Methods, Tools and Instruments for Use with Children

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Young Lives

An International Study of Childhood Poverty

Foreword

This paper was prepared by Joy Johnston in January 2006, when Young Lives was at a turning point. Detailed planning was underway for the second round of data collection for the two cohorts – approximately 2,000 children aged between 6-17.9 months in 2002 and 1,000 children aged between 7.5-8.5 years in 2002 in each study country.

The Young Lives team was committed to including a strong child-focussed component to the questionnaires, including perspectives of children (via child interviews with the older cohort) and parents (via the household questionnaires) on their situation, their aspirations and the challenges of childhood in their country contexts.

At the same time, in January 2006, the Young lives team was beginning to plan a new component of the project – longitudinal qualitative research that would offer in-depth insight on a sub-sample of Young Lives communities and would include group work, observations, in-depth interviews, and case studies. Child focussed research methods were thus becoming central to the planning of both survey and in-depth components of the Young Lives Project. In this Technical Note, Joy Johnston provided an invaluable overview of some major research methods and tools.

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1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the methods, tools, and instruments that may be useful for research with children in the second and subsequent phases of data collection in the Young Lives project. Specifically, it addresses methods for investigating the following two lines of enquiry:

a) What are the factors (global, national, sub-national, community and household/family) that act on children's lives, to either increase or reduce poverty and its effects?

b) What effects do multidimensional aspects of poverty have on children's functioning, capabilities and well-being during the course of childhood?

The paper will include examples of qualitative and quantitative measures that could be used both in sub-sample and full-sample data collection. Part of what makes Young Lives unique is the opportunity to combine qualitative and quantitative methods and data. Analysis of this data will give a much deeper and broader picture of global child poverty than can be obtained through either quantitative household surveys or in-depth qualitative work alone. Further, combining and comparing the data obtained at the levels of the community, household and child build a rich context for the study of poor children's lives. Therefore, questions from the full-sample child questionnaire that link with the sub-sample methods suggested will be shown in square 'callout' boxes. Links with the research at the household and community levels will also be highlighted where applicable.

This paper does not set out a definitive schedule for the research, nor does it include all the detail necessary for the implementation of the instruments and methods. Instead, it provides some background to the child full-sample questionnaire, and a starting point for discussions about methods and tools for sub-sample work. Firstly, however, some of the issues that need to be borne in mind when designing methods involving children will be briefly addressed.

1.1   Children's Participation

"The assumption in the past has often been that children will automatically benefit from development or poverty reduction strategies that are aimed at the household level. There was thus thought to be limited value in collecting data on the lives of individual children (Theis 1996). However, research with children has shown that children often give perceptive answers that differ significantly from adults' and demonstrate that poverty affects individual children within households differently they. Consequently, 'Today, it would be almost unthinkable for an organisation concerned with children to carry out in-depth research into their situation without involving the children themselves."

(Black 1997: 47)

The extent of children's participation in research varies from coercion and manipulation through to consultation with children, child-initiation and child direction (Hart's ladder of participation 1992, cited in Johnson 1996). Kirby (1999) illustrates that children can be involved in all aspects of the research process, including deciding the subject areas, drafting the questions, designing the methods, ordering the questions and discussing, piloting and revising the instruments produced.

In Young Lives, we have already established the broad research questions but there may be scope in the pilot phase to establish what are the relevant issues for children in the different countries so that they can help to shape the more specific lines of questioning for Round 2, or alternatively for future rounds of data collection. A degree of flexibility and reflection will need to be inherent in whatever questions and methods are developed at this stage to allow for participants' increased input.

1.2   Age-related Issues

While the Young Lives conceptual framework recognises that child development does not necessarily proceed in the same way in all cultures as assumed by many Piagetian and neo-Piagetian psychologists, there are still differences in what is appropriate for children of different ages (Hart 1997). These capabilities will have been fundamentally shaped by the culture. In some instances, the extent of children's abilities and competencies may be masked by surface features of the tasks they are asked to perform. For example, Reynolds (1989) found that children in South African townships performed badly on classic cognitive tasks (for example as used by Jean Piaget and his followers to assess children's concepts of quantity and number) but when Western materials were replaced by locally familiar activities (for example, counting stones placed in the ground rather than counting plastic chips in plastic cups) then children showed more mature capacities. This illustrates the importance of using materials and tools that are familiar to children. A related and fundamental point is that children in some of the Young Lives contexts may not be literate, may be semi-literate, or may not have had the opportunity to use pens and pencils at all (Johnson 1996).

Some researchers have succeeded in carrying out participatory research with children as young as four, the age of the youngest in the 2001 cohort in Round 2. While most of this work has been done in the UK (Clark and Stratham 2005, Miller 1997, Cousins 1999, Alderson 2000), some has incorporated techniques from participatory appraisal in developing countries (Clark, personal communication, 12 October 2005) and may be adaptable for use in Young Lives sites. Further, Reynolds (1989) conducted participatory research with three-six year-olds. Consequently, although most research in developing countries has been done with older children, Young Lives could pioneer participatory research with year-olds in developing countries. Although only certain information will be obtained, it will be interesting to observe how such early views, perspectives and experiences shape children's developmental processes.

Obviously, different methods are appropriate for different age groups, with adolescents capable of verbalising their experiences, views and perspectives (Mann and Tolfree 2003), However, those in developing countries are often shy (Penn 2004) and younger children may be more interested in drawing and playing games (Mann and Tolfree 2003). Young Lives children in different sites are likely to vary greatly in their outlook, capacities, cultural knowledge, beliefs, and ways of communicating, so suitability of different methods and tools will vary from context to context. For example, TV and the Internet will be available to a proportion of those in the study. For older children and adolescents, this may mean they have been exposed to Western adolescent roles and norms. Methods that have been developed for use with teenagers often take such aspects of adolescence into account and have provided, for example, ways for individual assertion and challenge. However, adolescents elsewhere may have different expectations, roles, and norms guiding their behaviour so alternative methods will be appropriate for them.

Potentially the most important issue about conducting research with children as opposed to adults is that there exists an even greater power differential between adult researchers and child participants than between two adults, due to the lesser power and freedoms of children relative to adults in all cultures (Punch 2002a). This means that children may be more likely to lie or exaggerate to please the researcher and researchers may impose their own views and expectations of childhood onto children (Punch 2002a). One way to try to overcome this is to have children conduct the research (Kirby 1999). This has extensive implications for fieldworker selection and training and may not be a viable option given time and budget constraints. Consequently, preferable research methods will be those that allow children to use their own words and concepts in relaxed settings and researchers must be trained to build rapport with children.

Having established a few of the aspects that need to be borne in mind when considering methods, tools and instruments for use in Young Lives, I will now move on to address each of the lines of enquiry in turn.

2. Causal, Moderating and Mediating Factors[1]

The first broad line of enquiry is:

a) What are the factors (global, national, sub-national, community and household/family) that act on children's lives, to either increase or reduce poverty and its effects?

2.1 Social Ecologies[2]

2.1.1 The structure and extent of children's social networks

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. The following questions in the twelve-year-old questionnaire will elicit some basic information about each child's peer group, and will demonstrate if the child is lacking in friends or has an abundance of friends who they see regularly.

> 3.3 Do you have a friend or friends you feel are really important in your life?
>
> 3.4 Can you tell me their names? (to gauge how many)

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[1] Moderating factors influence the strength or direction of the relationship between cause and effect. Mediating factors connect a cause and effect that would otherwise not be related.

[2] Follows the Ecological Theory by Bronfenbrenner (1979) in emphasising the multiple social systems with which the individual engages often linked to specific settings, in the case of young children, for example, with parents and siblings at home or with peers at school.

In specific sites, there may be youth groups, clubs, or other interventions aimed at increasing children's participation in society or other positive outcomes. Questions on children's participation in various organised groups are also included in the full sample questionnaire. They are asked the following question with regard to youth groups, religious groups, sports groups, after school clubs or work related groups, as well as being given the option of specifying other groups they are members of. Names for these groups may need to be country specific. Through this question and others later in the questionnaire, it will be possible to see if those who report stigma and discrimination are also excluded from organised activities.

> 3.16.1 Are you a member of a NAME OF GROUP?
>
> 3.16.2 How often do you attend meetings?

Further, questions about caregivers' social capital have been included from Round 1 onwards, with some significant modifications in Round 2. To build on this information, the following methods allow children to talk in more detail about who is important to them and what the makeup of their social worlds is.

Social Map

Armstrong et al (2004) found that developing a map of 'Who do I visit' gave relevant and specific information about children's social worlds in Sri Lanka. This exercise is suitable for small groups of five or six people or for individuals. Children drew maps, with their home at the centre, and the locations they visit to meet different people. This visual stimulus allowed for detailed and concrete discussions about the proximity, accessibility, context, motives, and frequency of different social interactions. One problem with this method is that it does not give information about the people who children informally meet but do not make an effort to visit. This information could be gathered by rewording the main exercise or by adding a supplementary question.

Guided Tours

An even more concrete aid to discussion about important relationships would be to allow children to lead a guided tour of their area and point out who is important to them. This is similar to the guided tour method used by Clark and Moss (2005) in their work with four-year-olds. This could be done with a group of Young Lives children if they lived very close together and could involve photography, if budget allowed, facilitating later discussions. A similar approach could be taken with twelve-year-olds although the distances they travel may be greater, and it may need to be combined with another method or discussion to keep them interested. The advantage of this method over others in this section is that it requires no literacy or familiarity with paper and pencil exercises.

Who Matters?

The protocol for research with working children developed by Woodhead (1998) was developed in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua and includes an activity named 'Who Matters?'. In this exercise, children make a drawing or chart with themselves at the centre and other important people in a circle around them.

Children are then asked questions about why these people are important, how they help, and what responsibilities children feel towards them. Further, the most important people or person can be selected and questions about this relationship, what makes them pleased or unhappy can be discussed. This method is, therefore, beginning to analyse what help these relationships can provide.

2.1.2 *The nature and extent of children's social support*

While the term 'social capital' as used by economists considers people and networks to be stable assets, the term 'resources' is used by the Wellbeing in Developing Countries research group to reflect the more dynamic nature of social relationships:

> *"Here, rather than think of people having a stock of relationships, as social capital discourses encourage us to do, in reality we only know what the quality or value of most non-contractual social relationships is in their realization."*
>
> (McGregor 2004: 346)

Within this understanding, social relationships are there to be appealed to but may not always be expected to benefit the person in pre-determined ways. For this reason, analysis of children's social resources needs to go beyond a demonstration of the extent of their kin and friendship networks to show how meaningful these resources are to them in times when they need assistance of different kinds. The following questions are included in the twelve-year-old questionnaire to begin to access this information:

> 3.1 If you were very worried about something for a long time, is there anyone who could help you?

However, they remain hypothetical and need further investigation.

The following items attempt to address the nature of children's relationship with their parents, and the degree of support they experience from them:

> 5.1.1 I always obey my parents [+]
>
> 5.1.2 My parents/guardians rarely talk with me about the things that matter to me
>
> 5.1.3 I always feel loved by my parents/guardians [+]
>
> 5.1.4 My parents never support me in the things I want to do
>
> 5.1.5 I usually feel able to express my views and feelings with my parents [+]
>
> 5.1.6 If my parents punish me it is fair because I have done something wrong [+]

The following methods mostly use hypothetical scenarios in some way but encourage children to draw on their experiences of life and offer a context, so eliciting a more realistic answer.

Spider Diagrams

A common method for addressing children's social support is the spider diagram (see, for example, Armstrong et al. 2004, Punch 2002b) in which the spider's 'legs' represent a problem and the feet a person who they could turn to for help or advice. However, Armstrong et al. (2004) note that this method was difficult for children, raised ethical issues as most children indicated that no one could help them, and did not generate much discussion. This method may still provide a good stimulus for discussion in an individual interview, if the child is sufficiently literate.

What If?

Also part of the Woodhead (1998) protocol, this is a story-completion game, using either words or pictures. Vignettes were developed according to issues that face working children, including not earning enough, trouble with the authorities, new regulations, family pressures, exploitation, and abuse. Questions such as 'Does this happen to you?', 'What should X do?', 'What will happen next? 'Why ?' and 'Who might help' allow children's social support to be assessed. General categories of helpers are elicited through discussion of the vignette, while more personally relevant information could be obtained through discussing actual or hypothetical events involving the participant. These pictures can also be changed to vary the gender, age, wealth, ethnic group or another relevant characteristic of the child in the picture, so eliciting some comparison with the participant and their own access to social support. In order to understand how social support mediates the effects of poverty, the scenarios used should be directly related to aspects of poverty, for example material and financial scarcity, employment, and land rights, and economic and educational opportunities. Since this method is suitable to use with individuals, it would be useful for Young Lives situations where children are not living close together.

Who matters? Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Armstrong et al. (2004) found that a group version of 'Who Matters?' worked better than a group discussion of 'What If?' since children found it quite difficult to imagine what they would do and who they would turn to in different hypothetical situations. The group version of 'Who Matters?' focused on more positive aspects of social relationships and covered the following questions, in single sex groups:

> Who do you like to be with?
>
> Who makes you feel happy?
>
> Who gives you advice when there's something you need to know?
>
> Who helps you when you're in trouble?
>
> Who do you tell your secrets to?
>
> If you've had an argument, who would help you sort it out?

The authors note that these questions could be improved or added to because they were constructed without much consideration but that eight questions was about the right number and that most children concentrated quite well. However, some children were less forthcoming as the discussion progressed, which the authors suggest could have been because earlier questions were easier or because they realised that some reflection was wanted as well as simple answers.

The Social Network Sorting Activity

Designed by Armstrong et al (2004), this is an extensive activity lasting two hours in its fullest form but could be done in sections if time was short. This method builds from the familiar and descriptive to a more analytical task so earlier stages will be more appropriate for younger children, from the age of eight upwards, but may be boring for older children.

Armstrong et al (2004) conducted this exercise in a large group of 16-20 children. In smaller groups of three or four, children wrote the names of people they meet normally on a Post-it note. These were then stuck on a large sheet of paper, with one end representing those relationships inside the home and another for relationships outside the home. Post-it notes were grouped into categories (e.g. friend, cousin, and teacher). The frequency with which different categories of relationships are mentioned can be noted while the different categories can be explored by asking children why and how these people are important.

The next stage requires children in small groups to think about the biggest problems and challenges they face and write the top four or five on Post-it notes. These can then be gathered on the sheet and grouped according to similarity, discussing who it is worse for, according to age or gender. In order to narrow this list down and get more information about which problems are relevant to which children, the facilitators asked the participants to choose the biggest, or most common, three problems and raise their hand when one of theirs was mentioned. Noting who responded to which gives information on the individuals while the ones that elicit the most responses, the top three to seven, can be added to the sheet of paper to make a table, with problems down the side, and people along the bottom. Information about who helps children with different problems can then be elicited by asking participants to put a mark against the person who would help them if that problem arose. It may be easier for children if they were able to tick more than one box or rank their choices.

It is possible that copying may take place and this should be observed. After this information has been collected, a discussion about strategies for problem solving and other people who might help that are not represented, could build up a picture of children's social support and coping strategies.

Other Stimulus Materials

Punch (2002b) developed a variety of methods for collecting information about 13-14 year-old's problems and coping strategies in Scotland. She used a combination of group and individual interviews and a range of stimulus materials to engage the participants and provide contexts for focus group discussions about who could help and in what way. The stimulus materials included episodes from soap operas and letters from problem pages in magazines, since these were familiar materials for the children in her study. While unlikely to be appropriate for most of the children in the Young Lives study, such materials may be familiar for those who have televisions, while other stimulus materials, including newspaper articles or photographs of situations presenting problems for children, could be used.

Secret Box Method

Another method developed by Punch (2002b) for her work in Scotland was to use a secret box into which children could anonymously place a problem that they would never tell anyone about. While this method would not give information about individual children because of its anonymity, it might indicate the areas in which children generally felt unsupported. Using this method successfully would depend on literacy and a high level of trust.

2.1.3 Social Skill Development

'Social skills' in this context refer to a person's 'ability to interact effectively with others and deal with various social situations and demands' (Brewer 2003: 35). Skills such as these normally develop through interactions with parents, relatives, and peers from early childhood onwards and successful social interactions are important for daily life and successful living. There are serious consequences for people who fail to develop adequate social skills including low self-esteem, loneliness and lack of social support (evidence cited in Brewer 2003) since they may not know how to assert themselves, resolve conflict, or make friends. Some poor children living in isolated situations, for example through being excluded and stigmatised at school or through working alone as a domestic worker (Stegmann 2003) may not have a context to develop these skills, making their lives harder in the future. Conversely, those who develop good social skills may find that these facilitate routes out of poverty. If social skill development can be measured early in Young Lives, the extent to which it moderates the effects of poverty on children's futures may be measured in the future.

The following questions are included in the twelve-year-old questionnaire in an attempt to measure children's social skills. They are asked to answer using 'always', 'sometimes' or 'never'. They are all set in the context of school or work to give a specific situation for children to relate to and will only be asked if the individual child is at school and/or working.

3.6 Do other children include you in their games at break time at school?

3.7 At school, do you stand up for other kids if they are in trouble or being picked on?

3.8 Do you find it hard to talk to other children in your class?

3.9 Do you help other children who have a problem at school?

3.10 When you are doing paid work, are you working alongside other children under 15? (If yes, ask 3.11-3.14)

3.11 Do you find it easy to work alongside other children?

3.12 At work, do you stand up for other kids if they are in trouble or being picked on?

3.13 Do you find it hard to talk to other children at work?

3.14 Do you help other children who have a problem at work?

3.15 Is it possible for you to talk to the person responsible for paying you in money or goods if you do not get paid on time?

These questions have mostly been adapted from Brewer's (2003) recommended instrument for research with child domestic workers. She drew the questions from various psychological instruments for assessing social skills in North American and Europe. However, they have not been validated cross-culturally and this precise selection and wording of questions has not been used before and will thus need to be analysed for reliability. Through comparison with qualitative work with individual children and analysis of their correlations with future social integration, it may also be possible to asses the validity of their schools on these questions and potentially develop a social skills scale for use in the developing world.

Observations

Perhaps the best way of assessing a child's social skills is through observation or participant observation if time allows. In situations where many Young Lives children live close together and already interact together at school or in their neighbourhood, this may more practical. Alternatively, observations could be made during other activities, such as FGDs. Brewer (2003) suggests the following aspects of children's behaviour could be observed:

Does the child display flat affect (neutral facial expression all the time, failure to react to or reciprocate emotions expressed by others)?

Does the child prefer to watch others playing/talking rather than participating herself?

Is the child constantly by herself?

When the child is in a group, does she tend not to speak?

Does the child change her stated opinions to match those of others?

Does the child ever yell at or hit others?

Does the child offer help to others? [+]

Does the child express her opinions? [+]

It should be noted that this, or any other observational system that I could come up with, may not include the key indicators of social skills in other cultures or may include irrelevant ones. For this reason, it would be useful to discuss what constitutes good social skills with country teams, or through focus group discussions with adults, children, employers, and teachers.

Woodhead (2004) reports that Tyler et al. (1991) explored social competence among street children in Bogota in meaningful ways. I have not yet been able to read this paper but hope that it may indicate some useful methods.

Games

I am not aware of anyone who has measured social skills in this way but it might be possible to assess children's skills in co-operation and negotiation by observing their behaviour in simple co-operation or negotiation games. Punch (2001) reports engaging in semi-participant observation by joining children in their games, chores, and activities.

Semi-participant observation reflects the fact that it is impossible for an adult to be an equal participant in a children's activity or game because they will always remain 'other'. If time allowed, this method would be a good way to observe children's social skills according to criteria defined in advance by country teams or members of the community.

Parent and Teacher Reports

Duncan et al. (2004) in their US study of the relative contributions of 'hard' (cognitive) and 'soft' (emotional, behavioural and social) skills to elementary school performance measured soft skills by gathering teacher's and parent's ratings of children in the autumn and spring terms of kindergarten. The items on the self-administered questionnaire for teachers covered self-control, interpersonal skills, externalising problem behaviours and internalising problem behaviours. Teachers had to rate various behaviours on a scale of one (never) to four (very often) to indicate the frequency with which the child displayed this behaviour. Parents completed a telephone or in-person survey that covered self-control, social interaction, sadness/loneliness, and impulsivity/overactivity. The authors found that these skills were less powerful predictors than cognitive skills of maths and reading ability in first grade. However, they note that these skills may have an impact on performance later in school and also that only maths and reading were measured. Although not conducted in the developing world, it might be possible to contribute to findings from research with children themselves by constructing a measure of suitable social behaviours in the different Young Lives sites and administering this to children's parents and teachers.

2.1.4   Social Exclusion

Although certain aspects of social exclusion will probably become clear through analysis of children's social worlds, it warrants more direct investigation since children report it in the UK (Ridge 2003) and the developing world (Boyden et al. 2003) as one of the most important aspects of their poverty. Feelings and perceptions of stigma and discrimination are assessed in section 11 of the questionnaire and through qualitative instruments described below (Section 3.4.1). Methods for researching how such exclusion moderates and mediates the effects of poverty are discussed below.

Vignettes

Dawes (1992) developed a picture test for use in South Africa. Pictures showed black children in various situations with and without the presence of security force members and asked children what was happening. They found that children referred more to general community and domestic violence than to political violence in tests without verbal cues, despite high exposure to political violence.

This method could be adapted for use with Young Lives sub-samples as follows. Pictures would be of situations related to poverty or ways out of poverty, such as a job interview, a school lesson or exam, or a situation with an authority figure. The children in the pictures could be different genders/castes/ethnicities/wealth groups or other dimensions on which exclusion occurs. Eliciting a discussion on the child's feelings, thoughts, prospects, and likely outcomes might highlight what children perceive to be the factors that affect their futures tond outcomes. Conversely, showing a picture of a professional/unskilled worker/homeless person and asking children to imagine and discuss their history may elicit children's perceptions of the characteristics of successful people and the processes by which they become successful.

Essays

Essays have been used to elicit thoughts and stories from children about children's activities outside of school in Peru, Jamaica, and England, and their thoughts on physical punishment in Ethiopia (Save the Children Sweden 1995 and Ennew & Morrow 1994, cited in Ennew and Plateau 2004). Given the complex nature of the issue of social exclusion, this may be an appropriate method for those who are literate to demonstrate how they think the world works and why. This method could yield many data from a number of children simultaneously if it were possible to administer it through schools. However, it requires a high degree of literacy and may not be possible in some Young Lives sites where children are spread among many schools. Further, Raundalen and Dodge (1991) report that compositions gathered from Ethiopian refugees on children's lives, perceptions, and experiences elicited near identical essays with each child wanting to live in Britain or America and to become a doctor or an engineer. Consequently, care must be taken in administering the assignment, giving instructions, and setting the question.

Participation in organised activities

A further step towards understanding the effects of social exclusion could be taken by analysing the impact of organised group activities on children's empowerment, access to knowledge and access to services through observation and focus group discussions. This would demonstrate what those youth who do not attend such groups are alienated from.

2.2   Political Formation

The degree to which children and households have power to exercise choices and access assets and planning is likely to be an important mediating factor in children's escape from or continuation in poverty.

2.2.1 Community level

Some information about the distribution of power in the community will be gathered through the community questionnaire. Children's perceptions could be gathered in the following ways.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

The extent to which children have power and access to make decisions at the level of the community could be measured through a focus group discussion with children from the same community. The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2001) used the following questions in FGDs with displaced children in Northern Uganda, where there was growing inter-generational tension within the community:

> Do you feel youth have enough opportunities to participate in community decision-making?
>
> Do you feel adults/elders understand the problems of young people today?
>
> What can be done to increase understanding between youth and adults/elders?

Specific issues will be important in different Young Lives sites and could be used as examples or contexts for these general questions. Further, the topics could be adapted to better access issues to do with poverty.

Resource Allocation Game

One possibility may be to play a game with children in which they have to imagine who in the community would have the most power to make decisions about resources. An imaginary resource, such as food, building materials, televisions, or healthcare could be represented by stones, twigs or counted and divided between groups, represented by children.

Venn Diagram

Harpham et al. (2005) in their participatory appraisal of poverty in rural Vietnam, used Venn diagrams with groups of up to ten children. First, the main poverty issues in the commune were identified and then children drew circles of different sizes to show those who have contributed to dealing with the issue, with the size of the circle reflecting the power and influence of the group or unit.

2.2.2 Intra-household level

The questionnaire begins to address some issues on the intra-household dimension. The contribution of each household member to productive and reproductive work is recorded, as is the time use of different children living in the household. Further, information on the education levels of all household members is collected. Section 5 deals more specifically with children's perceptions of intra-household allocations of power.[4]

> 5.1.7 Compared to my sisters, less money is spent on me
>
> 5.1.8 Compared to my brothers, less money is spent on me
>
> 5.1.9 My parents treat me worse than other children in my family
>
> 5.2 [If a positive response] Why do you think your parents treat you worse than other children in your family? You are allowed to give up to three answers but please give the most important one first.
>
> 5.3 Have your parents ever made a major decision about your life that you were not happy with?
>
> 5.4 What was it about??
>
> 5.5 Did you feel able to try to change their mind/s about it?
>
> 5.6 Why did you think you might be able to change their minds?

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[4] 5.1.7, 5.1.8 and 5.1.9 require a response on a visual likert scale. In translation of 5.1.7, 5.1.8 and 5.1.9, this should indicate all other related children (of relevant gender or both) who live in the household i.e. cousins/half-sisters etc as well.

Mobility Maps

Harpham et al (2005) asked groups of ten children to draw their house on the centre of a piece of paper and then identify the locations of some of the main places they go to. Sapkota & Sharma (1996) also used this method and then developed themes further in individual methods. This could be used as a prompt for discussion about freedoms to move around: where children are allowed to go, where they are not allowed to go, why, whether they make the decision to go/not to go. Differences between boys and girls could be elicited if these maps were discussed in cross-gender groups, or through prompting individual children to compare their experiences with those of siblings or friends.

Who matters?

Woodhead (1998) suggests asking questions about the degree of autonomy children have with respect to parents and other important people as part of the 'Who Matters?' activity detailed above, and asking about the extent to which individuals must be obeyed, or to which they have responsibilities to them.

In-depth interviews and observations

Samantha Punch has carried out fascinating work on the nature of parent-sibling negotiations and the distribution of jobs within the family. Despite using lots of visual and task-based methods to explore other issues, she notes that intra-household relationships 'could not be depicted in a drawing, photograph or diagram but needed to be observed, written and talked about' (Punch 2001: 178). Her in-depth data on this subject were collected in several trips lasting a number of months over a period of two years. Obviously, such methods will be impossible in Young Lives. However, it does seem that more traditional ethnographic measures are more likely to elicit information about intra-household dynamics and power relations.

Some of the questions Punch (2004) used in Bolivia to encourage children to talk about their negotiation with their parents were along the following lines, but were often asked in relation to another daily activity:

> Could you refuse to do a particular job if you were told to do it by your parents?
>
> What do you do to make jobs you don't like doing more enjoyable?

Answers to these questions demonstrated that children have a wide range of avoidance and coping strategies to make domestic chores less burdensome.

Observations revealed the processes of negotiation through which parents and children divide jobs between different members of the family, and also demonstrated the way that parents encourage children to develop new skills by taking on different roles and responsibilities.

2.3   Human Capacity

While attention is being paid to the human capital of individual children to measure the effects of poverty, the personal endowment of households and social networks is an important moderating factor. Human capacity relates to the education levels, social and life skills, roles, attitudes, values and practices of individuals and communities. Some of this research will need to be done with caregivers and household heads to address ideas about children's development and child rearing, the nature of familial aspirations for children, and the norms that shape the obligations between generations, amongst other issues.

Details on the education levels of household members are collected through the household roster in Rounds one and two. Section 12 attempts to address the attitudes and values of the primary caregiver. This section also addresses the psychosocial issues covered in section four of the twelve-year-old questionnaire, including pride and shame, stigma and discrimination, life satisfaction and self-efficacy[5] and are discussed below.

A few items regarding self-efficacy with regard to child outcomes are of particular note when discussing human capital:

> 12.1.12 By sending my child to school I can ensure that they get a good start in life.
>
> 12.1.15 I had no choice about which school to send my child to.
>
> 12.1.18 I can do little to help my child do well in school, no matter how hard I try.
>
> 12.1.18 If my child gets really sick, I can do little to help them get better.

Attitudes to education are assessed using the following questions:[6]

> 12.5 When you were a child, did you ask your parents to send you to school?
>
> 12.6 Do you think that formal schooling is (or could be) useful in your current life?
>
> 12.7 Imagine that a man in the VILLAGE/SUBURB has a 12 year-old son who is attending school full-time. He badly needs his son to work full-time, but his son wants to stay in school. What should the man do?
>
> 12.8 Ideally, what grade/stage of schooling would you like NAME to complete before they leave school?
>
> 12.9 Do you expect NAME will actually finish school before this point?
>
> 12.10 What are main reasons NAME is most likely to drop out of school early? You can give up to three answers but please give the most important one first.
>
> 12.16 Finally, imagine that a man in the VILLAGE/SUBURB has a 12 year-old daughter who is attending school full-time. He badly needs his daughter to work full-time, but his daughter wants to stay in school. What should the man do?

---

[5] Self-efficacy is a technical term referring to an individual's feelings about their personal capabilities, for example to solve a problem or to achieve a personal goal.

[6] Questions 12.8-12.10 are only asked of caregivers of 12 year-old children who are still enrolled in school. These questions are included elsewhere in the 5year old questionnaire. At this point, caregivers of five year-olds are asked
12.8 How disappointed would you be if NAME did not finish primary school?
12.9 How disappointed would you be if NAME did not finish secondary school?

Caregiver attitudes to children more generally are assessed through the following questions[7]

12.11 What do you think would be the ideal number of children for you to have or to have had?

12.12 I am going to read you a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. I want you to rate each quality on this scale, telling me how important you think it is. (independence; hard work; feeling of responsibility; imagination; tolerance and respect for other people; thrift, saving money and things; determination, perseverance; religious faith; unselfishness; obedience).

12.13 I have a list here of reasons people may give for wanting to have children in general. Please use this scale as a guide. Think about your experience with your own (child/children) and tell me how important the following reasons for wanting to have children are to you personally.

The following questions assess caregiver's expectations about child's future:

12.14   Please tell me the extent to which you expect the following kinds of help from NAME when he/she is grown-up

12.14.1 That s/he continues living close to you.

12.14.2 That s/he provides financial assistance to his younger brothers and sisters.

12.14.3 That s/he helps you with housework.

12.14.4 That s/he provides financial assistance to you.

12.14.5 That s/he helps you care for his younger siblings.

12.14.6 That s/he cares for you when you are old.

12.14.7 That s/he provides emotional support to you.

12.15   At what age did NAME/do you expect NAME to

12.15.1 Start earning money to support your household?

12.15.2 Leave full-time education?

12.15.3 Be financially independent of HIS/HER parents?

12.15.4 Leave this household?

12.15.5 Get married?

---

[7] NB The numbers of these questions correspond to the twelve-year-old caregiver questionnaire, not the five-year-old one. Question 12.12 is from the World Values Survey. Question 12.13 gives a number of reasons for having children, which load onto two factors: economic/utilitarian and psychological/social. Drawn from the Value of Children project, these demonstrate the main value that is placed on children.

Some of these questions (12.7, 12.15, and 12.16) are asked of twelve-year-olds as well, to analyse the extent to which attitudes to education, work, and marriage are transmitted between generations and to what extent they differ.
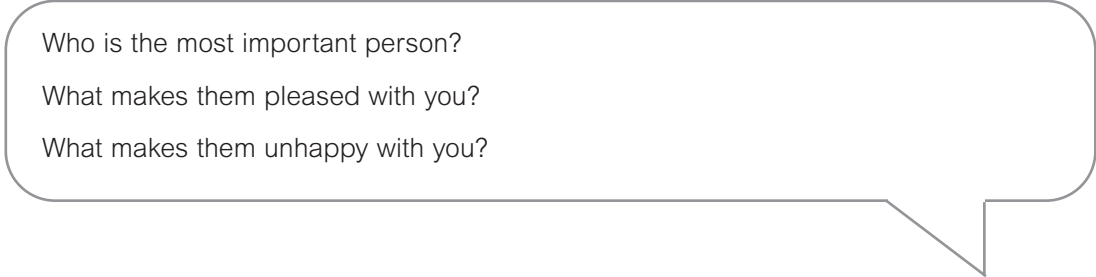
Qualitative work on social networks (sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2) will demonstrate whom the children see as their key support groups and sources of information and advice. Once identified, the human capacity of these individuals, including adults, siblings and peers, could be researched using some of the instruments for measuring capacities, competencies and functioning outlined below (Section 3.1, 3.2, 3.3) and using the above attitudinal questions. Further, where the household head is different from the primary caregiver, asking these attitudinal questions of the household head is important since their opinions and views are likely to strongly influence the opportunities and constraints experienced by the child.

2.3.1 Family Aspirations

In order to test the validity of these questions, less structured interviews with parents could be carried out.

Who Matters?

Another way to assess children's perceptions of parental aspirations is through the 'Who Matters?' activity mentioned above. After indicating who the people in their lives are, children are asked to name the most important person and are asked the following questions:

> Who is the most important person?
>
> What makes them pleased with you?
>
> What makes them unhappy with you?

Differences in the expectations of fathers, mothers, and others with relation to work, school and other topics could be explored.

2.3.2 Community Roles and Norms

Focus Group Discussions with Adults

To understand the norms and general expectations about children's lives, FGDs with groups of parents, elders and other adults in the community around the following questions could be useful. The first four are adapted from Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children focus groups with adolescents in Sierra Leone (2002), whereas the others are new.

What does 'youth' mean in XXX [Name of community/country]?

How do you become an adult?

What is the role of youths in society?

Do you consider youth to be important in your community and/or society?

Do you consider youths to be important to the future of your community/society?

At what age do you think that girls/boys should leave school?

What are the best jobs for girls/boys under ten to do?

Should they be paid for these jobs?

What about girls/boys over ten? Should they be paid?

When do girls/boys leave the family home?

Do girls/boys continue to have responsibilities to you after this?

Do you continue to have responsibilities to girls/boys?

This method usually reveals the general perceptions of a group, not the attitudes of individuals. However, the answers of individual parents could be recorded if there were enough researchers, and if participants consented to have their comments recorded individually.

Focus Group Discussions with adolescents

Some of the above questions could be asked of groups of index children, or in semi-structured interviews with children. Additionally, some discussion around role models would be an interesting and fun way to understand the perceived values and aspirations for children. Kakama (2002) asked two questions about role models: 'Who is your role model?' and 'Why is [NAME] your role model?' These questions may yield different answers in a FGD rather than an individual survey, especially as they were included in the 'parental relations' section of Kakama's questionnaire rather than in a more general context here. Further ideas from a Women's Commission study in Sierra Leone (2002) include:

Do you feel you have any positive role models in your community?

Is there anyone you especially admire? Why?

What gives you hope? Why?

3. The effects of poverty on children's lives

The second line of enquiry that this paper addresses is:

b) What effects do multidimensional aspects of poverty have on children's functioning, capabilities and well-being during the course of childhood?

3.1 Cultural Competencies

'Cultural competencies' refer to those cognitive and other skills that can be hypothesised to be useful to children over their life-course. We are specifically interested in those skills and competencies that may help children to transition out of poverty or may be detrimentally affected by poverty. Although a measure of cognitive functioning (Raven's progressive matrices) was included in the eight-year-old questionnaire in Round 1, subsequent rounds will seek to measure cultural competencies in a less abstract sense.[8] Consequently, assessing educational achievement, and children's acquisition of vocational and life skills seems more appropriate. Some of these measures (3.1.1) might be included in the full-sample questionnaire.

3.1.1 School and Educational Achievement

Academic achievement is an important outcome measure for our study since it improves individual's prospects for the future more than years spent in school (White & Masset 2004, Hanushek 2005). Since the quality of school is known to have a large impact on children's academic achievement, measures concerning the quality of schooling will also be discussed in this section, to ascertain the difference in quality of education between poorer and richer parts of the same country and the effect this has on attendance and achievement.

Preschool measures of linguistic competence – Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test

Many competencies that have been considered important for starting school in the West, including independence and creative thinking, would not be suited to other classroom contexts where different competencies are valued (Levine et al. 1994). However, verbal functioning is important for all children attending school since children must be able to adequately understand their teachers and formulate answers, ideas, and questions. Consequently, it is most important to study children's competence in the language of education in their country. It may also be interesting to test their verbal competence in their own main language, as a means of comparison and because verbal ability in one language affects acquisition of a second language (see for example, Rutter 2003). The relevance for policy of obtaining verbal competence is also clear: if children are not capable of speaking the language of education, they will inevitably be disadvantaged. Round one has already demonstrated that caregivers in the poorest families often do not speak the main language of the country, at least in Peru (Escobal et al 2003)[9]. Since many of these belong to ethnic minorities, they may also experience discrimination and isolation in other areas of life.

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[8] For more discussion of the results on these tests from Round 1, see Johnston (unpublished).

[9] For example, Escobal et al (2003) in the Preliminary report from Peru write that 80% of the poorest group were fluent in Spanish, compared to 100% in the better off group, while 47% of the poorest caregivers were literate in Spanish, compared to 96% of the better-off group. The other preliminary reports do not report on literacy and fluency of caregiver, or disaggregate the results for poverty status.

One of the most widely used and validated tests of receptive vocabulary for American English is the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test – Revised (PPVT-R). A word is spoken and the participant must choose the correct one of four pictures.[10] This test has been shown to be 'largely dependent on the richness of the verbal environment '(Molloy 1981: 105), giving rise to sub-cultural differences among groups.

Although developed within a specific cultural and linguistic context, the PPVT-R has been successfully adapted for use in various countries, including Kenya (Daley et al. 2005), Guatemala (Engle et al. 1992)[11] and Indonesia (Hussaini et al. 1991, Pollitt et al. 1997). Pollitt and Triana (1999) note that the test is considered an indicator of achievement to the extent it measures vocabulary acquisition and it can be used with children of pre-school and school age.

One potential way forward for Young Lives would be to develop versions of the PPVT for the different countries. Daley et al. (2005) developed an East African version with samples of urban children in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda while Engle et al. (1992) used common objects from the village in their Guatemalan test. Construction and piloting of these tests might take a considerable amount of time, however.

It must be noted that administering this test to the four-year-old children is likely to intimidate them, given that enumerators will be perceived as authority figures and higher status than the child will. In Round 1, Tuan et al (2003: 43) noted that the literacy and numeracy section of the Vietnam eight-year-old questionnaire had the highest rate of missing cases:

> ranging from six cases for reading, seven cases for writing, up to 229 cases (23 per cent) for the numeracy section. Unfortunately, most of the missing cases for the numeracy section come from ethnic minority children (reportedly due to shyness).

Consequently, every effort should be made to reduce the inhibition the child may feel and allow them to demonstrate the best of their abilities. Administrators should be trained to make children feel relaxed and time should be allowed for a fun activity or game, such as a visual tour, prior to the test. Alternatively, if there is a literate sibling, they may be able to administer the test while the enumerator oversees them.

Academic Achievement measures

For older age groups, who will mostly have received primary education up to grade 4, there are a number of options for assessing their achievement. The following tests are being considered for inclusion in the full sample twelve-year-old questionnaire, through discussions with Santiago and Martin Woodhead. It must be remembered that some children will not have completed grade four and many may not have learnt everything they were expected to.

The international institute of assessment of educational achievement (IEA) is an independent, international cooperative of national research institutions and governmental

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[10] The original version (1959) consisted of two forms (L and M), was individually administered, allows a non-verbal or verbal response and is un-timed but only takes 10-20 minutes. The PPVT-R was designed by Dunn and Dunn (1981) and retains all of these features but contains more items (350 instead of 300), to increase its reliability and ability to discriminate. The test is suitable for ages from 2.5-40 and was standardised during 1979 on a sample of children chosen to represent the 1970 US census data, including racial-ethnic and urban-rural populations. The test manual reports internal consistencies from .61 to .88, and alternate form reliability values from .71 to .91 from the standardisation sample. Also, when alternate-form equivalency is examined by comparing means, Form M typically produces slightly higher standard score equivalents than does Form L.

[11] This method also collected a productive vocabulary school by first asking children to name the objects, then later to point to the ones they had not been able to name correctly.

research agencies that provide data on educational achievement to allow for cross-national comparison and to influence educational policy-making.

The general method is random sampling in two stages (school and class within grade) followed by the administration of tests to an entire class. Instruments were created in English then translated and verified, with checks to ensure that difficulty was not affected.

IEA PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study)

This project began in 2001 with an assessment of the reading literacy achievement of children in fourth grade (defined as the upper of the two grades with most nine-year-olds) in a number of countries, though not any Young Lives countries. Literary texts and informational sources were used and children answered questions in a separate test booklet. Responses were open-ended or multiple choice and assessed children's ability to engage in a range of reading processes. Different blocks were distributed across different booklets. Each child did two blocks, 40 minutes each (examples can be downloaded from http://isc.bc.edu/pirls2001i/PIRLS2001_Pubs_UG.html)

Using these items would allow for comparison across sites and with other countries and would have the advantage of having been developed and validated by the world-leaders in this field. However, in sites where Young Lives children attend different schools or where administration through schools was not possible, these tests would take a long time and would be relatively uninteresting for children. They may also be too hard for some children and would not test lower levels of literacy in much depth.

IEA TIMSS-R (Third International Mathematics and Science Survey-Repeated)

The latest version of this project in 1999 tested maths and science at 8th grade in many countries but not any Young Lives case study countries. It is likely to be too hard for most of the children in our older cohort but may be useful in future rounds for those who are continuing with secondary education. The science questions covered earth science, life science, physics, chemistry, environmental and resource Issues, scientific enquiry and the nature of science (see http://isc.bc.edu/timss1999i/pdf/t99science_items.pdf for examples) while maths questions covered fractions and number sense, measurement, algebra, geometry, data representation, analysis and probability (see http://isc.bc.edu/timss1999i/pdf/t99math_items.pdf for examples).

IEA Pre-primary Study

The IEA High/scope preschool study focussed on early childhood care and education. Specifically, they examined how adults' educational values and expectations for four-year-olds affect the way they (parents, teachers, caregivers) organised environments and activities for children. Further, in phase three, the effect of these early structures on educational outcomes at age seven were examined. To date, attempts to access the measures used have been unsuccessful.

Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS)

This study (White and Masset 2004) was the source for the measures in Round 1 but the tests were longer in the GLSS. Simple written tests measured reading and comprehension in English and mathematics and abstract thinking. Longer tests for mathematics and reading contained 36 questions and 29 questions respectively. Only individuals with more than three years' education took the mathematics and reading tests.

The short English reading test consists of a few English sentences that make a short story and eight multiple choice comprehension questions. The short Maths test consists of eight questions (addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division), of increasing difficulty. The advanced English and mathematics test were previously used in a study on educational achievement in Kenya and Tanzania in 1980.

In order to assess the reliability of the tests "Cronbach's alpha" was calculated. The tests had coefficients equal to or in excess of 0.7.

These tests are quicker than the IEA studies but have a number of other problems: there is no test for science; the maths test was designed in English and regression analyses demonstrated that, despite efforts to minimise this effect, mathematics test scores were, to some extent, dependent on English proficiency; and the tests appear less attractive and interesting (for examples see pages 49-52, Annex A, of http://econwpa.wustl.edu/eps/dev/papers/0504/0504013.pdf).

Quality of Schooling

Caregivers of five-year-olds are asked for their opinion of the quality of the primary school that their child is attending or will attend. Further information about the quality of the school is likely to be gained through the following three questions in the full-sample twelve-year-old questionnaire:

> 1.5 What are/were the best things about being at school? You can give up to three answers but please give the most important one first.
>
> 1.6 What are/were the worst things about being at school? You can give up to three answers but please give the most important one first.
>
> 1.10 What are the main reasons you are not currently going to school?
> You can give up to three answers but please give the most important one first.

While some answers will be irrelevant to school quality, others are likely to reveal if children perceive attending school to be valuable or not, and whether there are specific aspects of the school that they consider to be off poor quality.

Likes and dislikes with reference to school could be considered in more depth through sub-sample qualitative work as follows.

<u>Drawing</u>

Sapkota & Sharma (1996) encouraged children to draw the things they liked best at school and used these as a stimulus for discussion. This method is unlikely to be suitable for twelve-year-olds but could be suitable for those five-year-olds already in pre-school or for the younger cohort in future rounds. However, Johnson's (1996) concerns about the use of drawing as a method should be borne in mind and it may not be suitable for all Young Lives sites.

Guided Tour

In line with the Mosaic Method (Clark & Moss 2005) which has been used to assess the quality of early childhood care from the perspective of four-year-olds, tours of children's schools and/or preschools may elicit discussion on the perceived quality of their education. This is likely to work best if there are a number of Young Lives children in a particular school.

Flow diagrams

Guijt et al. (1994) conducted an extensive study with children in Uganda to highlight some of the issues surrounding school attendance and the impact of the quality of school. For example, children completed a simple flow diagram to demonstrate the effects of aspects of the school environment on children, their decisions to attend and their general well-being.

Tabulation

Guijt et al. (1994) also investigated in more depth why children were dropping out of school in Uganda. They drew a simple table on the ground and inserted reasons for dropping out down the left-hand side and years of primary schooling along the top. Children positioned sticks at the relevant point in the table to indicate the reasons they thought children dropped out at different stages of education, the length of the stick indicated how many drop out at that stage. This could provide an interesting comparison with the answers to question 3.10 "What are the main reasons you are not currently attending school" but should also stimulate discussion about the quality of schooling and the relative merits of academic achievement compared to other skills.

3.1.2 Work

Work is another arena for cultural competence development, through formal and informal vocational training, and more indirectly. It also sometimes prevents children going to school, where they acquire other cultural competencies as discussed above). The twelve-year-old questionnaire includes a couple of questions that may elicit information about the skills and experiences gained through work:

1.10 What are the main reasons you are not currently going to school? (Fieldworker circle all that apply, do not prompt) [One pre-coded answer is 'Going out to work gave me better prospects']

What are the main things you like about NAME OF PRIMARY JOB? [One pre-coded answer is 'Skills and training']

What are the main things you dislike about NAME OF PRIMARYJOB? [One pre-coded answer is 'Less time for school.']

However, these questions do not directly address vocational skills and the perceived value of work experience and may elicit many other answers. Consequently, this is an important area for further sub-sample work.

The impact of work on children – Flow Diagrams

Guijt et al. (1994) encouraged children in Uganda to produce flow diagrams representing the impact on the standard of living of children who no longer go to school. Discussion around such a diagram could focus on the acquisition of skills through work and the relative value of school and work.

Hard Choices

Woodhead (1998) developed a procedure for helping children to compare the relative merits of school and work. Picture cards representing 'school' and 'work' were placed side by side and then children were asked to judge which is best for them, in their present family circumstances: only going to work/being a working child; only going to school/being a schoolchild; going to work and attending school. This led to a discussion about whether it was possible to attend school and work together and also what the benefits of each were. These discussions demonstrate the constraints within which children operate but also give some scope for understanding the perceived benefits of work for acquiring skills and experience. It must be noted, however, that this question may have to be directly asked, perhaps in the form: "How does work prepare you for the future?"

The 'good things' and the 'bad things'

In Woodhead (1998), a picture of school and a picture of the child's occupation were used along with a sad face and a happy face to prompt discussion about the good things about being a working child, which made them happy, pleased, proud, or confident, and the bad things, which made them sad, frightened, angry, and bored. In this exercise, skills training, independence, self-esteem, and social relationships were three major themes in the positive aspects of work, second to the economic benefits of working. In fact, 46% of the groups of girls indicated that developing strength and skills was a benefit of working. Therefore, this exercise may elicit useful information about the acquisition of certain cultural competencies, as well as revealing more about the lived experience of working children. This exercise was done with working children and would make little sense in its current form for children who do no paid work.

3.1.3   Other Life Skills

Cultural competencies are broader than vocational skills and educational skills and include those life skills that are important for getting by in life. These may be taught through basic education (Chinipah 1997) but may also be passed on by relatives or friends.

Monitoring Learning Achievement scales

Chinapah (1997) in UNESCO's handbook on Monitoring Learning Achievement (MLA), identified numeracy, literacy and life skills among the basic competencies defined as the desirable outcomes of basic education. Within this understanding,

> *"Life skills refer to the basic educational skills that human beings need for their survival and to develop their intellectual potential to improve the quality of their lives."*
>
> (Chinapah 1997: 11)

Consequently, UNESCO's protocol for monitoring learning achievement covers aspects of problem-solving and social skills in the areas of health/hygiene/nutrition; everyday life; social and natural environments. This protocol was piloted in five countries, and then run in a further 22 countries, including India. It is a model that can be replicated in any country because it allows a degree of flexibility in the formulation of questions around a competence or theme.

The following are examples of questions about health and hygiene (Chinapah 1997:27):

The doctor goes to the school to vaccinate children. Why is it important to be vaccinated?

❑ a. to grow more quickly

❑ b. to avoid catching certain serious illnesses

❑ c. to be more intelligent

❑ d. to cure certain serious illnesses
(Jordan)

Ali is ill. Ali's mother must give him medicine. How should she go about this?

❑ a. she gives the amount prescribed by the doctor

❑ b. she gives Ali a lot of medicine so he gets better more quickly

❑ c. she gives Ali the same amount as she gave him last time he was sick

❑ d. she gives him the same amount as a neighbour, who has the same illness as Ali
(Morocco)

If you have diarrhoea for one or many days, whom will you consult?

❑ a. a traditional healer

❑ b. a marabout

❑ c. a doctor

❑ d. I do not know
(Mali)

Your little sister is ill, you touch her forehead, and it is very hot. Which of the following instruments would you use to see if she has a fever? [Show pictures of stethoscope, thermometer, and syringe)
(Mauritius)

Before eating, you must always:

❑ a. wash your face

❑ b. wash your hands

❑ c. comb your hair

❑ d. I do not know
(Mali)

In Chinipah (1997) there are more examples of questions on nutrition, battery use, cooking, electric storms, road safety, millet crops, sewage disposal, fire safety, own country flag recognition, what to do when you find a watch.

Although originally administered through a self-completion questionnaire, these questions could be used in a semi-structured interview, with the interviewer reading out the optional answers, presenting a number of visuals from which to choose the correct response, or collecting open-ended answers. If the collective skill level of a group was of interest, this could be collected through focus group discussions (FGD) on these topics.

The body map exercise below (3.2.3) would also allow for discussions about children's understanding of diseases and treatments.

What if?

The life skills assessed by the MLA protocol might also be explored through semi-structured methods such as a FGD or interview based on the 'What If?' method. For example, scenarios could cover issues such as:

> What if a child in your family is ill? What should you do?
>
> What if someone in your family has worms? What precautions should you take?
>
> What if you have diarrhoea? Who will you consult?
>
> What if you cut your hand? What should you do?
>
> What if you are ill and need medicine? How many should you take?

Activity Tables & Worksheets

Punch (2001) reports various ways in which she came to appreciate the skills acquired by children through their daily activities and chores. For example, she asked children to fill in a list of the agricultural, animal-related, and domestic tasks they knew how to do. This method also collected information about children's daily activities, their enjoyment of these tasks, and whether this task was seasonal or all-year. Consequently, it covers many of the issues addressed in section 3.3 below. However, the aspect of 'know-how' was included and emphasised further through worksheets which elaborated on the information gathered through activity tables. One of these worksheets asked children who did what tasks in the household, who helped with the tasks, who never did them and at what age people learnt to do the task. This information would give a good indication of the life skills obtained through domestic chores at different ages.

Both these tasks were conducted in a classroom but could be used with groups of Young Lives children in communities or individually. Both would need to be adapted for those who were illiterate or had problems with their reading and writing. Similar questions could be used in interviews or group discussions.

3.2   Psychosocial Capacities

The term 'psychosocial' is used here to describe the psychological, social and cultural factors that influence well-being, after the definition developed by the Psychosocial Working Group (2003). The focus on capacities reflects the recognition that children often demonstrate great resilience in the face of adversity to the extent that this can be understood to be 'ordinary' (Masten 2001: 227). However, different aspects of poverty are hypothesised to affect children's psychosocial capacities in different ways. For example, children's agency (their ability and opportunity to make their own decisions) will be influenced by the facets of poverty in which they grow up. This may increase or decrease their feelings of self-efficacy, self-esteem, and shame. Those who are able to help their families report a sense of pride and responsibility (Woodhead 1998, Punch 2004) whereas the poorest of the poor often report feelings of shame and low self-esteem, because of the stigmatisation and discrimination they experience, as well as their limited opportunities for change (Boyden et al. 2003).

Section 11 of the full-sample twelve-year-old questionnaire attempts to address some psychosocial capacities and the contexts in which children live along three dimensions: stigma and discrimination; pride and shame; agency. The method used in the questionnaire is a Likert-type response scale in which children indicate their dis-/agreement with various statements in terms of how much they sound like themselves. The individual items will be included below. Pride, shame, and agency will be discussed in this section because they are psychosocial capacities whereas stigma and discrimination will be discussed in section 3.4 because it relates more to how children are treated. Obviously, these concepts are related and should be analysed together but are separated here to allow other instruments to be discussed alongside them. Firstly, however, follows a brief discussion of Likert-type scales, which is relevant to sections 11 and 13 of the questionnaire.
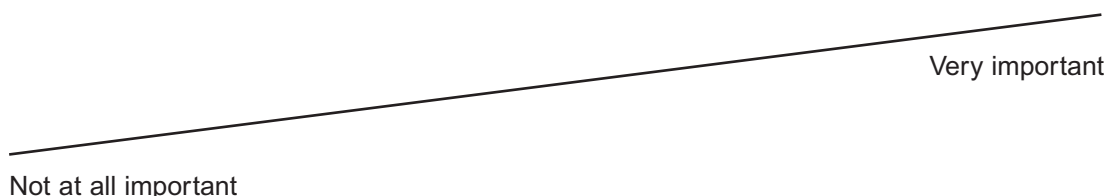
Likert Scales

Likert-type scales have been widely administered as pen and pencil questionnaires to adults in industrialised nations to measure a variety of attitudes. They have also been used with adults in Thailand (Criswell & Ariyabuddhiphongs 2005), Mexico, and Latin America (Santiago et al. 2003) and with adolescents in Nigeria (Slap et al 2003).

While psychology undergraduates, and many in the West used to psychometric testing, may find it possible to answer a question such as 'I am happy with myself', children in the developing world who are less used to introspection in general, find it easier to answer questions that make the context or determinants specific. Consequently, questions need to be contextualised so that children find them easier to answer.

In order to make it easier to understand the scale, a visual representation of the response categories will be required. Some modification of Rossiter (1977)'s small and big tick boxes may be helpful, combined with a culturally valid marker of agreement/disagreement or yes/no. For example, using pictures of 'thumbs up' and 'thumbs down' or ticks and crosses. Loughry et al (2005) used different sizes of triangle to indicate the responses 'rarely', 'sometimes,' and 'usually'. Bourai (1997) reports using a small ladder made of natural items such as twigs, and allowing participants to point out on the ladder the extent of their agreement. Griesel et al (2004) recognised that conventional rating scales used in attitude

research make assumptions about participants' familiarity with the language and procedure of rating scales. Working with children in South Africa, they invited participants to indicate the extent of agreement with a statement by using a line on a gradient:

Very important

Not at all important

Even using this visual aid, the method had to be reviewed with children several times before they fully understood it (Griesel et al. 2004).

Because the statements will have to be read out by the fieldworker, there is possibility for some confusion for the child if they are being asked to respond to the statement about themselves. For this reason, it needs to be emphasised that the child needs to respond to whether this sounds 'like me' or not but this should not be an insurmountable problem (Greaney and Neuman 1990). Theis (1996) reports from his work in Vietnam, that having a visual intermediary is often a useful tool in research with children so a model or puppet that represents the child and moves along the scale might be useful. To visually illustrate the model represents the child, Martin Woodhead suggested writing the child's name on the model on a removable sticker (personal communication, November 2005).

The proposed Likert scale has four points with a 'don't know' option included in the coding, as for other questions in the questionnaire, if children really cannot answer. Rossiter (1977) demonstrate that this enabled the maximum level of discrimination for US eight/nine-year-olds while Sa'di (2001) notes that there has been concern over the suitability of a five point Likert scale for Western children of this age. Although the children in the Young Lives study are older, they may not be literate and may be less familiar with being asked their opinion. The absence of a mid-point is "advisable to prevent children opting for 'don't know' as a means of avoiding the question" (Rossiter 1977: 180). Five or more points can be overwhelming for children whereas three points approximates to 'yes', 'no' and 'don't know' so may not add much value.

This method will need to be piloted thoroughly to establish its suitability for the age group and whether the concepts are intelligible in different contexts and languages. Practise questions also need to be included such as "I like eating rice" or "I hate spaghetti" (adapted from Loughry et al. 2005)

It is important to clarify that none of the scales suggested for use in the questionnaire have yet demonstrated reliability in the Young Lives cultural contexts, with the possible exception of the parental expectations scale (Slap et al. 2003). Consequently, they might need to be analysed as single items. However, each group of questions might prove to be a reliable scale. Their validity would also need to be assessed through comparison with qualitative work.

3.2.1 Agency and Self-efficacy

Efficacy can be understood as "a child's sense of agency or mastery" or their sense of competence (Brewer 2003: 93) and corresponds to other psychological concepts in psychology: an internal locus of control; the opposite of helplessness. The following items from Section 11 of the twelve-year-old questionnaire address agency and self-efficacy. 11.15 and 11.21 are only asked if this child is in school or work respectively.

> 4.1.2 AG1 If I try hard, I can improve my situation in life [+]
>
> 4.1.3 AG2 Other people in my family make all the decisions about how I spend my time
>
> 4.1.4 AG3 I like to make plans for my future studies and work [+]
>
> 4.2.3 AG4 If I study hard at school I will be rewarded by a better job in future [+]
>
> 4.3.2 AG5 I have no choice about the work I do – I must work

These questions are derived in part from Brewer's (2003) review of psychosocial instruments for use with child domestic workers in developing world contexts.

In the second part of the feelings and attitudes section in the twelve-year-old questionnaire (Section 4b), the following question addresses children's perceived satisfaction with their life and their perceived ability to improve their situation. Since most children's power increases with age, a negative answer to question 4.9 will indicate that children have significantly reduced perceived agency.

> 4.8 There are nine steps on this ladder. Suppose we say that the ninth step, at the very top represents the best possible life for you and the bottom represents the worst possible life for you. Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?
>
> 4.9 Do you think you will be able to move up the ladder in order to improve your situation in the next four years?
>
> 4.10 How far do you think you will be able to move up the ladder?

Other scale measures

Griesel et al. (2004) in their analysis of the psychological outcomes of a children's participatory urban environment improvement project developed a scale for the measurement of feelings of self-efficacy. As Bandura (1997, cited in Griesel 2004: 284) argues, self-efficacy needs to be understood within a specific context. Griesel et al. (2004) developed a Likert-type response scale with the programme directors and fieldworkers to cover self-efficacy in six areas: social issues and issues to do with peer groups; school; independence; personal achievement and environment. The measure had 42 items in all. Each item consisted of a behaviour (for example "It is important that people listen to what you say") and children had to rate each item firstly for importance and secondly for the extent to which they match this behaviour. Children's self-efficacy score was calculated by

weighting the self-descriptive estimates in terms of the idealised estimates, so giving an indication of how much children were able to live up to their own ideals. This scale had good internal reliability.

While some of the questions in the full-sample questionnaire cited above are contextualised, more will be understood about children's feelings of self-efficacy through more specific investigations. These specific behaviours and contexts would need to be identified through discussion with children and local country teams.

Qualitative Methods: Aspirations and Wishes

Woodhead (1998) included some questions in 'Who Matters' that ask questions about children's autonomy with relation to important people. However, this is more appropriately addressed within the framework of inter-household power dynamics covered in section 2.2. The construct of interest here is how these and other issues in children's lives have an impact on their feelings of self-efficacy. One way to investigate this is through exploration of children's aspirations although this measures efficacy in a slightly different way: with regard to the future instead of the day-to-day.

The making of plans and aspirations seems to be common to children in many contexts, regardless of whether they are achievable or not (see for example the aspirations of South African girls in townships with low social mobility Kritzinger, 2002, cited in Brewer 2003).

Zur (1990) also report asking children in Guatemala to complete the following sentence: 'When I grow up I want to be….and do not want to be….'. However, asking a similar question of eight-year-olds in the Round 1 questionnaire proved difficult to answer. Consequently, such questions need to be asked in a more open-ended way and provide a clearer context for children to imagine. For example, asking children what job they want to be doing in x year's time, and what they think they will be doing then might be easier to answer.

The questionnaire for twelve-year-olds includes the following two questions about aspirations:

> 6.1 What job would you most like to do in the future?
>
> 6.2 When you are about 30 years old, what job do you think you will be doing?

Moss (2001) interviewed girls in South India about their schooling, material, and social aspirations and about the girl's older sister to compare aspirations and actual outcomes. This is obviously a flawed method because birth order and changes in the culture and opportunities could change outcomes for the younger girls. In Young Lives, we would be able to compare children's aspirations with their actual futures. However, what is of interest here is the extent and nature of children's plans and discussions of how they expect life to turn out could yield interesting information about their sense of efficacy.

Punch (2004) reports using worksheets addressing children's aspirations and plans.

Role-playing or theatre may further demonstrate children's plans and aspirations. Children could act out their lives in three, five, seven, and/or ten years from now. How they feel about doing this, the ease with which they can 'plan' their futures, as well as the actual themes they follow, would yield interesting perspectives on their perceived self-efficacy.

It is important to note again that these methods would not necessarily give information about children's efficacy in their present situation and may better be understood as 'hopes' or 'apathy'.

3.2.2 Pride and Shame

Pride and shame are more 'everyday' words for the psychological concept of self-esteem. Contextualising the questions makes them easier for children to answer and also recognises that such feelings are likely to depend on the situation.

> 4.1.4 PS1 I feel proud to show my friends or other visitors where I live [+]
>
> 4.1.8 PS2 I am ashamed of my clothes
>
> 4.1.9 PS3 I feel proud of the job my [INSERT RELATIONSHIP TO CHILD OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD] does [+]
>
> 4.2.1 PS4 I am often embarrassed because I do not have the right books, pencils and other equipment for school
>
> 4.2.5 PS5 I am proud of my achievements at school [IF NECESSARY PROMPT: IN   READING/SPORT/MATHS] [+]
>
> 4.3.1 PS6 I am embarrassed by/ashamed of the work I have to do.
>
> 4.3.3 PS7 The job I do makes me feel proud [+]
>
> 4.6 [If yes] Why do you feel proud? (Fieldworker circles all that apply. Do not prompt)

Who Matters?

As part of this activity (see section 2.1.1), Woodhead (1998) asked children to focus on themselves in the picture and explored their view of themselves, their confidence, self-esteem and pride by asking, "What makes you feel good about yourself? What are you proud of? What makes you feel bad about yourself? What are you ashamed of?" Comparing individual children's answers in these open-ended discussions with answers to the 'Pride & Shame' questions in the questionnaire might help to demonstrate the validity of the questions in the full-sample questionnaire.

3.2.3 Well-being

A more general approach to psychosocial capacities is to measure perceived well-being.

> *"The concept of well-being indicates an evaluation that is focused on the quality of the person's 'being'. Well-being is thus a vague concept that can span various aspects of life and is subject to normative debate, rather than a sharply and consensually defined thing."*
>
> <div align="right">(Gasper 2004: 13)</div>

In fact, one definition of well-being is linked closely with feelings of agency and self-efficacy:

> *"Human well-being is taken here to be not just a set of objective circumstances, such as having enough food or shelter but these combined with people's own evaluations of whether they are achieving what they aspire to achieve."*
>
> <div align="right">(Bevan et al. 2005: 17)</div>

Therefore, analysis of agency and aspirations (section 3.2.1) will contribute to the measurement of well-being. Here, we are considering subjective well-being as opposed to objective well-being: feelings as opposed to non-feelings (Gasper 2004). For this reason, the most important place to start is to identify the criteria by which well-being is understood in particular cultures or communities.

Well-being Exercise

Armstrong et al. (2004) adapted this method for use with adolescents in Sri Lanka from Jon Hubbard's functioning exercise, developed at the Centre for Victims of Torture, Minneapolis. Small groups (less than eight people) were asked to think of a girl or boy who, in their opinion, is doing well in life. They draw a stick figure to represent that person then write four things that suggest to them the child is doing well. These should then be discussed and the discussion noted down by the facilitator to ensure that any differences in spoken and written vernacular descriptions are obtained. Phrasing has to be carefully used to avoid obtaining causal reasons why the child might be doing well. The results can be considered indicators of wellbeing.

This exercise could be completed for different ages and genders to get the specific indicators of each group interested in.

Body Maps

A further method used by Armstrong et al. (2004) to elicit information about well-being and ill-being was the body map method. One child was drawn around on a big sheet of paper (by two other children of the same sex who both like drawing) to give a human outline. Children were then asked to think about what makes them feel bad or feel sick and identify the body part or place in the body that feels bad by drawing it on the body. They then had a discussion about the causes of these conditions, cures and who might be able to help them. Therefore, this method could link in with the life-skills section above. However, for the purposes of understanding concepts of well-being, this method yields data on psychological and emotional wellbeing and ill-being as well as physical ailments, especially in cultures where psychological problems have more obvious somatic symptoms.

Interviews

Once the criteria for well-being have been obtained, it would be interesting to conduct a semi-structured interview or another activity with individual children to ascertain how well they are doing on the meaningful criteria.

Culturally appropriate Surveys

Loughry et al. (2005) developed a scale for assessing Afghan children's psychosocial well-being based on insightful ethnographic work by de Berry (2003) which revealed three domains relevant to well-being for psychosocial well-being in Afghanistan: relationships, feelings, and positive coping in difficult circumstances. Once introduced to these concepts, local Afghan agency staff helped Loughry et al. to develop a 23-item questionnaire that covered these three domains. Focus groups of children and teachers also discussed the items. Loughry et al. chose to collect the information in a survey because they were told it would not be appropriate to conduct individual interviews with children. Children had to indicate their rating of 'rarely', 'sometimes' or 'usually' by circling or pointing to a triangle or small, medium or large size respectively.

If ethnographic work about well-being exists in Young Lives sites, it could be used in this way to develop either a written survey or a semi-structured interview. Otherwise, using the information from the wellbeing exercise could be formed into a survey in this way.

Surveys developed from these criteria could be given to the full sample in future Young Lives rounds. If this were to be done, children in all the different Young Lives contexts should be asked to develop indicators of well-being for the relevant ages for future Young Lives rounds for cohort one (ages eight; 11; 14) and cohort two (ages 15; 18; 21). However, it should be borne in mind that indicators of well-being will probably change over the coming ten years and the data collected this time would be the specific perceptions of a group of twelve-year-olds. Consequently, the well-being exercise may need to be repeated regularly and with
different age groups.

3.3   Functioning

Poverty impacts on children's time use and functioning, for example through their contribution to the household's poverty reduction strategies, including paid and unpaid work and migration. Young Lives is also interested in children's own strategies, the success of different strategies, and the effects of policies on poverty reduction.

3.3.1   Time use

Section 1 addresses many areas relevant to the issue of time use. As well as asking about the child's enrolment in school, children are asked the following questions about the actual amount of school they have attended and/or missed:

1.9 During the last 12 months, have you missed more than one week of school at any one time?

1.10.1 Why? You can give up to three answers but please give the most usual one first.

1.10.2 How many weeks school have you missed for this reason?

1.11 In which month did most of these absences (periods away from school) occur, if any?

1.11 will allow for some indication of seasonal variations in school attendance.

The following questions begin to address what the child does on a daily basis. Caregivers are also asked how much time children spend on various categories of activity (leisure, education, work etc).

1.19.1 Which of the following activities did you do yesterday/on xxx day (last working/school day)? (Range of school, domestic chores and leisure activities)

1.19.2 Who were you with when doing this activity?

1.19.3 Which of the above activities did you spend most time doing yesterday/ on xxx day (last working day)? (Rank first three activities)

Thus, there is an attempt to assess what the child does and also some aspect of the relative amount of time spent. However, the issue needs to be addressed in a lot more depth through sub-sample work:

Johnson (1996:3) notes that 'collecting information about children's daily lives can usually be successful with any age group'. The following methods have been used with a range of age groups and some will be suitable even for the younger cohort of four/five-year-olds. Some of this information could be gathered for different individuals within each household, to allow for intra-household comparisons of labour and time use.

Drawings

Some researchers report asking children to draw pictures of what they do 'outside of school' (Sapkota & Sharma 1996) or more generally (Harpham et al. 2005). However, Sapkota and Sharma (1996) note that some children copied each other, which obviously reduces the reliability of results and children should be spread out where possible to avoid this. A more serious issue is the interpretation of drawings: "It is unethical and unscientific for a researcher to interpret people's drawings and diagrams without consulting them." (Ennew and Plateau 2004: 207)

Harpham et al. (2005) did attempt to interpret children's drawings but found some more difficult to interpret than others while (Punch 2004) advocates asking children why they are drawing things as well as what they are drawing. This could be a useful method to 'warm up' young children (Harpham et al. 2005) but only if they are used to the materials (Johnson 1996) and not intimidated by the luxuries of a clean sheet of paper and pencils. However, this method is unlikely to be suitable for older children, who may be more conscious of their lack of artistic ability (Punch 1997).

Daily diaries

One way to collect information about children's daily lives is to ask them to keep a diary (Punch 1997). This depends on literacy, unless a tick list with pictures or colours could be inserted for each half hour slot, in which case some basic information could be gathered from illiterate children (Boyden and Ennew 1997). Punch (1997) notes that children give partial accounts and do not, for example, note down when they are doing more than one thing at a time such combining work and play. Sapkota and Sharma (1996) report that they needed to emphasise the importance of noting simultaneous activities, such as mending nets while herding cattle, but that children subsequently started collecting this information. However, they also report that some children got bored with this exercise, especially those who were illiterate. A further potential issue is that parents sometimes resent the fact that children use diary-writing as an excuse for not doing other chores, causing tension in the home (Punch 1997).

Recall

Johnson (1995) collected time allocation data for children by asking for the routine of the previous day for 15-20 days for each household member. Similarly, White (1975) asked children what they did for the previous 24 hours, noting both the activity and the duration. He coded the activities as 'useful' (care of smaller children, household chores, collecting firework) and 'productive' (production outside agriculture, animal care and feeding, non-agricultural wage labour, exchange or communal labour, agriculture).

Harpham et al. (2005) collected information about time use on a typical day. However, this is a difficult task for children and adults whereas asking for what children did yesterday or on a specific day yields much more specific, concrete and reliable information.

Boyden and Ennew (1997) compared data collected a recall and a diary task and demonstrated that information collected through recall includes more feelings and reflections but less specific times and details. For this reason, the choice of recall or diaries will determine what kind of data we collect. In this section we are interested in what children actually do with their time, so diaries would be more appropriate, but for other aspects of this research, we want to know about feelings as well. Reynolds (1991) used a combination of 24 hour-recall and observations to get complete information.

Seasonal Calendars

Although some seasonal variations in school attendance will be revealed by answers to question 1.11, other variations in work patterns and time use will not be highlighted. Johnson (1995) asked children to create seasonal calendars by placing sticks of different lengths on the ground to represent peak labour demands and times of particular disease and labour. Guijt et al. (1994) similarly report constructing seasonal calendars in this way with children in Uganda and used this as basis for discussing what activities children do when and whether these affect their school attendance.

Guided Tours

Guided tours have been used with children as young as four in the UK (Clark & Stratham 2005) and three in South Africa (Reynolds 1989) so they could be used with the younger Young Lives cohort to find out what children do at different times of the day. Since most young children, and some adults in cultures where time is less formally quantified, will find it difficult to give precise durations for their activities, only basic information about time use will be collectable. A further extension of this activity with very young children could be to take photos on the walk and create a map or timetable of their day. However, this is unlikely to be practical given time and budget considerations.

Observation

Observation of children's time use is probably the most comprehensive method but is also the most time consuming. It would preferably be combined with guided tours, so that something of children's reflection on their time use was considered (Clark and Stratham 2005). However, it would provide a good basis for intra-household comparisons of time use as many members could be observed simultaneously.

3.3.2 Work

Children are asked the following questions about work:

> **1.20** Have you done anything in the last 12 months to get money or things for yourself or your family?
>
> **1.21.1** What were these activities?
>
> **1.21.2** What form of payment was received or is expected for this activity?
>
> **1.21.3** Did you get to keep all or some of the payment for this activity?
>
> **1.21.4** Which activity did you spend most time on during the year?
> (Rank first three)
>
> **1.21.5** Were either of your parents present during this activity?
>
> **1.22** What do you most like about doing _____ (insert name of primary job)? You can give up to three answers but please give the most important one first.
>
> **1.23** What do you least like about doing _____ (insert name of primary job)? You can give up to three answers but please give the most important one first.
>
> **1.24** In the last three years, have you missed school because you were working for money or goods?

Further, information on how work affects cultural competencies can be collected as outlined above. However, there is scope for more detailed work on the actual nature and structure of children's work at the sub-sample level.

Interviews

Black (1997) developed a handbook for research with child domestic workers that covers many of the issues around child labour. For example, the key questions to ask concerning the terms of employment are:

> How was the child recruited?
>
> Has an advance been paid to the child's parents? How much?
>
> What are the implications of this advance?
>
> Does the employer make deductions for wages? If so, for what?
>
> Are any items given in kind? If so, what?
>
> Are presents or tips given? If so, how much per year?
>
> Is the employment contract oral or written?
>
> What agreement was made? Who made it?
>
> Are the child's parents clear about the terms of the agreement?
>
> Does the child understand the terms?
>
> (Black 1997: 10)

Further questions about the conditions of work, including the times spent working, the time off allowed, the physical hazards, violence and abuse and other aspects of work more specific to child domestic workers are outlined in this manual.

Which work is best?

In Woodhead (1998) et al, groups of children sorted five or six familiar children's occupations from best to worst using a series of progressive comparisons and picture cards as prompts. First, children judged their own occupation to others so that two piles were formed: 'better than' and 'worse than'. Then children sorted the two piles and laid the cards in rank order. At each stage, children were asked to give their reasons for the choice and were encouraged to reach a consensus. This method yielded information not just about children's 'occupational self-esteem' but also about their potential career plans, within realistic limits (Woodhead 1998: 44). For the purposes of understanding their 'functioning', this tool allows children to talk about and analyse their situation through comparison. Although only group opinions are preserved through this method, it might be possible to adapt this tool for individual use to add depth to the information obtained on individual children's likes and dislikes to do with work in the full-sample questionnaire.

Spider Diagram & Ranking

Baker (1996) used a spider diagram of health problems faced by working children when they were living on the streets, in the village, and at the NGO centre. These were then listed in a table and ranked by consensus on various criteria (frequency, degree of pain, how much it affected work, places where could be treated). Baker reports that this activity was enjoyable and kept the children's interest. This method could be used to discuss and rank the following items:

- illnesses (on the above criteria)

- jobs (similarly to Woodhead (1998))

- lessons at school (On usefulness for daily life, enjoyment, ease, job prospects etc)

- seasons in the year (for amount of work, amount of food available, weather, amount of worry).

In this way, this method could be adapted to assess many different aspects of children's lives and how they function in them.

3.3.3 Migration

The child themselves may have migrated and information on this will be obtained through the full-sample questionnaire. If we are interested on the experience of migration for the child, the first two methods apply. Alternatively, to analyse children's experience and perception of migration more generally, the second two methods below apply. Migration of the child's family members is important to explore because they may be providing remittances and may later provide options for the child's own migration.

Journey Maps

Semi-structured interviews with individual children who have migrated during the course of the Young Lives study should find out why they moved, where they moved, what the experience of moving meant for them in terms of their social, educational, occupational, and material worlds and how much choice they had in moving. One way to help participants to explore these issues may be to ask them to first draw a road with their journey on, illustrating where they started, moved through and where they are now. This could then be a prompt for discussion around the above issues.

Comparison of Old and New homes

If children have only lived in two places, a comparison of these places could be done by dividing a sheet of paper in half and asking them to list the differences between the two places. Exploration of the reasons for the move and children's feelings about their life now and in the past could be explored in this way. Unless many families moved at the same time, this would need to be conducted with individuals.

Maps

Children could construct diagrammatic maps with their home at the centre and all the people who have moved out of their home during their lifetime round the edge. Details about where they are, what they are doing, how often they come home, and whether they send any money back could be elicited from the child. However, it should be noted that

children's knowledge about these matters may be limited and it might be better to perform this task with someone else in the child's home unless children's perspectives were specifically required.

Worksheets

Punch (2004) reports using worksheets to discuss the issue of migration to Argentina with rural Bolivian children. I have not yet found out any more details on the questions she asked.

3.3.4 Analysis of strategies

How successfully children find their way out of poverty will largely be understood through the longitudinal research. However, it may also be possible to gather children's reflections on their poverty reduction strategies through exercises such as 'which work is best' and 'hard choices' outlined above. Further, van Donge et al. (2001) in their analysis of a targeted inputs programme in Malawi, assessed the feelings and attitudes of recipients and non-recipients of the inputs to growing food and to inputs. Respondents were asked to rate different statements on a five-point scale (very true; true; not true; not true at all; no opinion) and then asked for their reasons. The statements covered pride in growing one's food; the links between poverty and growing food and the Targeted Inputs Programme starter pack and included the following:

- Not growing one's food is a reason for shame.

- Ganyu or business is a better way to get food than working on one's own land.

- Food is not the most important crop as one can get money from other crops to buy food.

- Food is the major expense of poor rural families; therefore growing more food is the best way to be less poor.

- Poor people are only really helped by money instead of free maize or more food on the farm.

- People may not grow their own food, but that does not mean that they are poor.

- Free inputs are good for poor people, because loans are for rich people.

- Free inputs make people lazy.

While these statements were designed for use with adults and addressed a specific issue, similar statements could be formulated to address children's perceptions of these and other livelihood issues, as they are likely to have adopted or formulated opinions on these matters.

3.4   Children's Protection, Relationships and Integration

3.4.1 Stigma and Discrimination

Exclusion and discrimination have been identified as particularly important for children in middle childhood. The extent of stigma and discrimination at home, school and work is covered in sections 11 and 13 of the full-sample twelve-year-old old questionnaire, with questions 11.13, 11.14, 11.16, 11.18, and 11.19 applicable to school children only and question 11.22 asked only of working children.

> 4.1.6 SD1 When I am at shops/a market I am usually treated by others with fairness and with respect [+] 4.1.11 SD2
> Adults in my STREET/VILLAGE treat me worse than other children my age
>
> 4.4 [If positive] Why do you think this is? (Fieldworker circle all that respondent mentions; do not prompt)
>
> 4.2.2 SD3 The other children in my class treat me with respect [+]
>
> 4.2.4 SD4 Other pupils in my class tease me at school
>
> 4.2.6 SD5 My teachers treat me worse than other children
>
> 4.5 [If positive] Why do you think this is? (Fieldworker circle all that respondent mentions; do not prompt)

Diaries

White and Pettit (2004) report a method for monitoring experiences of discrimination and abuse. Unlike many participatory methods, this has been carried out on a large scale. Female residents of 2,000 villages in South India kept visual diaries of aspects of life such as husband's drinking, domestic violence, dalits having to drink out of separate glasses, dalits made to carry dead bodies or dead animals, and whether a girl can select her own husband (Vimalanathan et al., personal communication cited in White and Pettit 2004). Every six months, participants rate these and other aspects of life on a scale of one to five so that aggregate data can give an indication of social change. This could be adapted for use with children by focussing on the most relevant indicators of stigma and discrimination (obtained through focus group discussion) and data could be collected on a daily basis, to avoid the problems associated with recall (see section 3.3).

Picture Cards

Scenarios similar to some of those used by Woodhead (1998) in 'What If?' could be depicted and show children of different castes, ethnic groups, or disabilities. Participants could then be asked questions about what is happening and why, to elicit how important they think these distinctions are. Pictures should include children of the same group as themselves and different groups.

Moral stories

In order to investigate stigma and discrimination at the hands of authority figures, an adaptation of the scenarios used by Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986) might be possible. This method was used to measure evaluations of political violence by English and Northern Irish schoolchildren aged 10 and 11. Short moral stories were read to children, each including violence to or from security forces, parents or teachers. In half the cases, some justification was given for the violence. Children considered and judged these incidents on a Likert-type scale of one to five for their acceptability. We might be able to adapt this method to ask children to judge it for its likelihood or frequency of occurring to elicit differences in experiences and expectations of different groups of children with regard to authority figures. Alternatively, the scenarios could be about children of different groups, to elicit whether children of all groups expect them to be treated differently.

3.4.2 Children's social networks

Children's social networks provide sources of economic and practical support in times of need while also being arenas for the development of social skills. For methods to assess the extent, nature and structure of children's social networks and the ways in which these are utilised, see section 2.1 above.

3.4.3 Protection

'Social protection' refers to policies that seek to reduce the vulnerability of low-income households with regard to basic consumption and services through social funds, labour market interventions, and social insurance (World Bank 2005). However, the term 'protection' here is understood to be broader to also cover aspects of 'child protection' such as abuse and exploitation. No questions directly addressing these aspects of protection are addressed in the questionnaire but they are connected to issues such as stigma and discrimination.

Exploitation at work

As already discussed, Black (1997) has produced a comprehensive handbook for discussing issues of exploitation with child domestic workers. Many of these issues generalise to all working children. Further, the 'What If' exercises outlined by Woodhead (1998) also cover issues of exploitation and empowerment at work.

'Good' and 'Bad' Discipline

Ennew and Plateau (2004) have written an entire book on researching the emotional and physical punishment of children. Only some of their methods are cited here but it is a resource worth revisiting. They suggest adapting a method used by Swart (1990, cited in Ennew & Plateau 2004) with street boys in South Africa. Swart asked the boys to draw pictures of people doing 'good' things and people doing 'bad' things and demonstrated that they held relatively conventional values. This method could be used to find out what children consider 'good' and 'bad' methods of discipline and/or conflict resolution. Eliciting their interpretation is key to this process and it could lead to an exploration of the kinds of 'fair' and 'unfair' punishment given to children and for what reasons. If the researcher is trusted enough, this discussion may elicit personal stories.

Community Map

A further suggestion by Ennew and Plateau (2004) is to ask groups of children to indicate on a map of their community those places where they feel 'safe' and 'dangerous'. This could prompt discussion of the reasons why.

Social Map

Information about the home, including domestic abuse, was also elicited through the social map exercise as conducted by Armstrong et al. (2004).

Body Map

The method for the creation of body maps is discussed above in section 3.2.3. To investigate issues surrounding physical punishment or abuse, the researcher could ask children to mark on the map those 'places used for punishment', 'places that hurt', 'private places' or 'vulnerable places'(Ennew & Plateau 2004). A more subtle approach may be to conduct the body map exercise as noted above since this did elicit some answers relating to physical punishment.

Focus Group Discussion around visual stimuli

Ennew and Plateau (2004) also suggest using visual stimuli (photos, drawings, a photo-essay, posters, films or videos) to elicit discussion about discipline and punishment using questions such as "What do you think is happening?" "Who do you think they are?" "What is this?" "What does this show?" or "What does this mean?" These visual stimuli need to be appropriate for the age and context of the children, preferably developed by other children.

Essays

As noted above, essays have been used to obtain young people's opinions about punishment: 'who punishes me and why'. While dependent on literacy and requiring clear instruction, this method can allow for high comparability.

Time use and recall

Ennew and Plateau (2004) suggest collecting data on the discipline and punishment children receive alongside information about other activities. This can be through as-it-happens recording of events or through recall. The former is best for getting details while the latter is best for information about routines or one-time events. The period covered could be a day, week, year or lifetime but only recall would be possible for the latter two in Young Lives.

Frequency ranking

To investigate what types of punishment are given to children, Ennew and Plateau (2004) suggest asking single-sex groups of children to list different punishments they receive and then rank them according to frequency. This can lead into discussion about differences between genders or different groups and whether these are fair. This exercise could also be done individually if the child was comfortable enough with the researcher and if individual data was required, for example if this data was wanted for comparison with other aspects of the child's life such as poverty and his/her relationship with parents.

Investigating cash transfer programs

Cash transfer programmes focusing on children are currently a major policy issue that fall into the realm of social protection. Schemes are being launched in Peru and piloted in Ethiopia. Save the Children UK and others have researched the effectiveness of these programmes for individual children and conducted interviews with children as part of this process. Only brief details of the methods and methodology are given but a manual by Devereux and Marshall (2005) about the methodology will be available on-line soon.

3.5   Subjective Views

While many of the above methods have by necessity collected subjective views, and children's criteria for well-being have been addressed, this section will address methods for collection children's views of poverty specifically, their perception of problems, risks and resources and methods to use with young children to begin to access their subjective views.

3.5.1   Perceptions of Poverty

Caregivers and twelve-year-olds asked the following questions[13]:

> 6.10 At the moment, how would you describe the circumstances of the household you are living in?
>
> 01=Very rich, 02=Rich, 03=Comfortable – can manage to get by, 04=Never have quite enough, struggle to get by, 05=Poor, 06=Destitute
>
> 6.11 Compared to other households in NAME OF VILLAGE/SUBURB, would you describe your household at the moment as: 01=The richest, 02=Among the richest, 03=Richer than most households, 04=About Average, 05=A little poorer than most households, 06=Among the poorest, 07=The poorest

Wealth-ranking exercises have been used with children as well as adults to assess children's perceptions of who is poor and why (for example Harpham et al. 2005).

3.5.2   Risks and Resources in the Environment

The following questions in the full-sample questionnaire address children's views of their surrounding environment:

> Think about _____ (name VILLAGE/SUBURB/STREET)
>
> 12.1 What are the best things about living here?
>
> 12.2 What are the worst things about living here?

---

[13] Note that caregivers are also asked for perceived wealth at the time of last data collection (and for older cohort, previous to child's birth) and their perceived reasons for the changes.

Map

Armstrong et al. (2004) asked children to draw a map of their immediate surroundings, home, community and the places they visit and then to identify the things that they find threatening or dangerous as well as the things/people/institutions that they perceive as sources of support. The authors note that some things, such as the sea, could be both a risk and a resource and that children do not tend to link risks and resources. This could be because risks are reduced when there is an easily identifiable resource: a focus group discussion around the map might elicit these and other links.

Ranking of dangers

Dubrow & Garbarino (1989) asked mothers in poor housing in Chicago to identify the most dangerous risks faced by their children and order them into three piles, representing most serious, fairly serious, and least serious. Answers from these mothers were compared with those of a similar socio-economic demographic group living in different area in Chicago. Similarly, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2001, 2) asked adolescents in Sudan and Uganda to rank their top ten out of 20 pre-selected concerns. While the latter method guarantees that results are comparable, the former allows participants to identify their biggest concerns in their own words and is therefore preferable. To make the question easier for children to answer, the wording could be more specific, for example 'safety risks' or 'hazards', depending on the data required. Ranking these ideas, either in piles or individually, allows for some ordering of the data. Ranking could be according to 'seriousness', 'frequency', and/or 'likelihood'.

3.5.3 Likes and Dislikes

Even very young children's likes and dislikes about daily activities and specific situations can be obtained through various methods. While potentially eliciting more general information, these methods will provide an interesting comparison with and validity test for questions concerning likes and dislikes obtained through the child questionnaires in Round 1 onwards.

Ringing likes and dislikes

Theis (1996) asked children to list all the activities they do in a day and then ring the activities they liked and put a box around those they disliked. This task was demonstrated on the chalkboard, using pictures. This method could be adapted for one-to-one work with illiterate children by asking them to select pictures of their daily activities and then choose and talk about the ones they like most and least. Discussion around these topics could elicit information on many of the above issues, including stigma, discrimination, shame and low self-esteem, but only if a relationship of trust has been established and only if the researcher is skilled in this area.

Activities for very young children

Miller (1997) identifies several methods to use with children aged 2 and over that could be adapted for work with the younger cohort from Round 2 onwards. These methods included acting out stories, scenarios and feelings, and asking children to demonstrate whether certain activities made them feel happy or sad by standing in the happy/sad line, by putting their fingers up or down, by wearing the smiley or sad mask, or by pointing to the happy or

sad face. If such diagrammatic representations of facial expressions prove to be valid, these methods may work in Young Lives contexts with groups of children or individual children. Examples of scenarios or situations children need to respond to could include:

■ going to preschool/nursery

■ helping mum/dad

■ being in the house with mum/dad.

Work and School – the 'bad things' and the 'good things'

This would be an expansion and validity test of the above questions and questions about school. In Woodhead (1998), a picture of school and a picture of the children's occupation were used along with a sad face and a happy face to prompt discussion about the good things about being a working child, which made them happy, pleased, proud, or confident, and the bad things, which made them sad, frightened, angry, and bored.

4. Concluding Remarks

In reviewing the methods available for the full- and sub-sample research with children in the next and subsequent rounds of Young Lives data collection, it has become clear that some areas are well covered by existing methods, tools, and instruments whereas others provide opportunities for designing new methods. For example, there is a wealth of methods for the investigation of children's social support, social networks, time use, children's views about what they like and dislike and their perception of risks and resources. Conversely, it seems that few methods have been developed for investigating children's views and experiences of migration or analysing the success of their poverty reduction strategies. Further, few measures have been designed in non-Western contexts for the investigation of social skills and psychosocial capacities.

Consequently, varying challenges will be faced when designing the different aspects of Young Lives research. Where little research has previously been done in an area, the hard work lies in the design and piloting of new methods. Various suggestions have been made throughout this paper for new methods but these should be seen as starting points for discussion and design rather than ready-to-use tools. Those areas that have been well covered in previous research present a different challenge: they need to be implemented in ways, which ensure that the data collected do not merely replicate previous findings, but contribute to the field in new ways. This may be achieved through the implementation of methods on a larger scale, in many different countries, allowing for comparison between sites and countries, or through the design of methods that complement the full-sample quantitative questionnaires. In other areas, instruments exist but will need extensive adaptation and may need validating for Young Lives contexts. For example, the PPVT-R and the educational achievement scales will need adapting so that they are meaningful to participants and accurately assess their ability.

The suitability of the various methods will become clearer as the procedural constraints around the research are discovered. For example, some of the methods will only be appropriate if many Young Lives children attend the same school and the school is happy to help with the administration of the instrument. Similarly, some methods, particularly those adapted from PRA and RRA are more suitable for use in groups to gain aggregate information about the children in one community or sub-section of the community but this will be more possible in some Young Lives sites than others. Other methods will work best if other children in the family are also included or if fieldworkers are able to work with children over longer periods.

Some attempts have been made to demonstrate the pros and cons of different methods reported in this paper. Given the relative advantages and disadvantages of different methods within sections, it seems that a key to this research will be using a variety of methods to address each sub-question. This process is known as 'triangulation' and is advocated by many researchers with experience in participatory research with children (Punch 1997, Clark and Stratham 2005). In this paper, the methods have been somewhat artificially separated into different sections. However, many methods can usefully address more than one topic, which will add further depth and texture to the findings while making good use of the time.

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