poverty?

- For the family, these mirrored the indicators of poverty;

- Poor children may have to work;

- On a more positive note, the children in the rural site suggested that the children of poor parents would work hard and find jobs, become professionals or marry well and so get out of poverty.

What do children see as potential routes out of poverty?

Main themes expressed by children were:

- The government is responsible for solving the problems associated with poverty by providing more jobs, literacy and skills programmes for the parents of poor families, improving infrastructure, and ending military conscription.

- The family were considered next most responsible and it was thought that they should take better care of their children, go to work and stop arguing.

- Children themselves could find jobs to earn money behave better and get a good education.

- Some solutions depended on the local community, who should support one another, advise and respect poor children, and share what they have with the poor.

- The children in the rural site put relatively more emphasis on the role that children themselves could take than the children in the peri-urban site, who emphasised the responsibility of the parents, government and families.

4.6   Suggestions for the Future

Methods to keep and improve:

- Discussion of wealth and poverty indicators and poverty tree, as long as facilitators and children feel comfortable with discussing indicators of poverty. It would help to use facilitators who are from the same community as the children or are from a more similar socio-economic background than in the current case.

- Discussion of solutions to poverty.

Methods to exclude:

■ Discussion of wealth and poverty and poverty tree, if facilitators are of a very different social group and do not feel comfortable talking about poverty so explicitly.

Methods to add:

■ If it was considered too sensitive to define poverty outright, the issue could be approached from a more explicitly capabilities/social exclusion approach. For example, a focus group discussion similar to that suggested by the Wellbeing in Developing Countries group (WeD Ethiopia, n.d.) could be conducted. This focuses on recreational activities before exploring what is needed for these activities, what poor children lack and how they get it. This could be modelled into some kind of mapping exercise. The disadvantage of this method, or any method that does not elicit children's own definitions of poverty, is that there is no exploration of what is understood to be poverty and the researcher's own assumptions and definitions are used without necessarily being shared by the children or challenged.

Adaptations for non-literate children:

■ No writing on the poverty tree, some pictures to summarise what children are saying but referring to tree as analogy only.

Less structured extensions:

■ WeD Social Exclusion Discussion could be used in addition to the Poverty Tree if the latter is being used.

Methods for eight-nine-year-old children:

■ Not necessary as the poverty tree was understood by younger group.

5. Group Session 4: Social Worlds

5.1 Hypotheses

This session aimed to understand children's social worlds, with a view to appreciating their social resources, who they turn to when they have a problem, and who might be able to help them in their futures. It was also hoped that this session would reveal something about the processes of stigma, discrimination and social exclusion operating within each context. The broad hypotheses and specific questions were as follows:

Broad Hypotheses:

■ **The quality of a person's social capital moderates the impacts of poverty.**
A major finding in research with adults and children living in poverty in contexts all over the world is that the experience of poverty is mediated through and moderated by people's social worlds (Narayan et al. 2000, Feeny & Boyden 2003, Ridge 2003). The effects of material poverty can be lessened by participation in formal and informal social institutions and networks, but poverty can also lead to structural and enduring social losses and exclusion. Thus, those who are excluded or discriminated against do not experience the benefits of social networks.

The specific role of the sub-studies in testing these hypotheses is to answer the following questions:

■ **What is the nature of children's social capital?** Cross-group analyses will help to demonstrate differences between groups on the nature and extent of social networks (peer relationships, participation in formal and informal groups).

■ **Who do children turn to for help and advice?** Discovering which social resources children use in specific circumstances will help to form hypotheses about the ways in which poor children are disadvantaged if they don't have access to these resources.

■ **In what situations do children experience stigma and discrimination?** This will allow later methods to draw on these instances in more detail, for example through vignettes and scenarios, which will demonstrate how children experience stigma and discrimination and which children report it.

5.2 Methods and Contexts

This session was the final session with each of the 12-year-old groups. This meant that, at the end of the session, we said goodbye, gave out gifts and had a photo taken. It also meant that children were often quite distracted during the session. Many of the boys seemed to become more indifferent, while the girls were more 'clingy' and wanted to talk

about the fact we were leaving. With the younger group in the urban site, a simplified version of 'Who Matters?' was conducted with the aid of drawings during the second half of their third session, after the poverty exercise. In the rural site the only discussion of social worlds was a couple of questions at the end of session 2 (see 4.3 above).

Facilitator's Guidelines for Session 4: Social Worlds

Main Activity: Social Network Sorting Activity

Who is important to you?

Ask children who is important to them. Then ask them who else they see in their lives. The aim of this is to get all the people in their lives, not just the important ones but this is a good place to start.

Write down all the categories on index cards (e.g. brother, teacher etc). When lots gathered, stick them on a long piece of paper, with relationships inside the home and outside the home at different ends (or in the middle if people are met both inside and outside the home).

> Who else matters in your life? Who else helps you out with things? Who else do you meet in your life?

Ask children if any categories have been missed and prompt with some categories of your own (police, teachers etc as relevant), including institutional supports, though try to identify which people not just the names of the institutions. Encourage conversation about at least some of the categories in depth:

- What is this group of people important for?
- What do they do for children?
- Who else does this?
- What makes this group distinct from others?

> What are the biggest challenges children like you face?

Then ask children to talk about the biggest problems and challenges that children in their community (define) face. Write them down on index cards of a different colour (with symbols). Avoid too much repetition, or group similar problems together

> Which are the three biggest problems?

Ask participants to think which they think are the three biggest problems. Ask them to close their eyes and raise their hand when that problem is mentioned. Observers note how many kids respond to each answer.

Choose the top 7 problems and line them up the other side of the paper (vertical edge).

> Who helps you with different problems?

Ask each child to choose a coloured pen and tick its name on the sheet using this coloured pen. Then tell them to put a tick by the type of person on the large sheet who would help them out in these different problems. They can tick more than one person if they want.

This activity can be done with many children at once, or one at a time, depending on how quickly children add their ticks.

Using the matrix produced above as a starting point, discuss how children would solve these problems and who else might help them that is not represented. Also, move on to discussing who they do not like/trust or are afraid of but do not push this point if children are not forthcoming.

Checklist:

■ Who else gives you advice when there is something you need to know?

■ Who else helps you when you are in trouble?

■ If you have had an argument, who would help you sort it out?

■ Who do you tell your secrets to?

■ Who don't you like?

■ Who are you afraid of?

Items needed: Index cards of two colours, blue tack, list of children's names, ten coloured pens, and large sheet of paper.

Stigma and Discrimination: Discussion

The aim of this discussion is to identify situations in which children feel discriminated against on the basis of their poverty, class, ethnic group, spoken language etc. so that we can later develop vignettes to elicit children's reactions.

Some of the discussion could pick up on the previous session's definitions of poverty and poverty indicators. Otherwise use the following questions:

■ Which groups of children are treated badly in your school? Why?

■ How are they treated badly? In which situations are they treated badly?

■ Which groups of children are treated badly here in [locality]? Why?

■ How are they treated badly? In which situations are they treated badly?

After this discussion has been performed with a few groups, if it is feasible, we could get drawings made by a local artist that represent these situations and do the method described by Dawes et al. (2004).

If time: Secret Box

Introduce the secret box as a box that only the research team will look in. Demonstrate that it is sealed. Ask children to write down a problem they have now or have faced in the past that they would never tell anyone about. Post it in the box on the way out of the door.

Items needed: Sealed shoe box (or similar) with slit in top, small pieces of paper and pens.

Who matters? eight-nine-year-olds

Explain to children that we are going to do something different now. Give out either A4 paper or a large sheet of paper. Ask children to draw the different people:

Who is important to you?

When children have done the drawings, ask them to explain all the different people and why they are important. If they have done individual drawings, either go round individually or allow them to choose whether to hold up their drawing. Ask questions about the person in the picture.

Move onto a more general discussion:

Who else matters in your life? Who else helps you out with things? Who else do you meet in your life?

Ask children if any categories have been missed and prompt with some categories of your own (police, teachers etc as relevant), including institutional supports, though try to identify which people not just the names of the institutions. Encourage conversation about at least some of the categories in depth:

- What is this group of people important for?
- What do they do for children?
- Who else does this?
- What makes this group distinct from others?

Items needed: Index cards, blue tack

5.3 Evaluation of Methods

Asking children who was important usually resulted in discussion of family, friends, neighbours and God. Institutional supports were secondary to these circles, if mentioned at all. In the rural site, we preceded this exercise with drawing 'who is most important to you'. We anticipated that they would prefer to draw all together on one sheet of paper, but they chose to use individual A4 sheets instead, presumably because this is such a private issue. They enjoyed drawing and it served the purpose of warming up, although it was also sometimes difficult to encourage the children to move from their drawings to the discussion. Children were not forced to show their drawings but it was also important to give them the option of showing what they had done.

Some questions, such as 'who is most important?' seemed to close down the discussion, whereas asking 'why' and 'what are they important for?' yielded better information.

Many of the problems elicited in the urban site were relational, while the children also focussed on negative social capital (knowing people in gangs etc). This could have been because children had been primed to think about relational difficulties by the first part of the exercise. However, since the discussions in the rural site surrounded other problems, it is likely that the urban responses accurately reflected the nature of their biggest problems. The boys in the rural locale did not seem to have many problems. Asking what challenges they face first elicited more information. This was a good place to start because it has less negative connotations. Other questions included: 'What are the things that you/kids like you worry about?' and 'What are the difficult things?'

To make the matrix more manageable, we asked children to rank the problems, by each individually choosing the three that they felt were most important. We reviewed the list then asked them to turn around, with their backs to the circle, and raise their hands when the facilitator mentioned one of their top three. While this step made the exercise more fun and intriguing, there was a lot of 'peeking' and some children raised their hands in response to more than three while others did not respond at all. To overcome this problem, we planned to give out three counters, with which they could vote for the most important problems, by putting them in a soft bag. However, in the rural sites, not so many problems were mentioned so this step was eliminated.

The Matrix

A matrix was produced that looked something like the one in figure 7:

Figure 7: Example matrix from Social Network Sorting Activity

People

Problems	Parents	God	Teachers	Aunts/Uncles	Psychologist
Health					
Parents Fighting					
Homework					
Street Crime					
Gangs					

The size of the matrix varied greatly between groups. In instances where many groups had been elicited, some were combined (e.g. aunts/uncles and cousins) during the break to make the task more manageable. In one instance (boys in the rural site), not many people had been elicited, so the vignettes method was used here (see below). In the first group, collective results were gathered but in all subsequent sessions, we gave each child a pen and asked them to make a mark in the box that corresponded to the person who would help them in each situation. This required a high degree of literacy and would not have been possible with a less literate or mixed group, unless the facilitator read out each

problem and person and participants made their choices at the same time. This should be possible but would take a lot more time. Additionally, symbols could be used on some of the cards to indicate which person or problems are referred to. It would sometimes have been beneficial to discuss the matrix in more depth, especially where unusual answers were given.

Vignettes

These were designed half way through the pilot since they required some information about the issues that matter to children. These were helpful for eliciting more information about the resources that children perceive as useful, and demonstrating their feelings of agency. This technique worked especially well with the rural boys who had not mentioned many people during the 'who matters?' task. The following vignettes were developed and used flexibly, as appropriate:

Vignettes

(The idea behind these scenarios and questions is to explore children's social resources in more depth, understanding how they might utilise social resources in different situations. The questions are included as suggestions only and can be expanded on as the conversation develops.)

Explain that you now want them to imagine some children in different situations and say who might help each child

- Santiago/Maria (choose name depending on gender) is 12 years old: His/her dad died when he/she was 5 years old. He/she has three younger siblings and is the eldest child. His /her mum has cancer, is very sick, and cannot work. Santiago/Maria needs money for treatment. Who could he/she ask to lend him/her money? Who else? What else could he/she do? What job could he/she do? How might she/he go about getting a job? Who might help him/her?

OR 'Imagine your parents were both very sick, who could you ask to lend you money for treatment? What else could you do? Would you get a job? How might you go about getting a job? Who might help you get a job?'

- Antonio/Antonia is 12 years old. They are being bullied at school. What should they do? Who can help them? Who should they talk to?

OR 'Imagine you were being bullied at school. What would you do? Who could help you? Who would you trust to sort out the situation?

- Juan/Sonya is leaving school. They want to learn a profession so they can get a good job. What should they do? Who can help them?

OR 'What do you want to do when you leave school? Do you know anyone who is doing this already? What skills would someone look for when interviewing for this job? Who would help you get these skills? Would they help you get a job? How?'

■ Gabriel/Gabriella is 16 years old. She/he did not have a very good relationship with his/her parents and was lonely. Therefore, she/he has started taking drugs and has joined a gang. But he/she decides he/she does not want to go down a 'bad road'. What could he/she do? Who could he/she talk to? Is there anyone else who might be able to help them?

OR 'Imagine that you had become addicted to drugs and joined a gang but you don't want to go down 'a bad road'. What could you do? Who could you talk to? Is there anybody else who might be able to help you?'

Items needed: Pictures of children

Although we could not find suitable pictures of children, this would further improve the method, as it would encourage children to think about a concrete person in a concrete situation. The facilitators also improvised vignettes in line with the problems children raised. For example, in the rural site, the girls talked a lot about teenage pregnancy and the facilitator asked them to imagine they were pregnant and discuss who they would turn to and what they would do.

Stigma and Discrimination

The questions suggested for this discussion did not get at the information necessary to prepare vignettes or picture scenarios as prompts for discussion. What was yielded tended to be the names of groups of children (disabled, fat etc) who are discriminated against but nothing more detailed about the specific situations in which this discrimination is felt. However, other aspects of the study elicited scenarios that could be used to develop vignettes. Alternatively, the proposed amendment to the poverty discussion (see section 4 above) comes from the perspective of social exclusion and should elicit more information on this topic.

Secret Box

In the first group, the facilitator gave the children the option of drawing their responses. Unfortunately, this meant the information could not be used as children were not asked for their interpretation of their drawings. For following groups, children were told to write down something they had wanted to share with us but had not wanted to say in front of the group. This activity was presented as optional but only one group (boys, rural site) chose not to do it at all, probably because the session had been formally ended. All the girls in the study chose to write down something, usually something which was helpful in terms of the research. This was especially the case in the rural site, where children had tended to be less forthcoming about their problems and less open about their lives in general. Unlike in Sam Punch's (2002) study, where children were apparently very concerned that the researcher would work out who they were, these children did not seemed worried about this and many even signed their names.

There are two difficult ethical dilemmas with this method. Firstly, if information had revealed that a particular child was in danger, it would have been difficult to know what to do. Beyond the normal dilemma, this situation would have been complicated further by the fact that the children had been told it was secret. Given the secret nature of this method, such

a situation would be more likely to arise during this instance. For this reason, it would be advisable in future to advise children that if they reveal that they are in danger, it might be necessary to follow it up. Secondly, since children are told it is secret, there is a dilemma about can ethically be done with the information, in terms of analysing and reporting the results.

5.4   Recording the Data

A lot of the information for this session was collected on the matrix. The fieldworker was asked to note things that did not appear in the matrix, including reasons children give for mentioning people as important and specific situations they mentioned in relation to problems. However, not much additional information was captured, except in the stigma and discrimination discussion, for which no information was collected in any written form by the facilitators. Further training would be necessary in order to capture children's comments while completing the matrix.

5.5   Summary Data

What is the nature of children's social capital?

■ The majority of children had plenty of people to turn to for help and advice (see below);

■ Three of the nine children interviewed said that they did not have anyone to turn to when they had a problem and one girl in the urban site complained of a lack of people to turn to during the group session.

■ Children in the urban site elaborated on the potentially negative consequences of having friends in gangs or who smoke, who may pressure them to do the same and draw them into their fights.

Who do children say they turn to for help and advice?

■ The nuclear family, friends and extended family, for solving day-to-day issues and for help getting work in the future;

■ Teachers for help with studies and family problems;

■ Psychologists, in the cases of rape, family problems or drug abuse;

■ Doctors, nurses and dentists when suffering from physical pains or illnesses;

■ Other institutions (in the rural site only), including DEMUNA[14], legal support, police and the mayor, especially if they were maltreated by their families;

■ Neighbours, when children's parents are away, when there is a burglary or a fire;

■ Themselves (boys' groups only), when they need to raise money (by working) or when dealing with discrimination.

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[14] Offices of the Ombudsman for Children and Adolescents, government child protection agency.

5.6   Suggestions for the Future

Methods to keep and improve:

- The social network sorting activity is a good introduction to the idea of social resources and a good beginning activity for considering social capital. However, in order to make the matrix more useful, it would be necessary to discuss the answers that children have put down and ask for specific answers. This would also help to validate the exercise by investigating whether children had thought about their answers.

- The vignettes are a useful method for delving further into the issue of social resources, discovering which are utilised in which situations. This method could be developed and expanded to cover more situations. Further, when children have answered the hypothetical vignette question, the answers could be reflected back to them in the form 'Is that what you would do?' 'Have you ever done that?' to elicit personal examples and stories.

- The Secret Box, as long as children realise the limits of confidentiality.

Methods to exclude:

- Discussion of Stigma and Discrimination;

- Drawing people that matter unless plenty of time is available.

Methods to add:

- Dawes (personal communication, May 2006) suggested that children could be encouraged to think about their futures and what they want to be doing and could be asked who might help them get there. This could be combined with the 'usefulness for the future' activity described in section 2.6 above.

Adaptations for non-literate children:

- Discuss matrix without asking children to do their own ticks and read out the labels;

- Draw pictures to explain the labels for problems (though it would be harder to represent the different people pictorially);

- The secret box would not be appropriate.

Less structured extensions:

- Since social exclusion was not discussed particularly explicitly using the 'stigma and discrimination' discussion questions, the social exclusion questions from the Wellbeing in Developing Countries studies (WeD Ethiopia, n.d.) outlined above (4.6) for the poverty discussion might be a more productive approach if not included in the poverty session.

Methods for eight-nine-year-old children:

- Draw who is important to them and then discuss who else is important. In order to encourage children to draw more than one person, it might be beneficial to ask children to all draw together on one large sheet as in the time use drawing activity.

6. Video Methods

A digital video camera was used to record aspects of the group sessions for the purposes of discussion of the methods with the rest of the Young Lives team in Oxford and for future training purposes. However, this proved a useful piece of equipment for various impromptu video productions.

Towards the end of the research process in the urban site, it became clear that the content of many of the discussions had been quite heavy and we were concerned that the experience may have become disempowering for children, although they appeared to be enjoying the opportunity to talk about their problems. For this reason, some of the groups were given the opportunity to make an advertisement for their area to allow them to focus on the positive aspects of their lives and the area where they live. The children tended to enjoy this and were able to think of good things about where they lived.

On other occasions, children were asked to act out mini-dramas. Little guidance concerning the plot was given in these instances but both groups in the urban site who participated in this activity acted out scenes involving family disputes, alcohol and punishment. This coincided with many of their worries and concerns and demonstrates that this method allowed them to expand on issues they had already raised.

For both the adverts and the mini-dramas, the activities were included at the end of sessions and did not take very long but the information was not systematically recorded and has not been analysed. One option for recording and analysis would be to note down the major themes that children introduce whereas another approach would be to transcribe the entire dialogue. The latter approach would make the most of the method and would capture the ways in which children talk about the issues as well as the issues themselves. However, it would be a time-consuming and expensive approach and would be more suited to the smaller in-depth studies than this level of sub-study.

If this method is taken forward with smaller groups of children, it could be developed along the lines of participatory video (see, for example, Insight, n.d.). Children would need to be given more time and guidance in the preparation of videos and, preferably, afforded some opportunity to show them in the community or further afield, as this technique is ideally used to empower individuals and communities.

If these methods are used, additional consent forms will be required for using video, the precise wording of which will need to be discussed within country and will depend on the particular sensitivities and concerns within each community.

7. Individual Interviews

7.1   Interview Schedule

Nine children were interviewed in total, two from each of the five groups of 12-year-olds except the boy chosen from urban site's group 3 who did not come to his interview and could not be found. Children were chosen for a variety of reasons: some seemed to do more work activities than others do, one child had just moved to the area; another child was the only 12-year-old who had left school. These children were asked at the end of one of the last sessions whether they would mind having a short interview with one of the facilitators. These interviews lasted 15-30 minutes and included the following questions and methods. In the rural locale, the interviews took place immediately after the final sessions whereas appointments were made with the children in the urban locale so they returned ten days after the end of the research for their interviews. Each interview in the urban site and one in the rural site were audio recorded and transcribed. Notes were taken from the other interviews.

The interviews focused on a subset of the themes from the group sessions, namely: time use, wellbeing and children's expectations about their futures. These were considered themes that were likely to be highly specific to individual children and would, therefore, benefit from individual investigation. Some of the specific questions covered areas that had only been touched upon in the group sessions but which were considered relevant for the themes under investigation.

Each interview started with discussion of a typical day. Originally, the facilitators filled in the following diary (taken from WeD Ethiopia, n.d.):

	what did s/he do?	who with? how did they relate?	where?
Getting up	*time of getting up. Who wakes?*		
Between waking up and breakfast			
Between breakfast and lunch			
Between lunch and supper			
Between supper and bedtime	*time of going to bed?*		
During the night			

However, the facilitators reported that this felt too structured and chose to use this as a prompt rather than as a form to fill in. Children were then asked questions about their weekends, holidays and their enjoyment of the different activities they had mentioned.

Children also filled in the following 'Person-Generated Index of Quality of Life' (PGI):

A Person Generated Index® of Quality of Life

Step 1: Identifying Areas	Step 2: Scoring Each Area	Step 3: Spending Points
We would like you to think of the areas of your life that are most important to you. Please write up to FIVE areas in the boxes below	In this part we would like you to score the areas you mentioned in step 1. This score should show how you felt about this area over the past MONTH. Please score each area out of 10 using this scale: 10 = Exactly as you would like to be 9 = Close to how you would like to be 8 = Very good but not how you would like 7 = Good, but not how you would like 6 = Between good and fair 5 = Fair 4 = Between poor and fair 3 = Poor but not the worst you could imagine 2 = Very poor but not the worst you could imagine 1 = Close to the worst you could imagine 0 = The worst you could imagine	We want you to 'spend' 10 points to show which areas of your life you feel are most important to your overall quality of life. Spend more points on areas you feel are most important to you and less on areas that you feel are not so important. You don't have to spend any points on an area. You can't spend more than 10 points in total.
☐ →	☐ →	☐
☐ →	☐ →	☐
☐ →	☐ →	☐
☐ →	☐ →	☐
☐ →	☐ →	☐ Remember total Must add up to 10 points

This is taken from the Wellbeing in Developing Countries research methods toolbox and has been used in many different countries with adults (Ruta 1994, 1998).

Following this activity, children were asked the following questions to investigate their expectations of the future:

1. What do you want to do in the future?

2. Why?

3. What do your family members do?

4. Do you know anyone who is doing the job you want to do?

5. Is there anyone who could help you do the job you want to do?

6. How do you expect to achieve what you want in the future?

These questions were included because it had become obvious through the group research that it would be interesting to explore children's expectations for the future to complement discussions about the usefulness of various activities and the importance of social capital. Since these issues are specific to individuals, they could only be discussed in a very superficial way during group discussions and individual interviews allowed more in-depth information to be gathered.

Further questions about children's social worlds were also asked in individual interviews:

1. If you have a problem/concern, who do you go to?

2. When have they helped you?

3. What was the problem?

4. How did they help you?

These questions were an exact replica of some of the questions asked in the group context but they were included here to investigate specific incidents and individual experiences in addition to the perceptions of the whole group.

The Young Lives fieldworker was also interviewed. It became clear through the research process that she had picked up some information about the children on her visits to their homes and it was considered interesting to record this information to see if it would be helpful to contextualise the information gathered through the group and individual sessions. This information has not been analysed as part of this project and will not be considered in depth here. However, it was obvious that she had picked up a lot of information about the children from visiting their homes. Where this information is not captured by the quantitative questionnaire, it may be useful to collect the impressions of fieldworkers who, at least in Peru, have come to know the Young Lives families well over several years.

7.2 Evaluation of Interviews

The individual interviews captured deeper information about some aspects of their daily lives, such as the amount of domestic work they do, the freedom they have, the amount they sleep and who they spend their time with. Although the timetable structure ensured that the conversation was deeper and more detailed, children did not seem to find it easy to say how long they do various activities for, except for school, which has set times. For this reason, this method could not be used to accurately validate the time use buckets activity although there is some concurrence between the two activities. For example, one 12-year-old girl in the urban site was interviewed because she said she did a lot of housework during the group activity. During interview, it became clear that her domestic burden was, indeed, very heavy, and that she had less choice and help in these tasks than others who were interviewed.

The PGI was difficult for children to understand and complete. Children tended to include activities in the domains column instead of broader domains. This could have been because: a) the question followed a discussion of time use; b) because abstract domains are too difficult for children; or c) because of the phrasing of the question, which did not necessarily focus on domains that contribute to wellbeing but more on enjoyment. The facilitators perceived that it was most likely because children could not think in abstract domains. Given this observation, this method may be unsuitable for this age group. Further, when it came to ranking the importance of the activities (column 3), one facilitator found that children did not understand the division of 10 counters and chose, instead, to allocate 1, 2 and 3 stars to the top three domains.

Discussing children's social resources and future expectations yielded very interesting results and would be good topics to include in such interviews in the future. The questions allowed children to demonstrate how much they had considered their futures, how they had arrived at their aspirations, and their fears and concerns about their future. The information

yielded demonstrated that many children had dreams that they did not know how to achieve and some also had a 'plan b' that was more realistic.

It was also very interesting to collect information on children's families such as the ages and jobs of their brothers and sisters. While this information will have already been collected about Young Lives households in the full sample household questionnaire, these semi-structured interviews could explore children's feelings about intra-household issues, such as labour division and mobility, in more depth. It is also important to explore the location and employment of the extended family as aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents were often sources of inspiration, help and support.

7.3   Suggestions for the Future

■ Aspects to keep and improve: Discussion of future expectations; structured discussion of the day;

■ Methods to exclude: PGI, since it was too abstract for children to understand.

■ Methods to add: Discussion of issues that have arisen in group sessions

■ Adaptations for non-literate children: None necessary

■ Methods for eight-nine-year-old children: No interviews were carried out with this age group and it is likely that they would find an interview quite boring. However, more active methods, such as the visual tour described above, may be possible.

8. Procedural Issues

This section aims to reflect on some of the logistical, personnel and material issues from the pilot project. As noted above, this project differed in several key ways from future sub-studies but this section details some issues that need to be borne in mind.

8.1   Sampling and Group Characteristics

The children were chosen by teachers (rural site) or community kitchen workers (urban site) and were requested based on age, gender, and availability. It was evident that the children in the rural site had been chosen because they could most easily catch up with their schoolwork (Balarin and Pedraglio 2006) so they were unlikely to be representative.

When it comes to selecting children for future sub-studies, it would be optimal to sample on the basis of time use or other criteria so that the groups are more homogenous. It was often difficult to discuss certain topics, such as paid work, because children's experiences were very different. While it may not always be possible to sample children who do the same work as in Woodhead (1998), it would be advisable to use the data from the full-sample questionnaire to identify children who spend a certain proportion of their time doing paid work for a sub-study focusing on work and its place in children's lives. This principle could be applied to different criteria, depending on the topic under investigation.

It was definitely preferable to have children in single sex groups as they cooperated more as a group and seemed more relaxed with the research process. Further, their life experiences tended to be more similar, resulting in all the consequences of more homogenous groups.

The methods were, in general, more suited to 11-12-year-olds than eight-nine-year-olds and it is likely that work with this older age group will generate more interesting and useful information. However, some of the methods were enjoyed by the eight-nine-year-olds and could be carried out if desired. At times, it felt that these methods were difficult for the eight-nine-year-olds because they varied from being very structured to quite free. It would probably work better to either have very structured and organised activities or a much freer approach. If the former approach was chosen, some of the methods designed specifically for this age group during this pilot project should work well. However, it should be noted that this age group were much more energetic and tiring to work with and group sessions should be shorter.

8.2   Logistics

The sessions were scheduled to last two hours and were arranged on the basis of at least two per day. This led to the research team feeling rushed and not having much time to reflect on the process, especially as the facilitators had concurrent commitments. While it will sometimes be necessary to do more than one session in a day, time for reflection and consolidation needs to be included (see 8.4 below). It should also be noted that the Young Lives fieldworker found the experience much more tiring than doing the quantitative surveys and the amount of energy required to engage and work with children should not be underestimated when planning the logistics. In reality, the sessions were often nearer to 90 minutes, which was adequate for most of the sessions and reflected the children's ability to concentrate.

When it comes to choosing a location for the research, our experience was that there was a very different atmosphere in each of the two research sites. In the school in the rural area, the children were much calmer and more organised in both their behaviour and their responses. Since we were, inevitably, associated more with the school in the rural site, the children may also have been more inhibited. It was unfortunate that children had to miss school for the research as well and this should be avoided in future. It is also preferable to locate the sessions in a non-school context, where children are more relaxed. Further, the researchers and children in the urban setting preferred the community kitchen to the community hall, since the latter sometimes had a young children's play group at the same time and often had a smelly toilet. These issues are important for providing a calm and friendly atmosphere for the session.

8.3　Personnel

The work of the Young Lives fieldworker in setting up the research sessions was invaluable. Without knowledge of the communities and institutions, it would have been very difficult to organise this research. Therefore, it is highly recommended that Young Lives fieldworkers who are employed for the quantitative survey collection are also employed for the sub-studies to organise introductions to the communities and families, and arrange groups, times and settings for the research.

At least two people would be needed for each group session: a facilitator and a recorder (see below). As noted above and elaborated by Balarin and Pedraglio (2006), the socio-economic status of the facilitators was an issue during the research. For this reason, it would be advisable to have facilitators from similar ethnic, socio-economic, cultural and, where appropriate, caste groups as the children. Facilitators also need to be skilled in working with children and, ideally, have experience in qualitative methods such as focus group discussions. However, facilitators also need to be able to adapt to the use of different semi-structured and structured methods as well as unstructured discussion. For this reason, it is likely that extensive training of facilitators will be required (see 8.5 below), whether their backgrounds are in qualitative or quantitative work. Recorders would need to be able to make quick and accurate notes (see 8.4 below).

To reduce costs and develop existing personnel, it would be preferable to train some existing Young Lives fieldworkers in either recording or facilitation of group sessions. If these personnel do not possess the necessary skills and characteristics, it may be necessary to recruit social sciences graduates or undergraduates who fit these criteria. In this case, the Young Lives fieldworkers could be recruited to set up the sessions and travel with the research teams to set up sessions and make introductions.

The entire research team was female for this sub-study. The only instance in which this seemed to be a problem was for the boys in the mixed group of 11-12-year-olds in the urban site. It was likely that this was because it was a mixed group because the boys' groups responded well to the facilitators. Since future sub-studies will be conducted with single sex groups, this should not be an issue.

8.4   Data Recording and Analysis

For this pilot study, audio recordings of group sessions were not fully transcribed. This reduced the time and cost while key information was still retained in the form of ranks, lists and notes from the sessions. However, due to the lack of time between sessions, it was impossible to consolidate this information and reflect on the sessions beyond a superficial discussion. If there were longer gaps between sessions and the entire team could speak the same language, it should be possible to discuss the notes that have been collected and include any other comments, observations and recollections. Another alternative would be to fully transcribe the group sessions.

To transcribe or not is a decision that needs to be made by the project directors and country teams and will depend on the quality and depth of information that is deemed necessary. It may also be deemed appropriate to transcribe some parts of the session, where a topic is discussed more freely and at more length than during the more structured aspects of the session.

Depending on which approach is taken, the recorder has a different role to fulfil and will need extensive training in each case. If the recording is to be transcribed, the recorder could concentrate on noting down which child says what using short hand. This preserves individual data that can be very powerful during analysis but may be impossible to collect. It is also less important where groups reach consensus than where groups diverge. If the session is not being transcribed, the recorder needs to record comments that children make that are not recorded in the method. From the experience in this project, it was clear that this was very difficult to do, since the salient information from the discussion needed to be ignored by the recorder. Therefore, the recorders would need to be trained in what is of interest, which comments and stories, and trained to not record what is already collected.

The best way to analyse the data will also depend, to some extent, on the nature of the data collected by different methods and the type of observation chosen. NVivo training is currently proceeding in the project and NVivo has been used to analyse the notes and semi-structured information collected from each session along with the interview transcripts in this project. NVivo is not suited to analysing quantitative or very structured data and it proved easier to analyse information from the Buckets exercise, satisfaction with life scale and the social matrix using Excel. Quantitative data could be analysed using statistical packages (e.g. SPSS) with larger sample sizes.

Documents were coded at nodes that reflected the subject matter of the data with parent nodes reflecting the theme and child nodes detailing the specific topic. For example, the parent node 'Children's Worries' included the following child nodes, among others: the future, domestic issues, parents fighting, health. With such a small total number of documents from the research (35), it was possible to browse these nodes and identify more specific themes, for example 'parents fighting makes it difficult to concentrate at school' without doing a further level of coding within these areas. With a larger group of documents, a further level of coding may be necessary. Although many nodes were designed to accommodate the data from specific exercises, such as the Wellbeing exercise in the above example, children often brought the same issues up in different sessions. Where this happened, the document was coded at this node as well, allowing for analysis of themes across sessions.

One advantage of using a software package for coding the information is that it is easier to assess the patterns and quality of coding and analysis in different sites. This will be especially important in situations where personnel are not familiar with analysing qualitative information. It would also be possible with NVivo to have a basic coding structure for all countries to use, as long as enough flexibility is retained for children's priorities to dominate.

8.5   Training

Very little training was given to the facilitators and recorders prior to this pilot project because the project was exploratory and experimental and because the facilitators were so experienced. However, it would be necessary to train both facilitators and recorders in the following and other areas prior to the commencement of research:

1. How to build rapport with children, play games, communicate in child-friendly ways and enable children to relax.

2. How to encourage children to participate and deal with disruptive or dominant group members.

3. Child protection issues. (see 8.7 below)

In addition, facilitators would need to be trained in:

4. How to use the methods to facilitate discussion and elicit categories without becoming 'bogged down' in the method.[15]

5. How to ask non-leading questions and encourage children to make their own links, categorisations and explain themselves in their own words.

6. How to make quick sketches to support non-literate children.

Further, recorders need to be trained to record the relevant material, which will depend on the approach taken (see 8.4 above).

8.6   Materials

The materials used are detailed in the relevant sections. Additionally, drinks and biscuits were provided at each session. Most materials were easily and cheaply available in Peru but might be harder to obtain in other countries. It was useful to have both A4 and larger sizes of paper so that children could decide whether to draw collectively or privately. Although it worked nicely to have different colour post-it notes, there were problems with the perceived cost of these to the children, who knew that they were expensive and thought it was wasteful to use them for research. However, it was helpful to separate out the ideas using colour. In the future, the same idea could be achieved using coloured index cards (which were not available in Peru) or writing in different coloured pens.

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[15] It was the experience of the facilitators that the methods often detracted from the discussion instead of stimulating it. While some of this experience is due to the inherent difference between semi-structured and unstructured methods, it is also possible that training in these methods could allow facilitators to use the methods more effectively. For example, the facilitators sometimes wrote a lot on the index cards or post-it notes and found that this stopped the flow of the conversation. If less were written down, this may be avoided.

8.7   Ethical Issues

a) Consent: Children were asked for their verbal consent and told that they did not have to answer any questions and could stop participating at any point. Children were also asked for their verbal consent for using the video and audio recording equipment. Further, their parents signed a consent form. If using video and photography methods in future, it would also be necessary to ask for written consent from parents for these media.

b) Ground Rules: Ground rules were elicited from the children to make them feel more comfortable and to aid the research process. Within this context, the issue of confidentiality within the group, respect for each other, and valuing each other's contributions were discussed. However, the ground rules were rarely appealed to by the facilitators and could have been referred to in some situations to calm children down or ensure they listen to each other, for example.

c) Child Protection: Because much of the research deals with and touches on issues that are potentially sensitive and may reveal that children are in danger or at risk, clear guidelines are required concerning what to do if such information is given. This is also an issue for the quantitative survey but is even more likely to become apparent in the sub-studies. These guidelines need to be worked out at the local level.

d) Giving Something Back: The children in this study were given pens and notebooks at the end of the research process. Further, a digital photograph was taken of the whole group and a printed copy was delivered to each child with a thank you letter and summary of the research at a later date.

9. Conclusions

This chapter will draw on the preceding chapters to evaluate the methodological approach and will then make specific recommendations for each session, recommending which methods to keep and improve which to drop and which to add.

9.1 Challenges of these Methods

The use of these methods in future sub-studies does present some challenges. Firstly, the sub-studies are part of a much bigger project and are to be carried out on a large scale so the lines of enquiry for the study are decided in advance. Therefore, although the research drew on methods that have been used in participatory rural appraisal, the extent to which these Young Lives sub-studies can be truly participatory is limited. Consequently, extra effort needs to be made to ensure the experience is empowering for children instead of being purely extractive. Secondly, the methods yield a mixture of quantitative, semi-structured and qualitative data and there is a danger that the focus falls solely on the structured and semi-structured information since this information is easier to capture.[16]

According to Hart's ladder of children's participation (1992), there are different degrees of participation from 'assigned but informed' through to 'consultation with children', 'child-initiation' and 'child direction'. When deciding how participatory a project is, the weight given to children's voices is one important factor. Within the Young Lives project as a whole, children's voices are taken very seriously and their contribution to the project is considered at least equal to that of other members of their household. This is reflected in the fact that, by age eight Young Lives children are interviewed as well as their households in the full-sample study, and that at sub-sample and case study levels, work with children is prioritised. There is also the expectation that the issues raised by the Young Lives children in sub-studies will affect which issues are investigated at the next phase of the full-sample survey, meaning that their voices are very influential.

There is scope for the sub-studies to be considered 'consultations' and for children to take some initiative, and for higher levels of child-direction in the issue-led case studies. Certain structures are desirable at the sub-study level for the reasons outlined in the introduction, including the ease with which they can be administered, the structured nature of data produced, and the ability to quickly compare results within and between countries. However, the results reflect the degree of flexibility that is inherent within some of these methods. For example, the body map allowed children to discuss pains, illnesses or emotional issues while the discussion of time use focussed on different types of activities in different groups.

Children's responses at the end of the research process indicated that they had enjoyed the experience and appreciated that we had asked for their opinions and valued what they had to say. Although child-led research would be more empowering for those children involved,[17] it would be difficult for sub-studies at this level to be more child-led for the reasons outlined above. Further, it should be borne in mind that the experience of being a Young Lives child is probably quite different from the experience of being a child in this sub-study. There are still several components that could be included in the research process to bolster children's esteem. One suggestion from the research team was to

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[16] These concerns were raised by Balarin & Pedraglio 2006

[17] Interestingly, there is evidence that participatory research can be very disempowering if it does not lead to change (Baker 1996). In this context, it is unlikely that children will see the result of their involvement since the project is so big. This issue will need to be handled carefully.

introduce the project using a map of Young Lives sites to encourage children by showing that they are part of an extensive and influential project. A further suggestion was to set up a participants' section on the website, so that children from different Young Lives sites can communicate. While this is probably more suited to Peru, where internet access is wider than in other Young Lives countries, it is an idea worth pursuing.

As for the nature of the data collected from the sub-studies, it is anticipated that these sub-studies will yield a mixture of ranks and other quantitative information (for example, scores on the satisfaction with life scale), structured lists of children's own words (for example, indicators of poverty), and richer discussions that will need to be transcribed (for example, about the issues that children worry about). Because of the difficulties of recording group discussions with children (noise, many people talking at once, side conversations), many researchers have found that using semi-structured methods ensures that at least some data is captured from each session. This is especially true in contexts where researchers have little or no experience in qualitative work. However, in other contexts, it should be possible to conduct and record much freer, open discussions in addition to the semi-structured methods.

It was a matter of concern that the methods did not stimulate more discussion in some instances. This was unexpected since the use of the same methods in other contexts (e.g. Woodhead 1998, Armstrong et al. 2004) seemed to have generated more discussion. It is, therefore, important that during preparation and training, facilitators are encouraged to concentrate primarily on the discussion as it happens and secondarily on noting down indicators or words. It should be permissible for the matrix, tree or other task to be abandoned for a time so that a related discussion can be pursued. In this way, the methods provide a prompt and structure for the discussion but should not stifle it. Choosing to transcribe the sessions or training observers to focus less on the indicators and more on other discussions may also shift the focus away from the structured data. However, it is important that the structured data is also recorded somehow, by either the facilitator, observer or digital recorder.

In-depth case studies will be conducted as part of the sub-study process. The methods reviewed here yield a backdrop of information against which case studies will be carried out with individuals or small groups. These studies can be far more child-led and child-directed and will yield richer information about issues that children identify. These case studies will draw on unstructured methods including oral histories, unstructured interviews, observations, guided tours, participatory video and semi-structured interviews. These case studies were not included in the Peru pilot because it was specifically a test of semi-structured methods. Even the few short semi-structured interviews that were conducted yielded richer detail about children's lives and more extensive case studies should be envisaged as part of the same process in the future.

9.2   Next Steps

Recommendations have been made in individual sections for future research with 11-12-year-olds and eight-nine-year-olds. There are many other alternatives, which are spelt out above, along with the other factors that need to be considered when designing future protocols. Modifications that could be included for contexts where children are non-literate, where personnel are proficient in more unstructured measures or for younger groups of children are also outlined. In this way, it is hoped that a standard core of methods can be

modified depending on the context. It is also not necessary that the methods are split across these sessions in this way but it is ideal to have at least four sessions per group.

A further method that could be incorporated is a short visual tour of the local area led by children during the research process. Using a digital camera (if budget allowed), children could be encouraged to take photos of important places or areas that do or do not promote their wellbeing and discuss them at a later session. This method could also be used to investigate time use activities and could cover issues from all the different group sessions. While it had been suggested for the pilot sub-study, there was insufficient time to carry it out and children lived quite far from each other, making it a difficult group activity. This method would only work, therefore, in sites where children live close together and if it was prioritised early on in the research process.

The methods suggested need to be piloted in at least one more of the Young Lives contexts on the same scale as this pilot. It would be advisable to review the methods again after the next pilot and do further (possibly shorter) pilots in the other two countries before proceeding with the main sub-studies.

Staff needs to be recruited in each of the four countries to carry out the sub-studies. Since these require different skills from the quantitative survey, it cannot be assumed that these will be the same people that carry out the survey. However, overlap would be desirable for familiarity with the local context, households and children. It will also be necessary to recruit supervisors in each country with experience of doing research with children who can be involved in training and overseeing the sub-studies. As it is likely that extensive training in these methods will be required in most Young Lives countries, it would be preferable if at least some of these staff were given positions such that they are likely to be available for several years to come, so that institutional memory for conducting sub-studies is built up.

It is also essential that attention is given to the issue of child protection. As outlined above, much of the research deals with and touches on issues that are potentially sensitive and may reveal that children are in danger or at risk. Consequently, each country needs to establish clear guidelines concerning what to do if such information is given

There are also some decisions that need to be taken at the project level concerning the depth and detail of data that are required which will bear on the decision about whether to fully transcribe the sessions and the degree to which NVivo coding structures are to be shared between countries. It will also be necessary to produce protocols for the sessions, observations and analysis that will need to be translated into local languages.

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Appendix 1 – Timetable

This timetable shows when the group research sessions took place, travel and the discussions with the rest of the team.

Week 1

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Preparation with facilitators	Preparation with facilitators	Time Use Gp 1 Time Use Gp 2	Time Use Gp 3 Time Use Gp 4	WellBeing Gp 1 WellBeing Gp 2	WellBeing Gp 3 WellBeing Gp 4	

Week 2

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Poverty Gp 1 Poverty Gp 2	Poverty Gp 3 Poverty Gp 4	Social Gp 1 Social Gp 2	Social Gp 3 Discuss urban site with facilitators			Travel to rural site

Week 3

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Time Use Gp 1 Time Use Gp 2	WellBeing Gp 1 WellBeing Gp 2 Time Use Gp 3	Poverty Gp 1 Poverty Gp 2 WellBeing Gp 3	Social Gp 1 Individuals Social Gp 2 Individuals Leave rural site	Discuss rural site with facilitators		

Week 4

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
	Individuals Urban site		Travel to UK			

Appendix 2 – Worksheet

Las Actividades y los trabajos que hago (Urban site)

1) Escribe una lista de todas las actividades y trabajos que sabes hacer.

Trabajo o actividad	☺	☹	Lo hacen en epoca de colegio?	Lo hacen en vacaciones	Quién normalmente hace esto?	Trabajas/realizas esa actividad para alguien?, para quien?

2) Qué trabajo/actividad más te gusta hacer?
   Por qué?

3) Qué trabajo/actividad menos te gusta hacer?

Por qué?

4) Quién más te manda a hacer este tipo de trabajos/actividades?

5) Qué pasa si dices que no vas a hacer el trabajo/actividad?

Appendix 3 – Revised Worksheet

Activities and jobs that I do (Urban site)

1) Write a list of all the activities and jobs that you know how to do.

Job or activity	Do you like doing this Pick one face	Do you do this in term time? activity?	Do you do this in vacations?	Who (in the house usually does this?	Do you do this for someone else? Who for?
E.g. Looking after baby brother	☺ / ☹	Yes	Yes	Me	Mum
	☺ / ☹				
	☺ / ☹				
	☺ / ☹				
	☺ / ☹				
	☺ / ☹				
	☺ / ☹				
	☺ / ☹				
	☺ / ☹				
	☺ / ☹				

2) Qué trabajo/actividad más te gusta hacer?

Por qué?

3) Qué trabajo/actividad menos te gusta hacer?

Por qué?

4) Quién más te manda a hacer este tipo de trabajos/actividades?

5) Qué pasa si dices que no vas a hacer el trabajo/actividad?

Appendix 4
– Satisfaction with Life Scale

Como te sientes?

Quisiéramos saber como te sientes en relación a algunos aspectos de tu vida. Usando las escaleras que están dibujadas abajo, por favor marca dónde te ubicarías en cada uno de los aspectos mencionados (salud, educación, familia, amigos, tu casa, tu barrio). Piensa en cómo te sientes en cada uno de estos aspectos y escoge uno de los números – 1 significa que no estás muy contento con esto y 5 que estás muy contento).

Mi Salud

Mi Educación

Mi Familia

Mis Amigos

Mi Casa

Mi Barrio
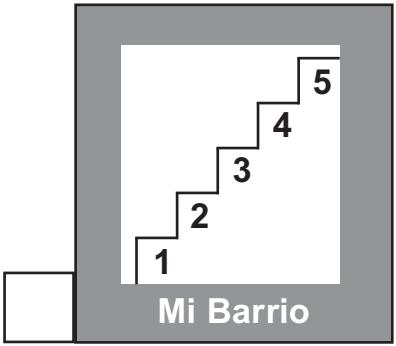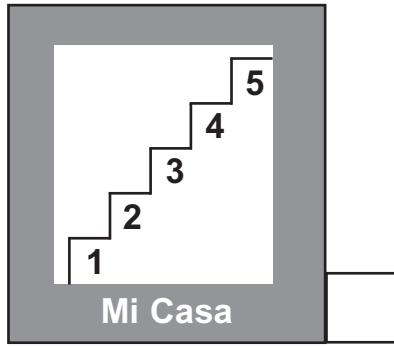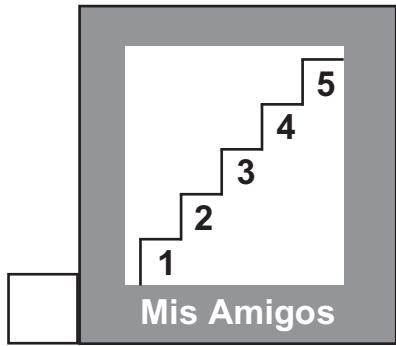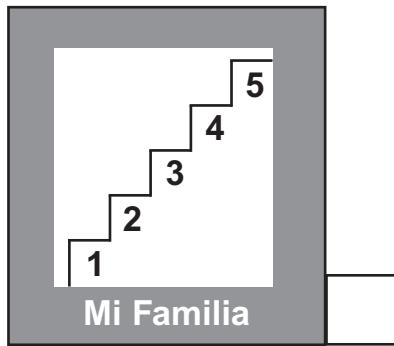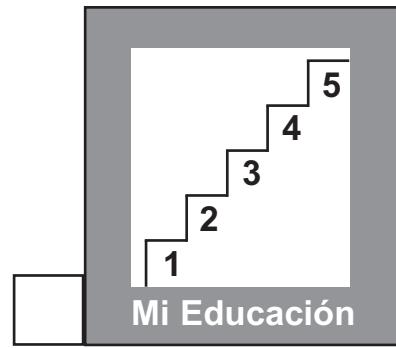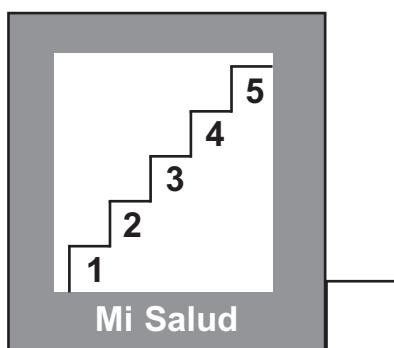
Appendix 5 – New SWLS for Literate Children

How do you feel?

5 Very good
4 Quite good
3 More or less OK
2 Quite bad
1 Very bad
My Health
Yes / No

5 Very good
4 Quite good
3 More or less OK
2 Quite bad
1 Very bad
Yes / No
My Education

5 Very good
4 Quite good
3 More or less OK
2 Quite bad
1 Very bad
My Family
Yes /

5 Very good
4 Quite good
3 More or less OK
2 Quite bad
1 Very bad
Yes /
My Friends

5 Very good
4 Quite good
3 More or less OK
2 Quite bad
1 Very bad
My House
Yes /

5 Very good
4 Quite good
3 More or less OK
2 Quite bad
**1** Very bad
Yes /
My Neighbourhood

Appendix 6 – New SWLS for non-literate children

How do you feel?

For less literate children, it would be necessary to insert pictures designating each domain under each scale. However, these pictures would need to be culturally valid and are, therefore, likely to be specific to each Young Lives context.

AUTHOR

Joy Johnston holds a Bachelors degree in Experimental Psychology and a Masters in Forced Migration at Oxford University. Her research interests during her Masters and her time on the Young Lives project included psychosocial well-being, the relevance of Western trauma paradigms in non-Western contexts, and the development of participative research methods for use with children. Joy is now a civil servant for the UK government and remains involved in Refugee Youth Project, which works with young refugees in Nepal, Lebanon and London, encouraging participation in human rights education and other activities.