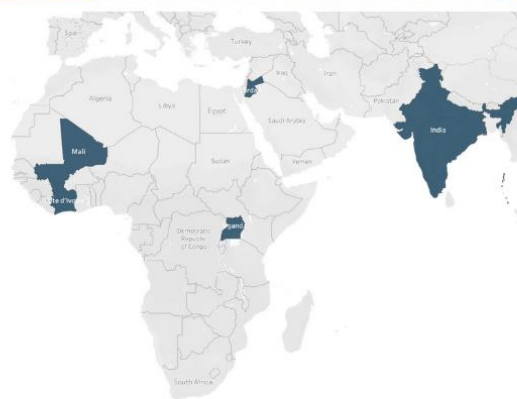**WORK: | NO CHILD'S BUSINESS**

LE TRAVAIL: | PAS L'AFFAIRE DES ENFANTS

Baseline SenseMaker Assessment   Spring 2021
Work: No Child's Business programme

Understanding social norms, attitudes and behaviour towards child labour in India, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Mali and Uganda

Baseline SenseMaker Assessment

Work: No Child's Business

Spring 2021

Understanding social norms, attitudes and behaviour towards child labour in 5 focus countries of the 'Work: No Child's Business programme': India, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Mali and Uganda

Summary

The 'Work: No Child's Business' (WNCB) alliance aims at ensuring that children and youth are free from child labour and enjoy their rights to quality education and (future) decent work. Social norms and traditions, social exclusion and discrimination as well as a poor functioning education system, are key reasons why children are working and not attending school. The covid-19 pandemic has further deteriorated the already difficult contexts, with schools closed during lockdowns, household income corroded and child labour becoming part of the coping strategy at household level. This report describes the results and insights from a baseline assessment to understand the social norms, attitudes and behaviour towards child labour. It illuminates these issues by giving voice to those at the forefront of the issues: children, parents and community influencers such as teachers, community and religious leaders. The baseline study was deployed in 5 focus countries (India, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Mali and Uganda) of the WNCB programme in areas where the alliance is implementing child labour free interventions. A mid-line and end-line assessment are scheduled for respectively 2022 and 2024 with the objective to monitor how norms and attitudes towards child labour and child rights change from the beneficiary's perspective as a result of the contribution of the WNCB programme.

The baseline assessment uses a narrative based approach in which respondents interpret their own stories of daily life activities using pre-defined child labour and child rights-based questions, also called signification questions. This method (SenseMaker) was used in two surveys: one survey focused on children in the age of 7-17 years and one survey focused on parents/guardians and community influencers such as teachers and (religious) leaders. Each survey contained the same questions to prompt narratives and to provide context to the narratives. This enabled the comparison of perspectives between children and adults. A gender sensitive process was adopted meaning that the gender dimension is mainstreamed into every aspect of the SenseMaker deployment: identifying the research questions and topics; defining the conceptual and analytical framework; the data collection method; analysing the findings; and disseminating the results.

From December 2020 till February 2021, trained story collectors collected self-interpreted narratives from 612 children and 309 adults across the 5 focus countries. The sample of respondents was set to reflect a non-statistically representation of the beneficiaries of the WNCB programme. Quantitative data aimed to capture the different perspectives of boys, girls, fathers, mothers, female and male teachers and community leaders.

The collected narratives in this study give a holistic perspective of children's daily lives and the extent to which fundamental rights such as the rights to education, to play and to social protection against child labour are fulfilled. Also, elements of gender inequality and social exclusion came to the surface. Although the social, economic and political context of each focus country differs, the study finds common patterns and signals in overarching themes related to education, gender, and child-parent relationship. In addition, the baseline assessment points to the influence of natural cognitive biases like ambivalence, fear, entrenched thinking and confirmation seeking on the subconscious (intuitive) thinking, emotions and behaviour of the beneficiaries. It means that neither parents nor children themselves often realize that how they see things in daily life is against the interests and rights of children.

These themes reveal underlying causes of child labour that are complexly interdependent, multi-faceted and cross-cultural. The themes are presented as concepts for conversation starters and for further reflection and consideration on how the WNCB programme interventions are addressing them.

Main overall results and insights of the baseline SenseMaker assessment
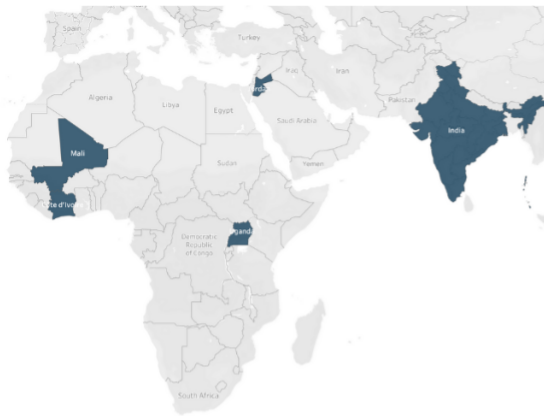
Self-interpreted narratives
612 children
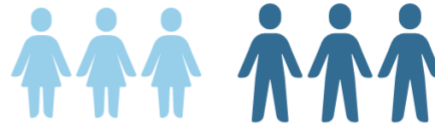
309 adults

Out of every 100 children ...

Go to school	Do household chores or unpaid work	Do paid work
56 each day	47 each day	29 each day
22 not every day	34 not every day	32 not every day
22 not at all	19 not at all	39 not at all

Overarching themes

70 out of 100 children have a full day fulfilling all kinds of responsibilities. Education and working are not mutually exclusive

Gender determine the type, conditions and hours of work performed by boys and girls. Statistical data on gender equality can be misleading. Tracking progress of gender equality requires to look beyond statistics

Children contribute to the household in return they receive basic needs. A functional parent-child relationship is extremely vulnerable in times of crisis such as the covid-19 pandemic

Entrenched thinking makes it hard trying to change social norms, traditions and attitudes towards behavioural patterns that support and enable the fulfilment of children's rights

Main insights per country

India

- Child labour and schooling are not mutually exclusive meaning that it is socially accepted that beside education children also work
- Many adults view work as part of a child's socialization process in that children have responsibilities to contribute to the household
- The burden of responsibilities on children may be very harmful for their emotional and moral development. Many parents are yet not fully aware of this
- Although most adults say that gender inequality is something from the past it is still prevalent. Girls are overburdened with household chores

Ivory Coast

- More than 6 out of 10 children do paid or unpaid work and almost half do it each day combining this with school activities
- Structural poverty and economic insecurity are pushing children to work
- Parents face a trade-off between household consumption and the expected future income of children with structural unemployment
- Child labour is often not connected to vocational training but has a main objective of socialization and strengthening of the parental bond and control.
- There are several signs of violence and abuse against children in the household and the prospect of girl marriage is prevalent in many stories

Jordan

- Most parents are aware of children's rights to play, protection and education. The daily activities of children correspond with these rights: children have access to education and have the possibility to play
- Many children indicate that they contribute to the household by doing chores, but this is not always identifiable as child labour
- Most children and female adults seem to avoid or discuss superficially the subject of gender discrimination. Male adults were not eager to participate in the study. Gender inequality is deeply ingrained in Marka society
- There are weak signals of discrimination and bullying towards Syrian children that can have a major influence on their development.

Mali

- Almost 9 out of 10 children do paid or unpaid work each day
- Structural poverty and economic insecurity are pushing children to work
- Raising children is not the top priority in the household. Money is spent on household consumption and savings.
- Work is the major reason for dropping out of school and is pushed by parents
- Child labour does not provide particular vocational training, but reinforces hierarchy and socialization
- There are several signs of violence and abuse. Children are sanctioned for any inactivity and the unproductiveness associated with it

Uganda

- The engagement of children in work activities is still common cultural practice in the focus areas of the WNCB program
- The costs of missing earnings and other contributions of children are perceived higher than the gains derived from sending children to school. This is reinforced by the lockdown and closing of schools due to the covid-19 pandemic
- The focus on money is an intrinsic mindset of children causing school dropout
- Many adults are aware of the risks of child labour in the mines due to sensitizing programs yet the continuous struggle for survival makes it difficult to act on

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Acknowledgements

Acronyms

ILO	International Labour Organization
KPI	Key Performance Indicator
MEAL	Monitoring Evaluation Accountability Learning
TPAE	Le Travail: Pas l'Affaire des Enfants
WNCB	Work: No Childs Business

1 Introduction

1.1 Child labour: global estimates and trends

The number of children in child labour has risen to 160 million worldwide – an increase of 8.4 million children in the last four years – with millions more at risk due to the impacts of covid-19, according to a new report by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and UNICEF released in June 2021[1].

The report warns that progress to end child labour has stalled for the first time in 20 years, reversing the previous downward trend that saw child labour fall by 94 million between 2000 and 2016. It points to a significant rise in the number of children aged 5 to 11 years in child labour, who now account for just over half of the total global figure. The number of children aged 5 to 17 years in hazardous work – defined as work that is likely to harm their health, safety or morals – has risen by 6.5 million to 79 million since 2016.

In sub-Saharan Africa, population growth, recurrent crises, extreme poverty, and inadequate social protection measures have led to an additional 16.6 million children in child labour over the past four years. Even in regions where there has been some headway since 2016, such as Asia and the Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean, covid-19 is endangering that progress. The report warns that globally, 9 million additional children are at risk of being pushed into child labour by the end of 2022 as a result of the pandemic. A simulation model shows this number could rise to 46 million if they don't have access to critical social protection coverage.

1.2 Key reasons behind child labour

The definition of child labour used in the WNCB programme is: any form of work performed by children under the age of 15 that interferes with their right to formal quality education, and/or that is mentally, physically, socially and morally dangerous and harmful for their health and development; as well as any form of hazardous work performed by children between 15 and 18 years old.

There is a range of social, economic and political factors responsible for the persistence of child labour in many countries. Contrary to what is often assumed and stated, in child labour and education worldwide poverty is often not the decisive factor in pushing children into work. Nor is it the main obstacle to making full-time formal education accessible for every child.

In most cases, child labour is not vital to helping poor families survive. Research[2] shows that children's wages only contribute marginally to the family's income. Social norms and traditions, social exclusion and discrimination, as well as poor functioning education systems, are key reasons why children are working and not attending school. Furthermore, the lack of decent work for adults, weak laws and/or law enforcement by government, and failing labour inspections also contribute to the persistence of child labour.

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[1] UNICEF. 2021. Child Labour Global Estimates 2020, trends and the road forward.
[2] E.g., ILO-IPEC. 2004. Investing in Every Child, An Economic Study of the Costs and Benefits of Eliminating Child Labour

Social norms and popular perceptions play a role in both the supply and demand of child labour. First, in many societies, there is a view that work is good for character-building and a child's physical development.

Secondly, it may be that children are expected to learn the family's trade or craft from an early age.

Thirdly, gender plays a major part. Often girls are seen as less in need of education than boys. Harmful traditional practices such as child marriage and female genital mutilation moreover cause children, especially girls, to either never access education or dropout of school.

Fourthly, in addition to gender discrimination, discrimination and exclusion based on race, caste, culture, language, faith, or disabilities is often the reason why children are working and not in school. Discrimination outside the school keeps certain groups out, while discrimination inside the school – e.g., discriminatory behaviour by teachers – pushes children out of school.

If child labour is deeply ingrained in local customs, both parents and children may not realize it is against the interest of the child. There is still a low awareness of child rights, especially the right to play and the right to protection and education, in many communities. Parents may also be unaware of the potential risks of child labour, especially in terms of exploitation, abuse and trafficking and how those affect girls and boys differently.

An ILO report[3] shows that most child labour takes place within the family unit. More than two-thirds of all children in child labour work as contributing family labourers, mostly on family farms, in family enterprises, as home-based labourers in supply chains, or in the household. Paid employment and own-account workers make up much lower proportions, 27% and 4% respectively, of children in child labour worldwide. The significance of children working within their own family units is closely related to social norms and traditions.

1.3   The baseline SenseMaker assessment

The impact the 'Work: No Child's Business' alliance aims to contribute to is that children and youth are free from child labour and enjoy their rights to quality education and (future) decent work. This will be achieved by collaboratively addressing the root causes of child labour as well as removing key barriers to the elimination of child labour and to the protection and fulfilment of child rights. To contribute to this impact, the alliance will promote positive change across social, economic, legal and political domains and in cooperation with different local, national and international stakeholders.

The alliance works through four integrated pathways of change to address the root causes of child labour and its pervasive impact on children, youth, their families and communities. These pathways describe the change the partners wish to achieve at four interacting levels: the community, government, private sector and international level. The programme

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[3] ILO. 2017. Global Estimates of Child Labour: Results and trends, 2012-2016

consists of a diverse set of strategies and interventions that vary by country and which build on each other to promote sustainable change.

The WNCB alliance partners firmly believe that they should be able to clearly demonstrate how the WNCB programme positively influences and changes children's live. The objective of the baseline SenseMaker assessment is to provide information on the effectiveness of the WNCB programme with regards to complex areas of change, such as changes in norms and attitudes, where it concerns child labour and education, but also on changes with regards to the community in which child labour takes place.

Through the SenseMaker assignment we are focusing on the community level which has two interrelated ultimate outcomes:

- Outcome 1a: Children are empowered to pursue an education and (future) employability within a supportive family and community environment

- Intermediate Outcome 1.1: Families and communities that demonstrate (or not) support for children's right to education and decent youth employment

The research questions for the SenseMaker assignment therefore are formulated as follows:

- What are the norms and attitudes of children, their family and community influencers where it concerns child labour and education?

- How do these norms and attitudes change as a result of the contribution of the WNCB programme?

To answer these questions, the SenseMaker approach explored elements of social norms, attitudes and behaviors.

Also, the following identified root causes of child labour[4] were analyzed:

- that poor quality education is a key reason why children are working and not attending school
- that light work, allowed according to law and policies, and helping out in the household are good for character building and physical development
- that children are expected to learn the families trade or craft
- that girls need less education than boys
- that some children are pushed out of school because of discrimination
- that parents are unaware of the children's right to play, protection and education
- that parents are unaware of the potential risks of child labour in terms of exploitation, abuse and trafficking

SenseMaker was simultaneously implemented in 5 focus countries of the WNCB programme: India, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Mali and Uganda.

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[4] WNCB Alliance. 2019. Work No Child's Project Proposal-April 2019, pages 13-15.

SenseMaker complements and provides an explanation to the findings of the quantitative surveys that were conducted to gather baseline data, track our progress and achievements against KPIs, and supports the WNCB programme on verifying the results at the end of the implementation period.

A gender equality lens was incorporated throughout the SenseMaker deployment. This means that: the WNCB alliance aims for a gender sensitive/transformative intervention and that gender equality and gender mainstreaming is considered not only in the data collection exercise, but in the overall approach including communication, discussions and strategies. Also, the gender dimension was considered from a protection approach, taking into account safety of vulnerable groups and sensitivities. In consideration of the programme objectives, vulnerable and marginalized members of communities are particularly valuable respondents and indication to try to reach them was provided for data collection. Relevant questions pertaining to gender equality were incorporated as part of the SenseMaker data collection exercises. SenseMaker data/findings contribute to the overall gender analysis along with the quantitative baseline exercise.

2   SenseMaker

SenseMaker is a tool and method designed to explore and make sense of complex emergent social patterns. Classical narrative research methods enable researchers to make sense of mind-sets, behaviour, and patterns of cognition, but they are resource intensive and do not scale well. The SenseMaker tool brings mixed method benefits to narrative research for distributed ethnography. Moreover, it readily scales to allow many voices to be 'heard' and integrates narratives and ideation signifiers with numbers and patterns. It provides a visual synthesis of people's experiences, values, or views relative to signifiers deployed for research.

Narratives
Conceptually SenseMaker is grounded in insights gleaned from complex adaptive systems and the cognitive sciences applied to the analysis of social systems to help us understand the role of narrative in human decision-making. How people make sense of the world is reflected in their everyday micro-narratives, the anecdotes or "small stories" people tell in social interactions. Social knowledge extracted from daily rhetoric can point to what informs decisions, actions, interests, and principles and, thus, may be useful for discovering what is considered public truth and preferable behaviour. The central idea is collecting micro-narratives at a scale and combining them with a framework based on core concepts, themes, research questions, or central ideas that allow the participants to tell us exactly what those narratives mean to them. From this we are able to rapidly collect quantitative patterns that start with everyday conversation and use this to monitor developments and plot contextually-informed insight to action.

Signifiers
The respondent interprets their own story into a series of abstract constructs ('signifiers') that feel more like a game than a survey but allow profound meaning to emerge. This interpretation adds layers of meaning rather than simply interpreting the story and provides quantitative data to detect visual patterns among stories. The signification data is the prime focus for understanding social norms and attitudes towards child labour and education. It spots patterns emerging from the mass material. The patterns are linked back to the original material enabling a deeper dive into individual stories. The output of SenseMaker is statistical data backed up by explanatory narrative. This avoids a degree of cognitive and cultural bias.

Sensemaking
To facilitate collective sensemaking, a useful practice is to share the results from the exploratory analysis with participants in a workshop setting. The purpose of collective sensemaking is, through conversation, to seek to uncover and make sense of the patterns of thinking that led to the behaviour made visible in the patterns. If participants in the study give permission for their voices to be heard, their stories clarify patterns by extracting illustrative stories to support meaning making. To embark on a SenseMaker study key stakeholders have to be prepared to actively engage in sensemaking, value hearing different voices, and be receptive to the whole distribution of patterns, including outliers.

SenseMaker at a glance

Children, parents, teachers and community leaders (the story tellers) shared experiences of daily life related to child labour and child rights. These (micro-)narratives were recorded and transcribed. Data collection is app-based and facilitated by local story collectors
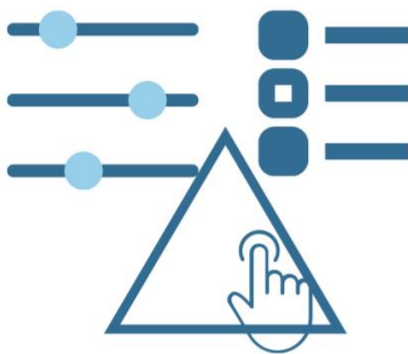
After sharing their story, the story tellers answered a set of pre-defined questions related to child labour and child rights. By answering these so called signification questions story tellers assess their own stories, thereby adding a deeper layer of meaning and meta-data for pattern-analysis

Starting with pattern exploration of the quantitative meta-data dominant beliefs and attitudes as well as outliers were detected. The patterns are connected to the narratives enabling deeper understanding with daily life examples. Changes in narrative patterns allow for impact monitoring

Collective sensemaking involves returning the data to the local project teams to solicit reflections on the emergent patterns and what underlies them. The purpose is to uncover and make sense of the patterns together. The main insights of the baseline assessment are therefore the result of collective sensemaking

3 Research process

3.1 Timeline

Sep 2020 - Oct 2020

Inception phase, including
- country kick-off meetings
- literature review
- inception report

Oct 2020 - Nov 2020

Design phase, including
- research framework design
- SenseMaker survey design
- SenseMaker configuration
- survey testing and review

Nov 2020 - Dec 2020

Training phase, including
- recruitment of story collectors
- training of trainers sessions
- training of story collectors
- sample selection

Dec 2020 - Feb 2021

Collection phase, including
- narrative interviews
- translation and transcription
- data management
- quality assurance
- debriefing collection proces

March 2021 May 2021

Analysis phase, including
- data cleansing
- data visualisation
- indvidual analysis
- homework assignments of country project teams
- shared analysis and sensemaking sessions

May 2021 July 2021

Reporting phase, including
- country reports
- overall report
- workshop presenting results and overarching patterns and themes

3.2 Inception phase

The inception phase consisted of online kick-off meetings with the country project teams. The objective of each meeting was to introduce the WNCB MEAL SenseMaker coordinator, the SenseMaker consultants, the SenseMaker country focal point and project team to each other. Subsequently the SenseMaker methodology was explained by the SenseMaker consultants and the deployment of the baseline assessment was discussed. In addition to the sessions with the country teams, guidelines and directions were discussed with the WNCB gender expert to incorporate a gender sensitive lens in the deployment of the baseline assessment.

SenseMaker consultants reviewed available literature about the WNCB programme. An inception report was submitted by the SenseMaker consultants detailing the work plan, training of trainer's plan, sampling frame and draft data collection tools with feedback and ideas from the MEAL coordinator, MEAL workgroup members, gender expert, country focal points and project team members.

3.3 Design phase

The focus of the design process was to create a research framework to identify social norms and attitudes towards child labour and education. Main resources for the framework creation were the WNCB project proposal of April 2019, the MEAL Protocol WNCB 2019-2024, the WNCB indicator protocols, the baseline reports of Mali and Uganda, the websites of Save the Children, UNICEF, Stop Child Labour, Google search on child labour, the kick-off meetings with the country teams and calls with the MEAL coordinator and WNCB gender expert.

To create useful output, we made a distinction between information need for narrative and quantitative analysis.

3.3.1 Narrative information need

The SenseMaker surveys begins with open-ended prompting questions to trigger stories that elicit elements of social norms and attitudes towards child labour and education. Therefore, we prompted the following storytelling elements:

Storytelling elements	Rational
Factual average day agenda from time to get up to go to sleep	This gave us an idea about what children do during a normal day providing context for how they experience it
Elements of extreme likes and dislikes of what children daily do	These provided us the boundaries of experiences
The why behind what children do (go to school, work or both)	This elicited elements of social norms, attitudes towards work and school, social exclusion and discrimination
How children are feeling being treated in daily life and what makes them feel that way	This elicited specific elements and underlying causes of social exclusion and discrimination also with a gender lens
Aspirations towards the future	This identified the level of aspiration or future imagination and a sense of empowerment

3.3.2 Quantitative information need

The following themes were used to identify patterns and clusters in social norms, attitudes and behaviors:

Signification themes	Definition	Rational
Sentiment	An attitude, thought or judgement prompted by feeling.	Sentiment analysis supported the meaning and signification of daily life activities
Motivation towards school/work children	(Economic and non-economic) reasons for acting or behaving in a particular way.	Motivation of children tells us what children actually do
Attitude towards school/work parents/community	The belief or conviction of what is best for children. Distinguish economic and non-economic reasons	Attitude towards school/work by parents/community tell us what they believe it's best for children. Filtered by gender we also tested the assumption that girls need less education than boys
Learning value of education	Perceived benefits of going to school	Test 'discipline, basic knowledge and knowledge for the future' as main reasons for going to school. 'nothing' is an indicator for early dropout and poor education
Learning value of work	Perceived benefits of working	Test character building, physical development and learning families trade as main reasons to work
Feelings towards discrimination and exclusion	The way children are treated differently in a way that leads to social exclusion	Test the occurrence of feelings of discrimination and the assumption that children are pushed out of school because of discrimination
Feelings towards safety	The condition of being protected from or unlikely to cause danger, risk, or abuse.	Test the occurrence of feelings of (un)safety and the assumption that parents are unaware of the potential risks of exploitation, abuse and trafficking in child labour
Well-being	The level of happiness about life	This indicated how children experience their lives.

		Happiness is a common indicator for well being
Future expectation	The belief that something will happen in the daily life situation for the worse of for the better	This indicated how children view their future

3.3.3 Social demographic data
Social demographic information allowed subgroups to be explored.

Target groups	Social demographic data	Rational
Children	Gender	Enabled a gender lens for analysis
	Age	Enabled cluster analysis by age group
	Country	Enabled cluster analysis by country
	Area	Enabled cluster analysis by target area
	Rural/urban	Enabled analysis on rural and urban context
	Time spend school	Enabled analysis on different levels of time spend on education
	Time spend work	Enabled analysis on different levels of time spend on working
Parents/community influencers	Gender	Enabled gender analysis
	Role	Enabled analysis by role (parent, teacher, community leader)
	Country	Enabled cluster analysis by country
	Area	Enabled cluster analysis by target area
	Rural/urban	Enabled analysis on rural and urban context
	Time spend school	Enabled analysis on different levels of time spend on education
	Time spend work	Enabled analysis on different levels of time spend on working

3.3.4 Used definitions
Child labour is any form of work performed by children under the age of 15 that interferes with their right to formal quality education, and/or that is mentally, physically, socially and morally dangerous and harmful for their health and development; as well as any form of hazardous work performed by children between 15 and 18 years old.

Employment encompasses any form of market production and certain types of non-market production (principally that of goods such as agricultural produce for own use). Employment includes work in both the formal and informal economy, inside and outside family settings, for pay or profit (cash or in-kind, part-time or full-time) and domestic work outside the child's own household for an employer (paid or unpaid).

Gender is a process of judgement and value (a social hierachy) related to stereotypes and norms of what is to be *masculine or feminine,* regardless of the born sex category.

Hazardous work refers to work that, by its nature or circumstances, is likely to harm children's health, safety or morals.

Unpaid household services, or household chores, refer to services children provide without pay for their own households. These include caring for household members, cleaning and minor household repairs, cooking and serving meals, washing and ironing clothes and transporting or accompanying family members to and from work and school. In more technical terms, these tasks constitute a 'non economic' form of production and are excluded from consideration in the United Nations System of National Accounts, the internationally agreed guidelines for measuring national economic activity.

3.3.5 Survey design

The framework was reviewed by each WNCB country project team, the MEAL coordinator, MEAL workgroup members and gender expert. The framework was drafted in English and French. After the framework was approved, it was then transformed into a SenseMaker survey design that consist of a story prompt, signification and socio-demographic filter questions.

The survey design contained two surveys: one survey focused on children in the age of 7-17 years and one survey focused on adults such as parents/guardians and community influencers like teachers and (religious) leaders. Each survey contains the same questions to prompt narratives and to provide context to the narratives. This enabled the comparison of perspectives between children and adults.

The surveys were drafted into the most appropriate language for the target population. For Ivory Coast and Mali this was the French language, for Jordan and Uganda this was the English language and for India the Hindi language was used. The SenseMaker consultants configured the SenseMaker app for data collection in French, English and Hindi. The app was tested for understanding and data integrity.

The survey questions are provided in each country report under the sensemaking indicators section.

To elicit relevant stories, we first asked participants from both survey groups to choose from three images the image which matches best with what children do each day. The images represent a child that goes to school, a girl or a boy that works and a combination of both images representing a child that both goes to school and works (Figure 1).

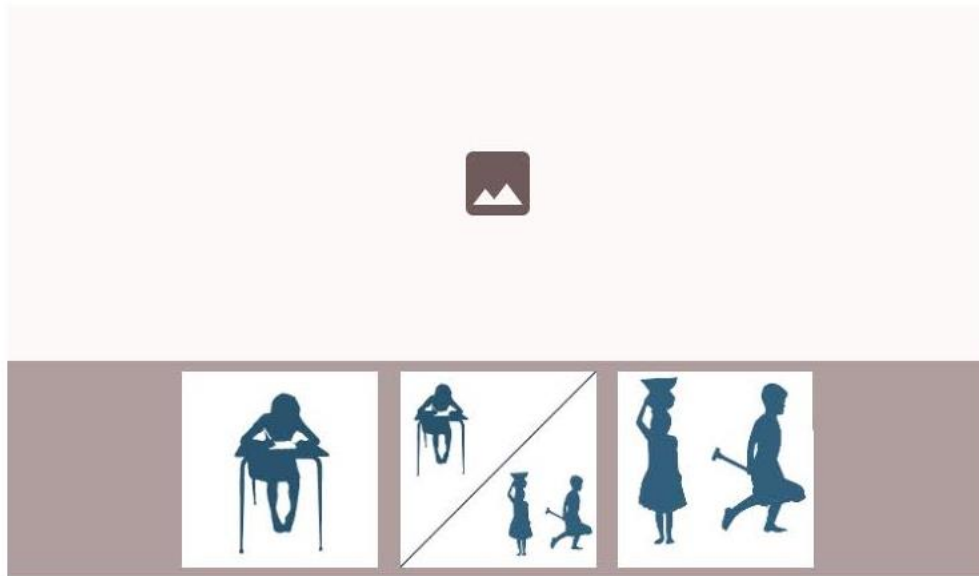**Which of the 3 images matches best with what you do each day?**

Figure 1 - images to elicit relevant stories

To build the story the following open-ended questions were used:
- Can you tell how does your day normally look like from when you get up till you go to sleep?
- What do you like or not like the most during the day?
- Based on selected picture:
  - School picture: why do you go to school?
  - Child labour picture: why do you go to work?
  - School/child labour picture: why do go to school and to work?
- How do you feel you are being treated in daily life?
  - What makes you feel that way?
  - Do you feel being treated differently because you are a boy or a girl?
- When you are 18, how do you picturing your life then will be?

The questions were used for both survey groups but of course adapted to the target group.

Figure 2 and Figure 3 illustrate examples of signification questions like a triad and scale. A triad question is a triangle with labelled corners and is used to convey the relative importance of three concepts. Triads are useful to probe trade-offs and reveal subtleties and undercurrents in the system. Participants are invited to place a dot in a triangle to indicate the relative strength or influence of the concepts in the corners relative to their narrative. The indicated position in the triad will return three numerical results which always sums to 100, representing the relative weight of the named corners.

In your opinion, work is good for ...

strength and character

money and support
the household

learning skills for trade
or craft

☐ Not Applicable
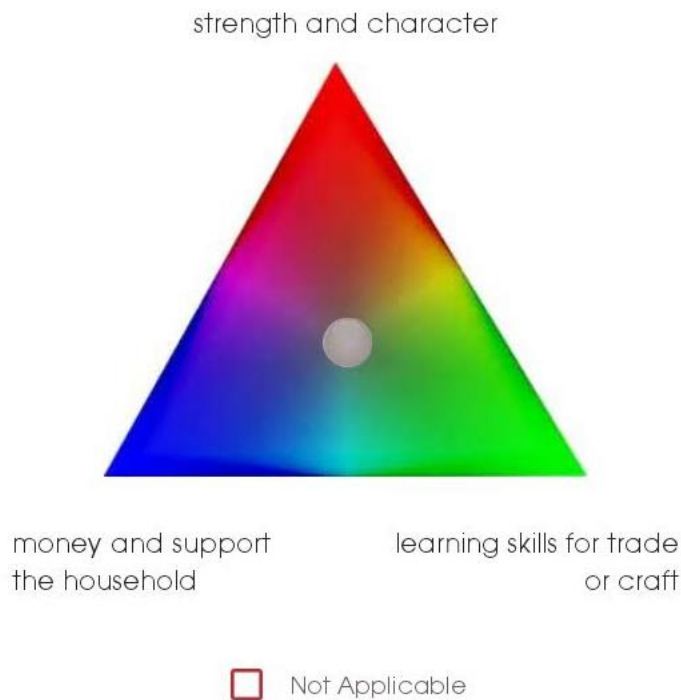
Figure 2 - triad signification question

Since triad labels are either all positive, all negative or all neutral and because they are slightly ambiguous, SenseMaker requires a higher level of cognitive engagement on the part of the respondent and reduces social desirability bias since there is no one response that could be perceived as being more positive or more acceptable than others.

How happy are you with your life right now?

very unhappy   very happy

☐ Not Applicable
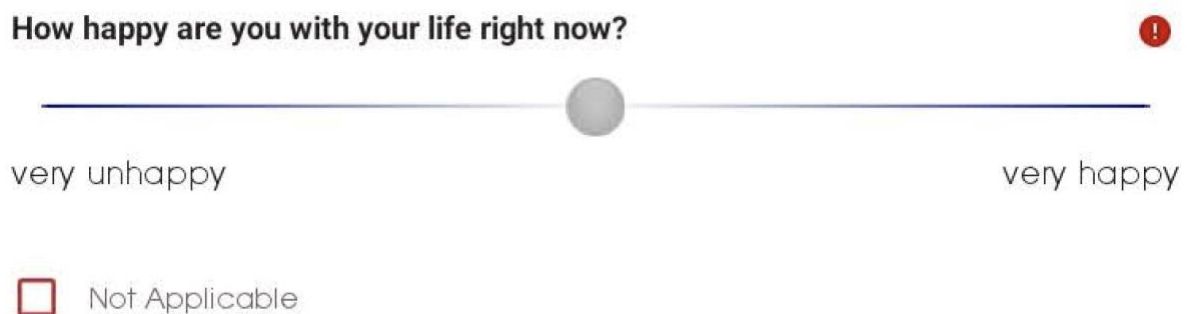
Figure 3 - scale signification question

Likewise, the values of a scale signification question are hidden thereby requiring a higher level of cognitive engagement to respond while also reducing social desirability bias.

Close-ended questions with a single choice were used to contextualize the shared story. This was used to capture:
- sentiments related to the story told
- how children spend most time of the day
- what parents find important how children spend most time of the day
- the frequency of school visits, paid and unpaid labour per week
- demographic information (gender and age)

3.4   Training phase

Collection took place in 5 focus countries of the WNCB programme: India, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Mali and Uganda. Each WNCB country project team was responsible for the recruitment and training of enumerators whose role it is to facilitate the data collection process in the field by triggering the respondent with a prompting question to tell meaningful stories and capture this with audio recording. The SenseMaker consultants organised for each country project team a remote train-the-trainer programme with specific guidelines and criteria for data collection. Trainers then collected initial test data from enumerators to check question relevance, clarity of language, interview techniques and conceptual understanding. Further feedback and assistance were provided by the SenseMaker consultants to ensure data quality.

3.5   Collection phase

Each country project team organized independently their own data collection process following the guidelines and objectives provided by the SenseMaker consultants. For the children's survey group the guideline was to organize a balanced sample of boys and girls that before the covid pandemic were engaged in child labour and enrolled in school. The sample was distributed in three age brackets of (7-12, 13-14 & 15-17 years). For the adults survey group the guideline was to organize a balanced sample between male and female adults and representation of parents, teachers and community leaders with a main focus on parents. Country teams used a purposive sampling technique to achieve a balanced sample. The objective was to gather 100 narratives from children and 50 from adults. In India the three regions Bihar, Delhi and Rajasthan were, as of their geographical size and different social and economic context, considered as separated countries. Each region was responsible for their own data collection process. The goal for each region was to collect 70 narratives from children and 30 from adults.

Country and collection period	Children's survey group	Adults survey group
India 18 January - 20 February 2021	205 participants	104 participants
Ivory Coast 27 January – 18 February 2021	102 participants	50 participants
Jordan 20 December 2020- 9 February 2021	87 participants	55 participants
Mali 10 December 2020- 17 January 2021	103 participants	48 participants
Uganda 30 November – 19 December 2020	115 participants	52 participants
Total	**612 participants**	**309 participants**

Narratives were captured using the audio recording function that is built into the SenseMaker app. After the recording, the enumerator guided the respondent in the signification of the narrative on the mobile device – or, if the respondent is literate, the mobile device was handed over to the respondent for the signification (with some guidance). The progress of the data collection process was remotely monitored in near real-time and reported to the focal points on a regular basis. In the first days of the process, the SenseMaker consultants kept close track of the collected narratives for quality assurance and gave project teams remote feedback.

Data from the app were uploaded to a secure server on a daily basis at which time the data was automatically and permanently deleted from the used tablet or device. The SenseMaker consultants extracted the audio and made it available through Dropbox. In each project country team translators then picked up and played the files, listened to the audio and performed translation and transcription to English or French. Transcripted text files were randomly selected by the country focal point for review and quality assurance. Once a text file was saved according to the instructions, transcribers placed the file in a separate Dropbox folder. The SenseMaker consultants then imported and integrated all text files with the SenseMaker data.

3.6   Ethics

Verbal consent was agreed in advance of the interviews by the respondents and written consent was waived. No financial or other compensation was offered in exchange for participation. Respondents were informed of the background of the study and that their response would be shared with the WNCB alliance partners. All interviews were collected confidentially and no identifying information was recorded. To ensure data security, all completed SenseMaker sessions were uploaded from the tablet to a secure server.

3.7   Analysis phase

After closing collection, data was cleaned - removing duplicate entries that occur as a result of poor internet connection or invalid entries due to incomplete recording. The SenseMaker data were presented as Tableau workbooks to facilitate visualization of the signification patterns and to select and analyse the underlying narratives. Tableau workbooks were made available to the country project teams through the Tableau Online portal. Instructions were provided how to open, review, navigate, filter and select data and narratives using Tableau Online. The workbooks for India, Jordan and Uganda were available in English, the workbooks for Ivory Coast and Mali in French. Additionally, for each country project team Word documents per survey group were provided that contained the full set of captured, translated (in English or French) and transcribed narratives.

The SenseMaker consultants see interpretation and conclusion primarily as a joint task of the people in the organization, their partners and other stakeholders in the field. The idea is that people do not want a summary from an outsider but user-friendly access to the raw data in order to discover patterns and make decisions themselves. However, dipping randomly in the SenseMaker narratives can lead to a feeling of drowning in data and interpreter bias. Therefore, the SenseMaker consultants developed an analysis and sensemaking process in which narratives were treated systematically. The idea is to submerge participants in the data without drowning. The SenseMaker consultants had a facilitating role in this process but were also participators in the analysis process. Especially when there is a homogeneous group of people in the process or a status quo in views, an independent view provides a breakthrough in the thinking process.

The following stages in the analysis process were followed by each country project team:

Individual analysis of quantitative data
SenseMaker is a mixed method that combines first-hand narratives with the statistical authority of quantitative data. The analysis process started with individual detection of

patterns, relationships and weak signals in quantitative data. At this stage, no stories are read: the focus is solely on sensing patterns thus reducing pattern entrainment. The idea behind it is to find direction for the analysis of stories. Participants in the analysis process have access to Tableau Online for direct interaction with the data using filters. Participants noted their insights and questions in a sensemaking workbook, provided by the SenseMaker consultants. These questions combined with the central research questions provided a guideline for reading and analyzing narratives. This approach minimizes the potential risk of getting lost in the data and interpreter bias.

Shared analysis of quantitative data
Participants shared their insights and questions with each other and arrived at shared understanding of main insights and formulate questions for the analysis of narratives. By using multiple perspectives the detection of patterns and weak signals is further enhanced. This process was organized and facilitated by the SenseMaker consultants.

Individual narrative analysis
The narrative analysis process involved reading the stories connected to the visually interesting patterns and the interpretation of the patterns and stories. This is in the view of the consultants primarily a process of human analysis. Participants select in Tableau clusters of narratives that are underlying statistics or numbers. Full transcripts of narratives were also provided in separate Word document(s). By reading stories, other insights and other questions gradually arose - by actively working with the data, the participants developed their own interpretation of the results. Participants noted their insights in sensemaking workbook that were provided by the consultants. The narrative analysis was part of a homework assignment which required sufficient time to read and analyze narratives. In addition, the SenseMaker consultants carried out text analysis of the narratives based on the principles of thematic analysis[5] to substantiate specific insights.

Shared analysis of the SenseMaker data
Participants shared and discussed their homework assignments and built towards collectively answering the overall research questions as a first concept. In this process, reciprocity between the participants is central: identifying data, in dialogue with each other and jointly exploring similarities and differences in interpretations. The advantage is that in the process there is a fall back on identified themes and underlying analyses, quantitative data and stories from the research. The result was broad acceptance of the results. This process was again organized and facilitated by the SenseMaker consultants.

3.8 Reporting phase
All shared analysis sessions were recorded and used to generate the key insights for each country. These insights were then written up by the SenseMaker consultants, along with data visualisations and underlying analysis to meet the detailed hypotheses and questions emerging from the shared analysis sessions. The country reports and this report form the written output. In addition, a workshop with WNCB project teams and staff was organized to present and discuss overarching themes of the baseline assessment.

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[5] Braun and Clarke. 2006. Using thematic analysis in qualitative research.

3.9   Gender sensitive sensemaking

To ensure a gender sensitive data collection and analysis process the SenseMaker consultants followed specific guidelines. Gender sensitive sensemaking means that the gender dimension is mainstreamed into every aspect of the SenseMaker deployment: identifying the research questions and topics; defining the conceptual and analytical framework; the data collection method; analysing the findings; and disseminating the results.

Gender sensitive formulation of the research questions

The formulation of the research questions integrated a gender perspective: i.e. how does child labour affect boys, girls, male and female adults and how are they involved in it?

Gender sensitive definitions of concepts

If boys, girls, men and women have different experiences related to the research topics, it is likely that they have different definitions of concepts. It was therefore important not to generalise the concepts to the 'overall population' but be aware how it concerns boys, girls, men and women differently. Therefore, gender stereotypes and biases that are culturally related were as much as possible avoided.

Giving each child a voice

SenseMaker was used to help elevate the voices of children about their own lives. By using storytelling, SenseMaker allows the enumerator to establish an informal trusted relationship with children who identify a story of their choice that they feel is important to share. Children were stimulated to tell their stories in the local language. Stories were recorded via audio recording and then transcribed and translated. This ensured a meaningful and safe participation. In the design of prompting and signification questions we made sure that all questions are asked in a gender-neutral way and that questions are easily understood by children with no or low-level education.

Gender-sensitive data collection

We have briefed the country teams in the kick-off sessions that SenseMaker sessions with the target groups should be conducted in same-gender groups so that female enumerators engage with women and girls and male enumerators with men and boys. We have developed a sample framework were girls and boys are equally represented in the sub-groups by age (7-12, 12-14, 15-17). Also, mothers and fathers were in most countries equally represented. As the sample size for community influencers as teachers and (religious) leaders per country is relatively low, we did not set gender criteria for this sub-group.

Gender-sensitive training of trainers

The recruitment and training of enumerators, also known as story collectors, was one of the most critical aspects in the assignment. Collecting SenseMaker narratives is quite different from conducting a typical survey. It is important that children and other target groups feel comfortable telling their story. Experience shows that this sometimes can be confusing for the enumerator, regardless of whether he or she has previous experience or no experience at all with conducting surveys. This could be contradictive in a conservative and hierarchical culture where a respondent in the eyes of the enumerator is supposed to give social desired answers.

The training of trainers therefore focused on creating a pleasant atmosphere during the interviews, trigger the respondent to a relevant and honest story and assure or redirect that the story contains valuable elements for analysis and sensemaking. We have addressed gender sensitive issues like safe location for the SenseMaker session, time of the interviews, explanation of the confidentiality of the participation and their consent to participate. Also, we discussed how to deal with social norms and fear. A sound mitigation is to allow to tell someone else's story for example.

We emphasized and used in the training of trainers, especially in the African Francophone countries, that according to experience people have more trust in talking to a machine than talking to people. This makes SenseMaker such a powerful approach: it embraces the element of disintermediation which increases the level of trust within the target audience. The respondent storyteller talks into the SenseMaker app on a tablet, then the enumerator hands over the tablet so that the storyteller can answer the signification questions by touching or moving the answer options on the tablet. It provides men-machine interaction where the facilitation role of the enumerator is limited. It also embodies the trust factor.

Gender analysis
Reporting differences based on gender does not provide comprehension of gender issues or why there are differences or inequalities. Our gender analysis explains the differences in experiences, perspectives and impacts related to gender roles and power relationships. Gender roles and power relations between men and women are not due to the intrinsic nature of men or women; they are constructed in a particular socio-economic and cultural context. This is why contextualisation of the study was important: it indicated where the study was conducted; who was involved; who is concerned with the issue; what are beliefs and practices related to it and so forth.

Gender sensitive sensemaking also identified the impacts of new practices or policies on men and women; who will benefit from these; who will be disadvantaged; and the impacts on men and women's activities and relationships.

Highlighting the gender dimension
Our country reports highlight the gender dimension of the research topic. It makes gender differences visible: different roles, different involvements, different experiences, different opinions, and different needs. The findings highlight the gender dimension of the topic.

4 Overarching themes

Although the social, economic and political context of each focus country differs, the study finds common patterns and signals in overarching themes related to education, gender, and child-parent relationship. It also points to the influence of cognitive biases in how children and adults see things in daily life and how it affects social acceptance of child labour. These themes reveal underlying causes of child labour that are complexly interdependent, multi-faceted and cross-cultural. The themes are presented as concepts for conversation starters and for reflection and consideration of programme interventions.

4.1 Child labour and education are not mutually exclusive

It is generally acknowledged that child labour and education are inextricably linked. Child labour is a major barrier to school attendance while on the other hand children work because they lack access to quality education. According to a recent UNICEF report, [6] more than one third of all children in child labour are excluded from school. Those who attend school often struggle to balance the demands of school and work, even if these are household chores. They face compromises in education as a result and should not be forgotten in the discussion of child labour and education. Children who must combine child labour with schooling generally lag behind non-working peers in grade progression and learning achievement, and are more likely to dropout prematurely.

The findings of our study are consistent with those of the UNICEF research. Figure 4 and Figure 5 show that two third of the children in our study spend most of their time going to school. Figure 6 and Figure 7 show that school visits are almost equally distributed across the focus countries. Figure 8 and Figure 9 show that two third of the children attend school daily. Seven out of ten children are also burdened with unpaid work or household chores. One third of the children in our study is engaged in paid labour on a daily basis.

Our narrative analysis provides in general a view that many children have a full day fulfilling all kinds of imposed or felt responsibilities. This varies from doing chores at home, full household care taking, assisting parents in work to full employment. Mostly in combination with school activities or study. A child's time is an important resource where children have very little control of. This is especially seen in the African focus countries. In India children feel an enormous obligation to make their parents proud.

One of the main focuses of the WNCB programme is to increase access to education and improve the quality of education, thus preventing children from dropping out of school to engage in child labour. A key question for debate is how much child labour and education are indeed mutually exclusive. Access to quality education does not automatically lead to less responsibilities for children to contribute to the household livelihood.
In fact, the burden on children might even be increased and more harmful for the emotional and moral development of children. The line between what work for children is acceptable or permitted and what is potentially harmful for their development is very thin. One could argue that the social norm and cornerstone of awareness campaigns should be that children are completely free from responsibilities to contribute to the household and fully focus on pursuing an education.

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[6] UNICEF. 2021. Child Labour Global Estimates 2020, trends and the road forward.

I spend most time of the day to ...

go to school	N= 363	59%
do work and earn money	N= 128	21%
do work / household services without earning money	N= 105	17%
do something else, namely ...	N= 16	3%

Figure 4 - daily life activities children spend most time on according to children

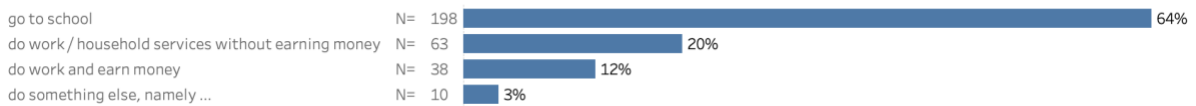## The child in my story spends most time of the day to ...

go to school	N= 198	64%
do work / household services without earning money	N= 63	20%
do work and earn money	N= 38	12%
do something else, namely ...	N= 10	3%

Figure 5 - daily life activities children spend most time on according to adults

I spend most time of the day to ...

Legenda filter
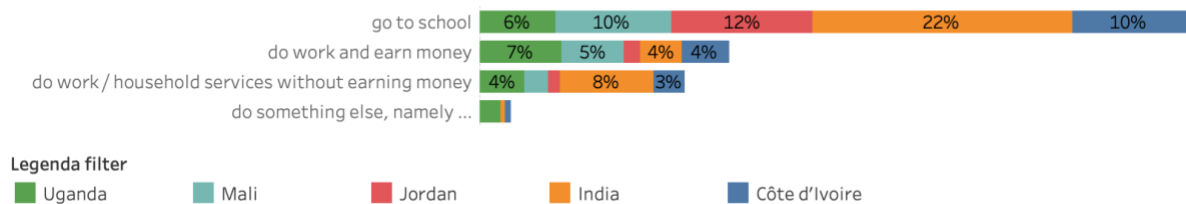Uganda Mali Jordan India Côte d'Ivoire

Figure 6 - daily life activities children spend most time on according to children distributed per country

The child in my story spends most time of the day to ...

Legend filter
Uganda Mali Jordan India Côte d'Ivoire
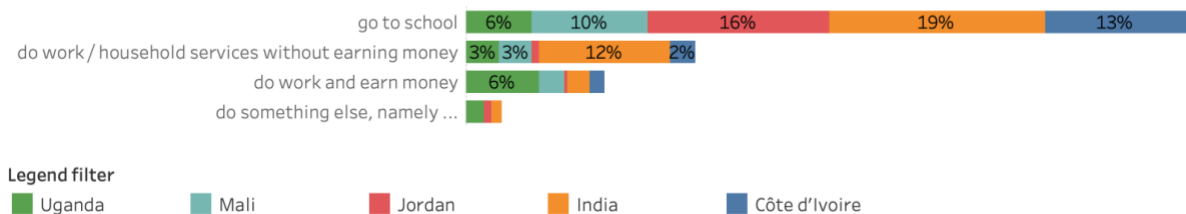
Figure 7 - daily life activities children spend most time on according to adults distributed per country

How often do you go to school?

every day	56%
not at all	23%
not every day	22%
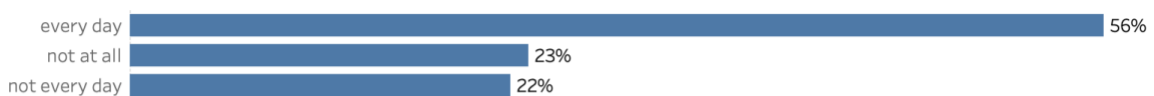
How often do you do paid work?

not at all	39%
not every day	32%
every day	29%

How often do you do work or household services without earning money?

every day	47%
not every day	34%
not at all	19%

Figure 8 - frequency of school visits, paid and unpaid work per week according to children

How often does the child in your story goes to school?

every day	64%
not every day	23%
not at all	13%

How often does the child in your story paid work?

every day	37%
not every day	33%
not at all	30%

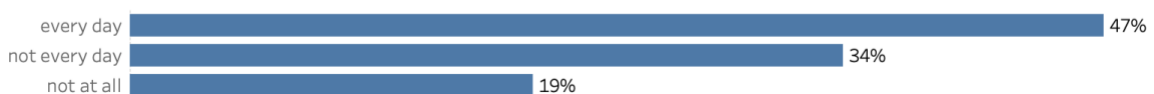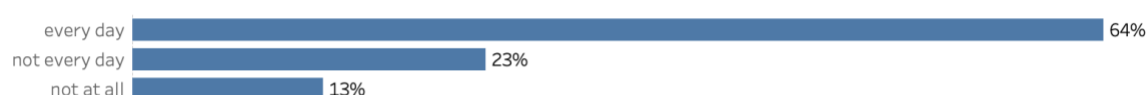How often does the child in your story do work or household services without earning money?

every day	40%
not every day	30%
not at all	29%

Figure 9 - frequency of school visits, paid and unpaid work per week according to adults

4.2 Statistical data on gender can be misleading

The WNCB programme aims for a gender transformative approach across all country programmes that will contribute to gender equality in schools, workplaces, households and communities. Achieving gender equality is vital to the programme and intricately linked to the persistence of child labour. According to UNICEF data[7] in Mali and Ivory Coast 89 girls are enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys. Uganda, India and Jordan have achieved gender parity in primary education. However, when it comes to impact evaluation, assessing gendered changes is more complex than measuring specific categories of men/women. Statistical data on gender equality can be misleading.

Our study provides insights that go beyond the statistics of gender equality. SenseMaker collects rich narratives textured by the own interpretations of girls, boys, female and male adults and the social circumstances in which their story has unfolded. It enabled us to identify underlying social norms and attributes that are difficult to understand through assessments using direct questions.

Figure 10 and Figure 11 show that when you asked boys and girls directly if they are treated differently (because of being a boy or a girl), the majority of children indicate that this is not the case at all. The adults in the study answered the question similarly. Based on analysis of the narratives of children and adults, we have found that gender inequality is a topic that is not discussed easily when asked directly. Many of the children and adults were avoiding or downplaying the subject of gender discrimination. However, the SenseMaker (quantitative and qualitative) data set as a whole provide a far more revealing picture.

Figure 12 and Figure 13 show that the boys and girls in our study almost equally spend most time to school. Also, they spend equally time to paid and unpaid work activities. When we zoom in on the frequency of activities in Figure 14, we see that on a daily basis girls 1,5 times as often than boys do unpaid work or household chores.

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[7] UNICEF. 2018. Global Education Monitoring Report Gender Review.

Figure 15 shows that in general female adults depict girls and male adults depict boys in their stories. We have found this pattern across all focus countries. The preference for girls over boys by female adults could indicate that the empowerment of girls and women is making progress. Many female adults for example support the aspirations of daughters for higher education. The preference for boys over girls by male adults on the other hand shows that patriarchal social norms and attitudes are still prevalent in the focus countries.

In general, gender determines the type, conditions and hours of work performed by boys and girls. The study provides many narratives where girls typically perform more household chores or take care of the entire household.

In Jordan male adults were not eager to participate in the study. According to the local project team this is a cultural phenomenon. The stories of children sketch a picture that men in general work and women stay at home. These stories confirm that Marka in East Amman is a conservative and male dominated area. Females in particular do not have the same rights as males, which manifests itself in exposure to early marriage and not having the right to express their feelings. Therefore, it is not surprising that most children and female adults were avoiding the subject of gender discrimination or discussed it superficially. Although the statistics present an image that boys and girls equally have access to education gender inequality is deeply ingrained in Marka society.

The study in Bihar, India shows fundamental forms of gender inequality and social exclusion. This involves the marriage of girls at a young age, school dropout and the burden of household chores of girls. Although some adults in Rajasthan, India say that there is no discrimination between children, child marriage is discernible in many stories. It emphasizes the subordinate role of girls in society. On the opposite, early marriage and other aspects of gender inequality are in the stories of children hardly mentioned, which makes it likely that gender inequality is accepted and deeply ingrained in social life.

A similar pattern is also discernible in Ivory Coast. Although adults and children alike say there is no discrimination against children, the prospect of girl marriage is seen in many stories. Young girls are exposed to sexuality and cases of early and unwanted pregnancy are mentioned repeatedly.

The studies in Mali and Uganda did not provide many signs of gender discrimination and sex-based rights violations. The local WNCB team in Uganda however reports several elements of gender inequality such as gender imbalance in the household where men control the household earnings and prioritize boys over girls, that boys have more access to attend schools than girls, that girls are expected to mostly take care of the family while the parents are out of home to look for money for survival and that girls are perceived as a source of wealth through marriage, and they are rarely supported to complete education while boys are always prioritized to attend school. Also, girls are more vulnerable to sexual abuse and that there is an increase in teenage pregnancies and child/girl marriages. Further research is recommended to explore the signals of the local team.

The baseline SenseMaker assessment shows that collecting data to ascertain gender transformative outcomes is very challenging. First, direct questions do not encourage honest and authentic experiences. It often leads to avoidance or downplaying of the gender

topic. Collected data based on direct questions could therefore provide a distorted view of the progress made in promoting gender equality. Second, story collectors should feel comfortable to discuss the topic of gender inequality or discrimination as surveying the topic is also an element of creating awareness of the topic. We have found that the topic is best explored in an indirect way starting from stories about daily life activities. This was not an easy concept to apply for trainers and story collectors in the focus countries. An extra dimension to deal with in the implementation is that trainers and story collectors are also part of a culture where gender inequality is deeply ingrained and not easily discussed. Therefore, to monitor progress in achieving gender equality, we have to look beyond the statistics and connect the seemingly unconnected. It requires a level of abductive reasoning. The mass stories of children and adults map attitudes and behaviour and reveal knowledge in a way that direct questions do not.

In daily life, I am being treated differently ...

not at all   all the time

Legenda filter
■ boy
■ girl

300
26%
200
25%
100
7%
10%
6%
6%
4%
5%
2 nulls
0

sessions
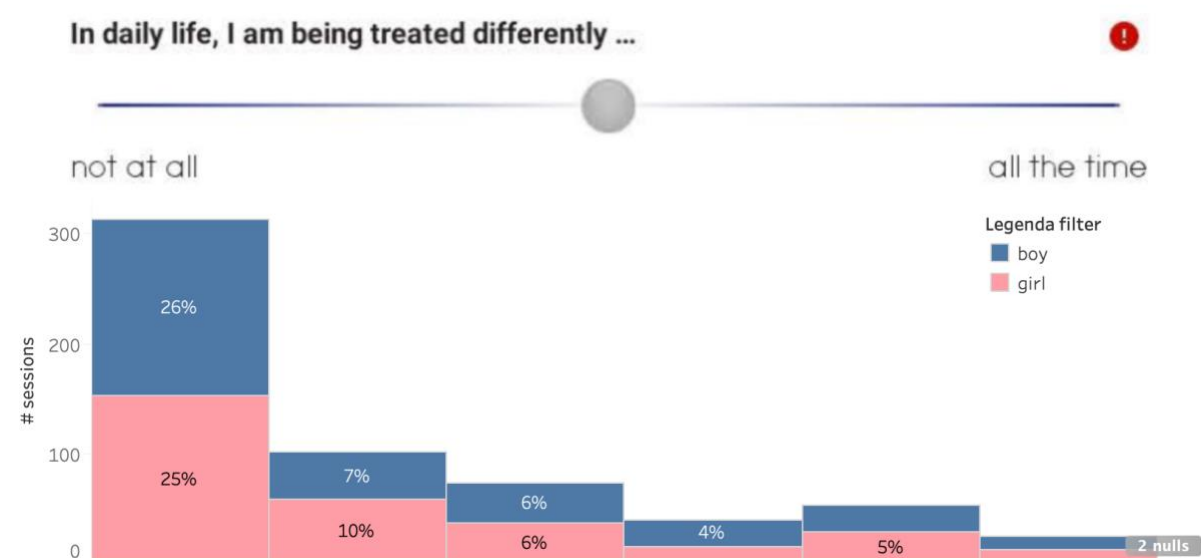
Figure 10 - being treated differently (opposed to other children) according to boys and girls

In daily life this child is being treated differently ...

not at all   all the time

Legend filter
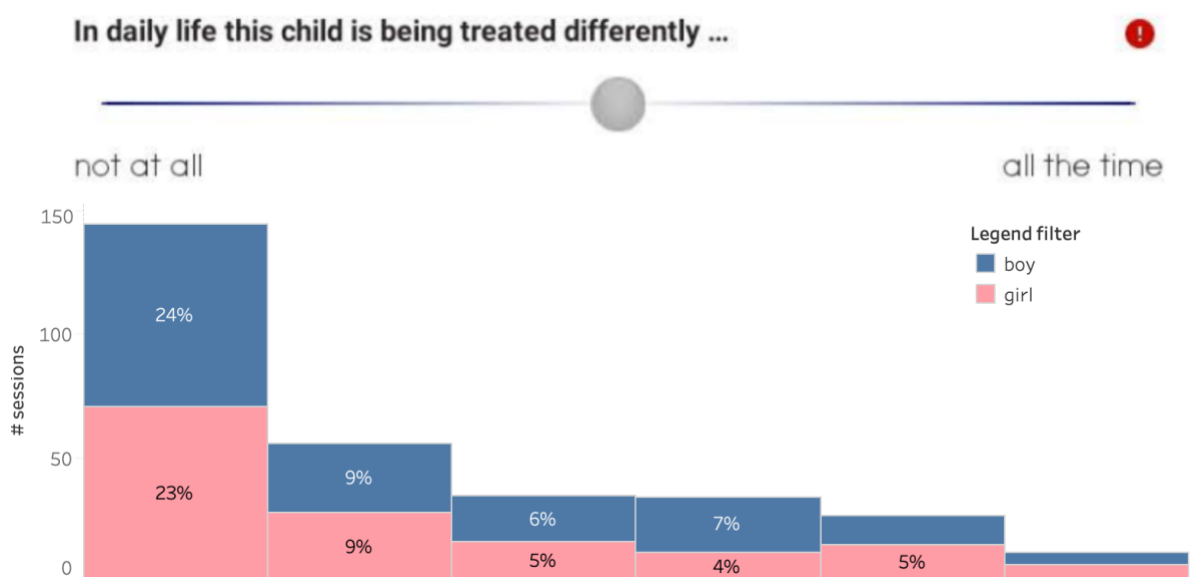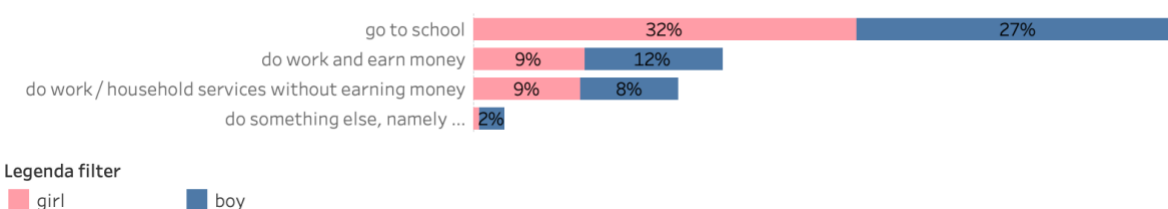■ boy
■ girl

150
24%
100
23%
50
9%
9%
6%
5%
7%
4%
5%
0

sessions

Figure 11 - being treated differently by gender of children according to adults

I spend most time of the day to ...

	girl	boy
go to school	32%	27%
do work and earn money	9%	12%
do work / household services without earning money	9%	8%
do something else, namely ...		2%

Legenda filter
- girl
- boy

My parents (or family) find it important that I spend most time of the day to ...

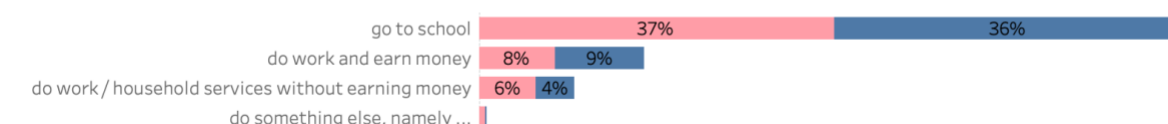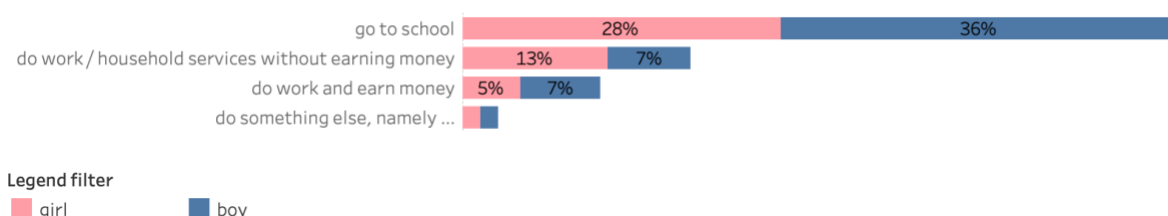|	girl	boy
go to school	37%	36%
do work and earn money	8%	9%
do work / household services without earning money	6%	4%
do something else, namely ...		

Figure 12 - time spend and parents' aspirations by gender according to children

The child in my story spends most time of the day to ...

	girl	boy
go to school	28%	36%
do work / household services without earning money	13%	7%
do work and earn money	5%	7%
do something else, namely ...		

Legend filter
- girl
- boy

I find it important that this child spends most time of the day to ...

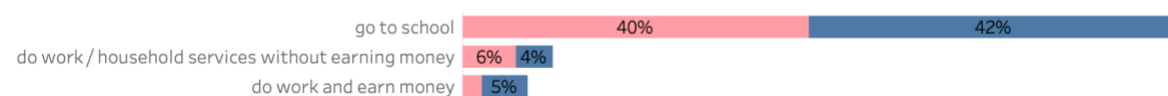|	girl	boy
go to school	40%	42%
do work / household services without earning money	6%	4%
do work and earn money		5%

Figure 13 - time spend and adults' aspirations by gender of children according to adults

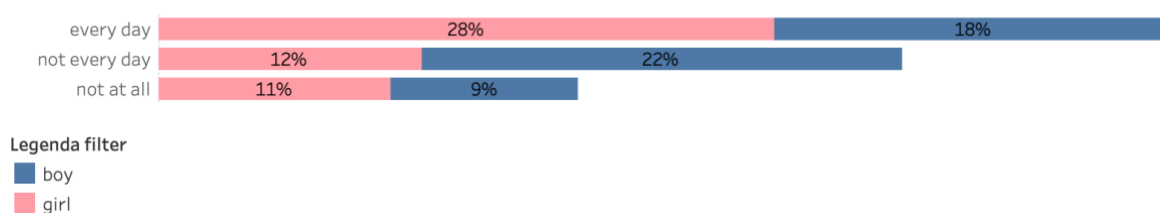## How often do you do work or household services without earning money?

	girl	boy
every day	28%	18%
not every day	12%	22%
not at all	11%	9%

Legenda filter
- boy
- girl

Figure 14 - frequency of unpaid work per week according to children by gender

The child in my story is a ...

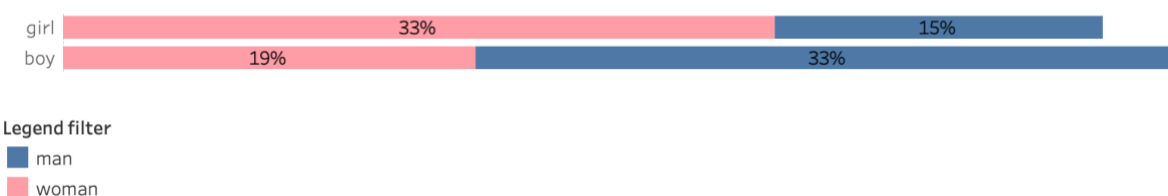|	woman	man
girl	33%	15%
boy	19%	33%

Legend filter
- man
- woman

Figure 15 - depiction of children by gender in the stories of male and female adults

4.3 The functional parent-child relationship is vulnerable in times of crises

A strong pattern in the narratives of this study is the functional relationship between parents and children. We already observed that gender determines the type, conditions and hours of work performed by boys and girls. This is a typical characteristic of a functional relationship.

Many adults in India view work as part of a child's socialization process in that children have responsibilities to contribute to the household. Working hard, both in school as in the household, is seen as exemplary behaviour. Girls typically perform more household chores or take care of the entire household.

In Ivory Coast and Mali, child labour often offers little vocational training but has a main objective of socialization and strengthening of the parental bond and control. Children are working to satisfy parents. Children are expected to work to meet their own needs and not to be looked after by their parents. The functional perspective on children finds some reinforcements in the way adults perceive teenagers aged 15-17 in the survey as a risk insurance or for future retirement pension: they are seen as adults able to work and bring additional income, their activities are then switching from household chores to paid work. This also applies for teenagers going to school according to 'the sunk cost effect': schooled teenagers are less likely to drop out because the investment made by the parents all these years would have been wasted otherwise.

In Uganda most parents find it important that their children go to school, yet there is a gap with what children actually do. A key reason for this is that the education of children is not the highest priority in the household. Money is spent on household consumption and savings. Parents face a trade-off between household consumption and children's expected future income. The costs of missing earnings and other contributions of children are perceived higher than sending children to school. A study to understanding child labour in Ghana by the World Bank[8] showed that the annual income of household heads 15 years of age or older who are self-employed in agriculture is basically the same for those with no schooling and for those with 9-years of completed basic education. Low returns to education are not stimulating completing basic schooling in agricultural societies. Also, sending children to school often compete with the demand for child labour because of the labour-intensive agricultural livelihoods. The agriculture sector demands little schooling with labour commonly recognized as the principal assets among households.

In many narratives of both children and adults, good treatment of children meets basic needs in terms of food, clothing and healthcare. In this sense, most children indicate that they are treated well by their parents. A functional relationship between parent and child has also the characteristics of a barter: children contribute to the household livelihood and in return they receive basic needs, in which education often has low priority. It would be interesting to understand the relationship with the level of household income, yet this was not a research variable in this baseline assessment. The aforementioned World Bank study statistically showed that in Ghana large shares of children in wealthy households are employed. The report concluded that eliminating poverty therefore would by no means eliminate child labour.

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[8] The World Bank. 2013. Understanding Child Labour in Ghana Beyond Poverty.

In times of crisis such as the covid-19 pandemic, the functional parent-child relationship is extremely vulnerable in the elimination of child labour. Economic shocks and school closures caused by covid-19 mean that children already in child labour may be working longer hours or under worsening conditions, while many more may be forced into the worst forms of child labour due to job and income losses among vulnerable families. Years of progress in behavioural and attitudinal change among parents can be undone overnight. The aforementioned UNICEF report warns that globally, 9 million additional children are at risk of being pushed into child labour by the end of 2022 as a result of the pandemic. A simulation model shows this number could rise to 46 million if they don't have access to critical social protection coverage.

4.4 The inconvenient mind blocks behavioural change

The majority of respondents in our study indicate relatively high levels of well-being, safety and future expectations and a relatively low level of social exclusion while the underlying narratives are far more ambiguous. This is puzzling for the interpretation of the data but at the same time it emphasizes also the strength of the SenseMaker methodology as it reflects the complexity of daily life and stimulates sensemaking.

It points out that natural cognitive biases like ambivalence, fear, entrenched thinking and confirmation seeking influence the subconscious (intuitive) thinking, emotions and behaviour of the target audience. It may mean that neither parents nor children themselves often realize that how they experience daily life is against the interests and rights of children.

The perceived levels of well-being and safety (Figure 16, 17,18 and 19) in daily life for example are relatively high so there is reason to believe that children feel socially protected, and adults think that they protect their children. However, one could argue whether the heavy burden of children combining school with work activities each day is good for the moral and mental development. In most of the focus countries of the WNCB programme, child labour is viewed as part of a child's socialization process in that working, as opposed to schooling, helps children get better accustomed to the skills needed later for employment. Confirmation bias to support own beliefs is a plausible factor in how children and adults experience and give meaning to daily life. Social acceptance also influences weak enforcement of child rights and anti-child labour legislation on central and local government level.

In complexity theory[9] the concept of entrenched or also called entrained thinking is gaining territory. In simple terms, entrenched thinking is when we are hard-wired into a particular limiting thought process due to our past experiences. Based on what has been taught to us by our parents, the insecurities that we have developed within ourselves and some past failures, we have trained our minds to think within a safe passage and aim for things that are within our reach. We have accepted our 'limitations' even at a sub-conscious level. We become prisoners of our minds and thus keep getting entangled in our patterns. This 'entrenchment' happens at a level that is so deep-rooted that it begins to play its role in all areas of our lives and curtails our ability to lead lives of abundant happiness. It goes beyond

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[9] E.g.,Boone and Snowden.2007. A leader's Framework for Decision Making

the concept of cognitive dissonance, as our target groups do not feel conflict between beliefs, values or attitudes that creates feelings of unease or discomfort.

Entrenched thinking makes it hard trying to change social norms, traditions and attitudes towards behavioural patterns that support and enable the fulfilment of children rights. The inconvenient mind adds a new layer of complexity to strategy and project development. It may risk rendering promotion and awareness campaigns ineffective or even detrimental, when ignoring the cognitive dimension. Cognitive science insights therefore provide compelling ideas to develop a cultural theory of change for child labour. Integrating the cognitive dimension into the WNCB programme will possibly require substantial changes to current approaches to research, engagement and advocacy work.

When talking about cognitive psychology, we are not talking about the beneficiaries psyche only, we are equally talking about ourselves as human beings, as the same mechanisms influence our own decisions (e.g. story collectors that rather avoid talking about gender inequality). Dealing with psychology requires humbleness to accept that we are not the masters of our minds, and compassion with others and ourselves, for our mind is a tricky creature designed to keep us alive and happy, even if it means to meddle with the truth. So, reading the results and insights of the baseline SenseMaker assessment from the perspective of 'where am I on this' is as useful as reading it from the perspective of 'what does it mean for my work'.
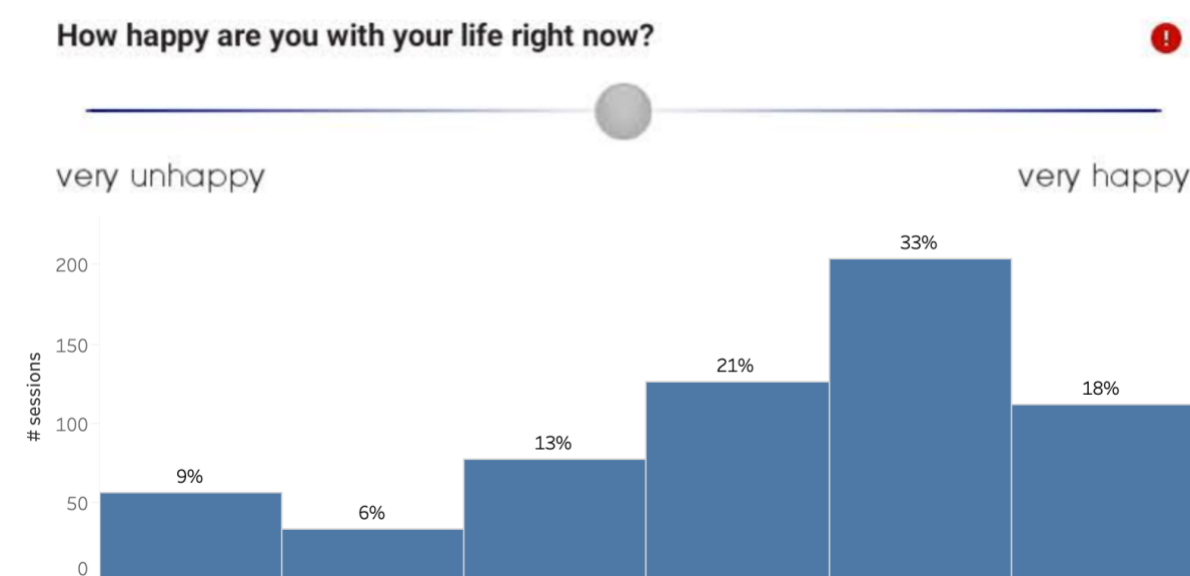

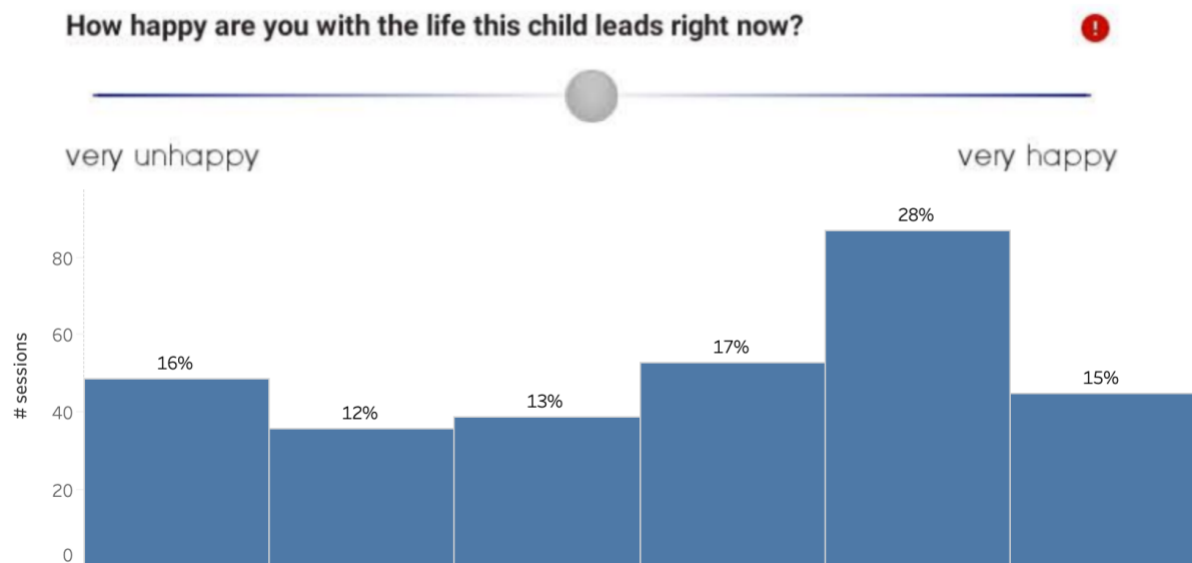*Figure 16 - level of well-being of children according to children*

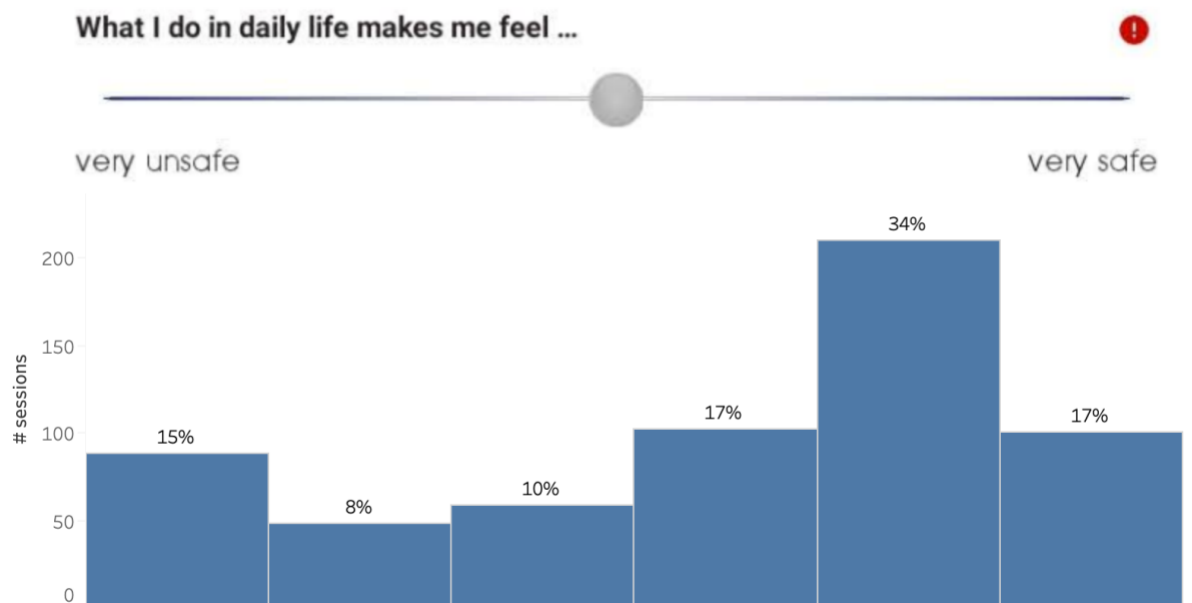*Figure 17 - level of well-being of children according to adults*

Figure 18 - level of perceived safety of children in daily life activities according to children
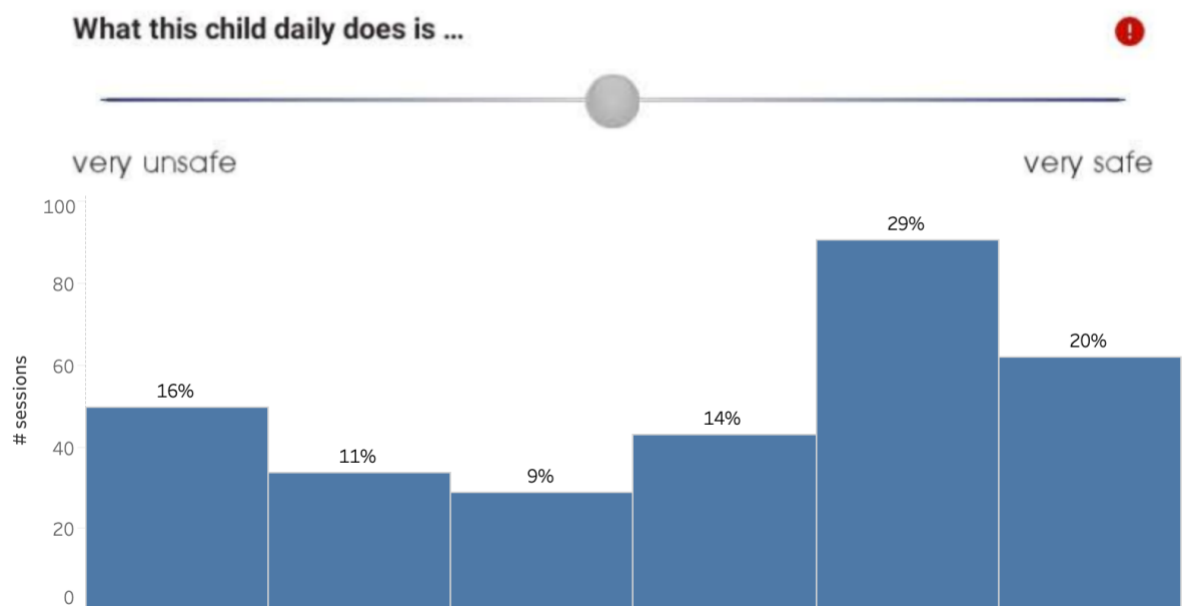
Figure 19 - level of perceived safety of children in daily life activities according to adults

5   Main insights per country

The key insights of the baseline SenseMaker assessment are the result of collective sensemaking. Collective sensemaking involves returning the information to the country project team members to solicit reflections on the emergent patterns and what underlies them. The purpose of collective sensemaking is, through conversation, to uncover and make sense of the patterns in the collected data. In this chapter the main insights per country of analysis are presented. For the full analysis of the baseline results per country please refer to the country reports as recorded in the annex.

5.1   India

The collected narratives in India give a holistic perspective of children's rights in daily life such as the rights to education, to play and to social protection against child labour. Also, elements of gender inequality indirectly came to the surface. Social exclusion like caste-based discrimination kept somewhat underexposed. The study presents an analysis for each region. Although the social and economic context differ in Bihar, Delhi and Rajasthan, a commonality is that working, either defined as paid child labour or as light work/ household chores, is part of the daily routine of children. The study stresses how deeply child labour, gender inequality and social exclusion are cognitively entrenched meaning neither parents nor children themselves realize that these are against the interests and rights of children. Although many adults are aware of the harms of child labour and many children are enrolled in school, there is still a lot to do to build knowledge and capacity to break through the deeply ingrained social patterns that underlie child labour.

Daily life activities of children

- Although the social and economic context differ in Bihar, Delhi and Rajasthan, a commonality is that working, either defined as paid child labour or as light work/ household chores, is part of the daily routine of children.

Social norms and attitudes towards child labour and education

- Child labour and schooling are not mutually exclusive, meaning that it is socially accepted that beside education children also work. The risks for the mental and moral development of children, with a full day schedule combining school and work activities, are not part of the daily life discourse. It is very likely that parents are not aware of these risks and consider the heavy burden on children, combining school and work, as socially acceptable.

- Many adults view work as part of a child's socialization process in that children have responsibilities to contribute to the household. Working hard, both in school and in the household, is seen as exemplary behaviour.

- Involvement in paid labour or light work is common at all ages. Children are from an early age pointed out to their responsibilities to contribute to the livelihood of the family.

- The relationship between parents and children is first and foremost functionally oriented, where gender determine the type, conditions and hours of work performed by boys and girls.

- Many children go to private tuition or coaching classes. It reflects the differences in the perceived quality of private and public schools. Especially in East Delhi we see examples of children, mostly girls, that are forced to drop out of public schools and enter paid labour. It not only stresses the importance of having an adequate, qualified, professional and competent teaching force. Teachers should also be sensitive of children who are potential dropouts. Once they are out of school and enter paid labour, it can be very difficult to get them back. Furthermore, if former dropouts enter back into school, it may be also very difficult to avoid a fallback into paid work again.

- Education gives many children and adults hope and perspective of a prosperous future. Role models in their environment influence the future aspirations of children. Many children want to make their parents proud or want to serve society with a government job. It emphasizes the enforced responsibilities children feel.

Social norms and attitudes towards child rights

- Many of the children in the study narrate about their playtime and their enrolment in education. It is likely that parents in the targeted villages are aware of the children's right to play and education.

- The perceived levels of well-being and safety in daily life are also high so there is reason to believe that children feel socially protected, and adults think that they protect their children. However, the underlying narratives in this study provide a far more ambiguous picture. Confirmation bias to support own beliefs is a plausible factor in how children and adults experience and give meaning to daily life.

- The burden of responsibilities on children may be very harmful for their emotional and moral development. It is likely that parents are yet not fully aware of this.

- Child labour, gender inequality and social exclusion are deeply cognitively entrenched, meaning neither parents nor children themselves realize that these are against the interests and rights of children. Social acceptance may also be intertwined with weak enforcement of child protection and regulation law.

- Although many adults in this study are aware of the harms of child labour and the value of education, there is still a lot to do to build knowledge and capacity to break through the deeply entrenched social phenomena that underlie child labour.

Gender discrimination and social exclusion

- The study in Bihar shows fundamental forms of gender inequality and social exclusion. This involves the marriage of girls at a young age, school dropout and the

burden of household chores of girls. Besides gender inequality also caste-based discrimination is of influence in Bihar daily life and it is likely that this affects opportunities for children to enrol in high-quality education and decent work activities.

- Many parents in Bihar believe that education increases the value of a girl in marriage. But on the opposite, community members may also pressure parents to prohibit girls have access to education as they are expected to take care of the household. So, girls are caught in a catch-22 situation: a dilemma from which there is no escape because of mutually conflicting or dependent conditions.

- Although some community leaders in the East Delhi areas say that gender inequality is something from the past, it is still prevalent. Girls are overburdened with household chores in their own homes. Boys spend less time to household chores and have more time for playing and studying. Migration is of major influence in social norms and attitudes towards gender. The garment and textile industry attracts migrants from poor communities with no formal registrations as citizens, especially from Bihar.

- In Rajasthan girls and boys equally have access to education. Although some adults say that there is no discrimination between children, child marriage is discernible in many stories. It emphasizes the subordinate role of girls in society. On the opposite, early marriage and other aspects of gender inequality are in the stories of children hardly mentioned which gives the impression that gender inequality is deeply cognitively entrenched: it is accepted as a fact of life.

5.2   Ivory Coast

The study shows that the engagement of children in professional activities is still a common cultural practice in the intervention areas of the TPAE programme. The main reasons for this situation go in two directions. First, for parents and guardians, the costs of missing earnings and other children's contributions are perceived to outweigh the gains from sending children to school. This is reinforced by the school shift system, times of political insecurity and the closure of schools due to the covid-19 pandemic. Second, the focus on money has become a parental mindset projected onto children who cause dropout. The working conditions of children are physically and psychologically harmful. There are several signs of abuse, especially in children in guardianship, when they are not working.

The gender perspective in this study provides a complex myriad of facts and perceptions. There are no significant differences between boys and girls in paid and domestic work, and the results of the study provide little evidence that boys have better access to education or are treated better than girls. The perception that the girl should be a housewife persists in background but contrasts with their presence at school. However early pregnancy often is for girls a threat to complete education. This baseline assessment highlights how deeply child labour, gender inequality and social exclusion are cognitively conditioned, which means that neither parents nor children themselves often realize how they see things in daily life goes against the interests and rights of children. Although many parents, teachers and community leaders are aware of the risks of child labour due to awareness programmes, the struggle for survival makes it difficult to turn this awareness into action.

Daily life activities of children

- Whether in rural or urban areas, almost all children start their days early with household chores such as sweeping the house, washing dishes or fetching water, and then either engage in household work activities. Children either go to school and resume housework in the evening. More than 6 out of 10 children do paid or unpaid work and almost half do it each day. Many do so in family farming activities, plantations and more rarely in rural areas; they harvest cocoa, clear fields, dig pits, collect water or have small service activities. In town, children have trade and craft activities: sellers of telephone refills, sewing, hairdressing and mechanics, other children do domestic activities such as collecting and selling firewood, taking charge of siblings, cooking food, selling small everyday items, etc. and can finish late at night.

- Children often supplement their income through paid work, generate income for their daily subsistence, and even are the main sources of family income. Structural poverty and economic insecurity are pushing children to work.

Social norms and attitudes towards child labour and education

- Most parents say that they find it important that their children go to school so that children can escape the unfortunate life circumstances that affects them, but children do not fully share their opinion and their realities partly contradict what adults say. Parents take the opportunity to send the child to work as soon as possible. The reasons are twofold: parents face a trade-off between household consumption and the expected future income of children. The costs of missing earnings and other children's contributions are seen to be higher than sending children to school. The other reason is that parents do not see livelihood prospect with structural unemployment and want to assure future income by resuming the family activity with one of the children. Finally, parents constitute work as an occupation capable of preserving the child from outside temptations.

- It is normal for children to combine study and work. Their days are therefore long.

- Child labour is often not connected to vocational training but has a main objective of socialization and strengthening of the parental bond and control. Children working to satisfy parents. This socio-cultural element tends to disappear in urban areas.

- Children are expected to work to meet their own needs and not to be looked after by their parents

- The work activities of parents are passed on to children. This tendency is more evident on family or rural farms.

- Work is the major reason for dropping out of school, to such an extent that greed is sometimes internalized by children. Some children confirm that the lack of qualified teachers plays a role in the lack of aspiration to go to school.

- Engaging in child labour activities is a common cultural practice in the areas of interest of the WNCB programme in Côte d'Ivoire. In agricultural activities, adults wait for the eldest to resume household activities.

- Education and work are considered a habit after a certain age, adolescents in school will continue their studies, working children aspiring to continue their activities.

- Children and adults value education for present and future opportunities, but children also appreciate the disciplinary, practical and structuring value that school can provide.

- Heavy child labour is often praised by adults who admire the tenacity of child. This makes adults less firm about child labour.

Social norms and attitudes towards child rights

- According to children and adults, good treatment of children meets basic needs in terms of food or clothing. In this sense, most children say that they are treated well by their parents. In several stories children and adults complain of fatigue, headaches, pain associated with the intensity and duration of work, especially in agricultural areas. Children who report having mixed and irregular school/work activities are also tired.

- Most adults are aware that some jobs are not physically suitable for young children, but the narratives of children contradict them.

- Adolescents are not seen as children and are seen as capable of generating income on their own.

- Although the awareness of the child's right to self-determination is high thanks to sensitizing programmes, it is the adults who decide the fate of the child.

- There are several signs of violence and abuse against children in the household. This is mentioned as a normal part of socialization. Violence and abuse are particularly present with children that are taken care of by guardians. These children are regularly confronted with violence and abuse.

- The right to play for children is seen as a risk of corruption of the child's development. Parents consider that work activities are a way of protecting the child from external dangers and temptations. There are no facilities for play activities, only minimally equipped social or sports facilities are accessible.

- Children and adults in general envision a positive change in children's future lives, but children engaged in paid work are more reserved. The prospect of education gives children hope for a better life.

- Despite recognized advocacy work, child labour, gender inequality and social exclusion are deeply entrenched cognitively, meaning that neither parents nor children themselves realize that how they see things in life goes against the interests and rights of children. Social acceptance can also be intertwined with weak enforcement of child protection and regulation legislation.

- Although many of the adults in this study are aware of the harms of child labour and the value of education, much remains to be done to build the knowledge and skills needed to break down the deeply rooted social phenomena that underlie child labour.

Gender discrimination and social exclusion

This study provides a complex myriad of facts and perceptions regarding gender aspects in child labour and child rights.

- There are no significant differences between boys and girls in paid and domestic work. In the stories, household chores shape the girl to her future role as a married woman according to the adults.

- Young girls are exposed to sexuality and cases of early and unwanted pregnancy are mentioned repeatedly.

- Parents, teachers and community members report that they find it more important that boys work than girls and that girls do more housework than boys.

- There is no difference in treatment expressed between girls and boys. When children feel treated differently or badly, the difference in treatment expressed is mainly associated with violence.

- Boys and girls feel almost the same for their safety, well-being and future expectations. Their opinions on the value of school and work do not differ much from each other.

- Adults mostly describe boys in their stories and indicate boys' level of expectation in society and their schooling.

- The difference in housework is particularly felt after the age of 7, when young girls perform household chores longer and longer than boys.

- The choice is left to the boy to leave school to resume his parents' activities or to start his own activity.

- Boys have the right to go out while girls are confined most of the time at home.

- Girls and boys have equal access to education. Although adults and children alike say there is no discrimination amongst children, the prospect of girl marriage can be seen in many stories. It emphasizes the subordinate role of girls in society. Gender inequality runs deeply cognitively: it is accepted as a fact of life.

5.3   Jordan

Our study shows that the vast majority of children in Marka spend most of their time in school. The awareness of the value of education amongst female adults is high. Education is giving children hope and perspective on a bright future, even when daily reality may be harsh. There are little signs of negative coping strategies such as withdrawing children from school and sending children to work. The covid-19 pandemic did not lead to increasing signs of negative coping strategies either. Many children indicate that they contribute to the household by doing chores, but this is not always identifiable as child labour.

A small portion (9%) of children does paid work in order to complement income in the family. Most children and female adults seem to avoid or discuss superficially the subject of gender discrimination. It is very likely that gender inequality is deeply ingrained in Marka society. There are weak signals of discrimination and bullying of Syrian children and teachers that can have a major influence on their development.
A caveat is that the study results are possibly distorted by an unbalanced sample. Children who are enrolled in school and Jordanian children are possibly over-represented, and female adults are also over-represented.

Data collection

- Children engaged in child labour were difficult to reach, therefore children enrolled in-school are possibly over-represented in the sample. Also, we have made no distinction between children with Jordanian and Syrian nationalities. Therefore, Jordanian children are possibly over-represented in the sample.

- Male adults were not eager to participate in the study. This is a cultural phenomenon: men often don't participate in surveys and study panels. Female adults were therefore over-represented in the sample.

- Children were coy and timid in telling their stories, but their stories are consistent with the answering of the signification questions. Also, the experiences and perspectives of adults correspond with those of the children. The stories and data therefore give a reliable and valid picture of how children and adults in Marka experience daily life in the context of child labour and education. A caveat is that the results are distorted by a possibly unbalanced sample as explained above.

Daily life activities of children

- The vast majority of children (84%) spend most of their time in school. The closing of schools due to the covid-19 lockdown has not pushed children to work either. Instead, they fill their time with online classes, playing and watching TV. Many

children also indicate that they help out in the household by doing chores, but this is not always identifiable as child labour. Interestingly, the IPSOS baseline study provides a similar picture that a vast majority (89,1%) of children in the Marka area attended school prior the covid-19 lockdown and continued to participate in classes through different channels (mostly online) during the covid-19 lockdown.

According to UNICEF the enrolment in school for Jordanian children is high: 98% of Jordanian children are enrolled in primary school, 86% in formal secondary education. For Syrian refugee children the situation is different whereby only 59% are enrolled in formal education. As we made no distinction in nationalities, we cannot establish the distribution of Jordanian and Syrian children in our study. It is however likely that Jordanian children are over-represented in the study sample.

- Children show several signs of boredom in their stories. This might point out signals of mental fatigue because of the lockdown which also may explain the coyness of children in their stories, although this may also be a cultural phenomenon.

Social norms and attitudes towards child labour and education

- Education is highly valued among adults, especially for females. According to them education provides discipline and practical and future knowledge. It makes parents proud and gives them fulfilment when children get the opportunities they did not have.

- For children education is of major influence in giving them hope and perspective on a bright future even when daily life reality is harsh.

- There are little signs of negative coping strategies such as withdrawing children from school and sending children to work although some adults are concerned with daily life issues like providing sufficient household income and safety on the streets.

- A small portion (9%) of children does paid work in order to complement income in the family. Most of these children accompany their fathers in work activities. Remarkable is that one third of these children are between 7-12 years old.

Social norms and attitudes towards child rights

- This study shows that many parents are aware of children's rights to play, protection and education. More importantly, we see that the daily activities of children correspond with these rights: children have access to education and have the possibility to play. Parents are concerned with the safety of children, which is mostly related to social contacts and safety on the streets.

- Most children feel treated well by their parents. Feelings of unsafety are mostly related to the neighbourhood, school and teachers: there are signs that Syrian children are harassed and bullied by Jordanian children and, in some cases, by their teachers.

- Many children do not connect with people outside their family and of other ethnicity. Also, activities of children center around the house. This isolates them socially and emotionally from other children which can have a negative effect on their development.

Gender discrimination and social exclusion

- The study has shown some signs of gender discrimination but in general it is a topic that cannot be discussed easily. It is known that Marka is a conservative and male dominated area. The stories of children sketch a picture that men in general work and women stay at home. The stories of adults confirm the same picture.

- The attitudes of female adults towards gender are open: both boys and girls were almost equally depicted in their stories. Female adults did not show any gender preference. Most adults express their concern with the education and future of children, without distinction between boys and girls. There were few signs of early marriage of girls.

- The study shows that girls and boys go to school equally. Only boys are engaged in paid labour and are also more engaged in unpaid work or household services than girls. The feelings of girls and boys about safety, well-being and how their lives will change within a year are nearly similar. Their opinions about the value of school and work also do not differ as much from each other. This may be distorted by a possibly unbalanced sample.

- Most children and female adults seem to avoid or discuss superficially the subject of gender discrimination. Male adults were not eager to participate in the study. According to the local project team this is a cultural phenomenon. It is very likely that gender inequality is deeply ingrained in Marka society.

- There are weak signals of discrimination and bullying towards Syrian children that can have a major influence on their development. When children feel treated differently by their neighbours, fellow students and teachers, it relates mostly to nationality: 17% indicated that they feel treated differently because they are Syrian. Because we made no distinction in the nationality of children it is difficult to tell how significant this signal is.

A complex myriad of insights based on the data and perceptions of the local project team

- The local project team estimates, based on own experience, that 20% of the children in East Amman are engaged in child labour. Based on their experiences, many children are forbidden to enjoy their rights to education, play and social protection. According to the local project team, most Jordanian children are enrolled in school. According to UNICEF 98% of Jordanian children are enrolled in primary school and 86% in formal secondary education. For Syrian children the situation is different whereby 59% of registered school-age Syrian refugee children are enrolled in formal education. As the vast majority of children in the sample indicate that they are going

to school, it is likely that Jordanian children are over-represented in the sample. This explains in their view the difference between their own observation and the study results.

- According to the team, children are not being honest about their well-being because they are afraid to lose benefits of the WNCB programme. Well-being is a very subjective feeling depending on situational forces and intrinsic human properties that are not always visible for outsiders. Our indication is that the stories described by children during answering the signification questions correspond with how they experience daily life. Also, the possibility of an unbalanced sample may give a distorted picture.

- The local project team confirms that discrimination and bullying of Syrian by Jordanians is a common phenomenon and that gender discrimination exist in Marka also because of its male dominated culture. Females in particular do not have the same rights as males, which manifests itself in exposure to early marriage and not having the right to express their feelings.

5.4 Mali

The study shows that the engagement of children in professional activities is still a common cultural practice in the intervention areas of the WNCB programme. The main reasons for this situation go in two directions. First, for parents and guardians, the costs of missing earnings and other children's contributions are perceived to outweigh the gains from sending children to school. This is reinforced by the closure of schools due to the unstable situation in Mali and the covid-19 pandemic. Second, the focus on money has become a parental mindset projected onto children. This leads to school dropout. The working conditions of children are physically and mentally very dangerous and harmful. There are several signs of abuse, especially in children in guardianship, when they are not working.

The gender perspective in this study provides a complex myriad of facts and perceptions. The proportion of girls and boys in paid and domestic work is similar, and the results of the study provide little evidence that boys have better access to education or are treated better than girls. The perception that the girl should be a housewife persists in background but contrasts with their presence at school. Many parents, teachers and community leaders are aware of the risks of child labour due to awareness programmes, but the continuous struggle for survival makes it difficult to turn this awareness into action.

Daily life activities of children
- Almost all children start their days early with household chores such as sweeping the compound, washing utensils or fetching water, then doing other child labour activities or going to school and picking up again housework in the evening. Almost 9 out of 10 children do paid or unpaid work each day. Many do so in family farming or mining activities; they break and carry stones dig pits, collect water, dig wells, other children do household activities such as collecting and selling firewood, taking care of siblings, cooking food, selling small items of everyday consumption, etc. and can finish late at night. Children often provide additional income through their paid work.

- Structural poverty and economic insecurity are pushing children to work.

Social norms and attitudes towards child labour and education

- Most parents say they find it important that their children go to school so that children can escape the unfortunate life circumstances that affects them, but there is a gap with what happens in daily life. Parents take the opportunity to send the child to work as soon as possible. The reasons are twofold. Raising children is not the top priority in the household. Money is spent on household consumption and savings. Parents face a trade-off between household consumption and the expected future income of children. The costs of missing earnings and other children's contributions are seen to be higher than sending children to school. The other reason is that parents do not see livelihood prospect with structural unemployment and want to assure future income by resuming the family activity with one of the children.

- Child labour is not connected to particular vocational training but reinforces hierarchy and socialization. Children are working to satisfy parents. This socio-cultural element tends to disappear in mining areas.

- In family and pastoral and forestry farms (Fanagouaran), the activity of parents is passed on to children and partially relates to a social dimension, while in the mushroom villages (Fourou) children receive very little education.

- Work is the major reason for dropping out of school and is pushed by parents. Some children confirm that the lack of school infrastructure and qualified teachers play a major role in the lack of aspiration to go to school.

- Engagement in child labour activities is a common cultural practice in the areas of interest of the WNCB programme in Mali. In agricultural activities, adults wait for the eldest to resume household activities. Children and adults alike do not consider the work to be formative given the simplicity of the tasks, especially in mining areas.

- Schooling is considered a habit after a certain age, adolescents who attend school will continue their studies.

- Children and adults value education for present and future opportunities, but children also appreciate the disciplinary, practical and structuring value that school can provide.

- Most children do not like going to mines because of the difficult working conditions and the risk of accidents. Many parents, teachers and community leaders are aware of the risks of child labour in mines, also through awareness programmes. When there is no money for food, households see no alternative but to put their children to work in the mines. Some are even forced to do so.

Social norms and attitudes towards children's rights

- According to children and adults, proper treatment of children means meeting basic nutritional needs and clothing. In this sense, most children say that they are treated well by their parents. In several stories, children and adults complain of headaches, pain in the joints and fatigue linked to the arduousness of their work, especially in the gold-mining zone. Children who report having mixed and irregular school / work activities are also tired.

- Adolescents are not seen as children and are seen as capable of generating income on their own.

- The child's right to self-determination and his or her future is present in a residual manner, it is the adults who decide the fate of the child.

- There are several signs of violence and abuse against children in the household, children are sanctioned for any inactivity and the unproductiveness associated with it. This is mentioned as a normal part of education and manifests itself discreetly in well-being and a sense of security. Violence is particularly present with children entrusted to guardians. The local project team believes that many of the children's inquiries are framed by fear of saying something inappropriate about their parents. It seems that children are regularly confronted with violence and abuse.

- Children may play after all other work; inactivity is often sanctioned by parents. There are no structural facilities for children to play, only disorganized social activities.

- Children and adults envision a positive change in children's future lives if they go to school. The prospect of education gives children hope for a better life.

- For out-of-school children, especially in mining areas, children's lives are expected to be the same as they are today.

Gender discrimination and social exclusion

This study provides a complex myriad of facts and perceptions regarding gender aspects in child labour and child rights.

- The proportion of boys who do paid activities is higher than that of girls, while more girls are assigned to household chores. In the stories, housework shapes the girl to her future role as a married woman according to the adults.

- Parents, teachers and community members report that they find it more important that boys work and earn money than girls and that girls do more housework than boys.

- There is no difference in treatment expressed between girls and boys. When children feel treated differently or badly, they are mainly associated with violence when the child is not working.

- Boys and girls feel almost the same for their safety, well-being and future expectations. Their opinions on the value of school and work do not differ much from each other.

- There are not many signs of gender discrimination and gender-based rights violations that are linked to a sense of safety in daily life activities.

- Adults mostly describe young girls in their stories and indicate the level of expectation of girls in society.

- Girls do more household chores than boys. Most adults express expectation of girls to become housewives.

- There is a greater proportion of adolescent girls aged 15-17 who continue in school than boys. Education is a loophole for girls in the face of early marriage and the financial dependence of future husbands. Some boy's leave school to resume his parents' activities or to start his own activity.

- In the description of daily activities, boys have the right to go out while girls are confined most of the time at home.

5.5 Uganda

The study shows that the engagement of children in work activities is still common cultural practice in the focus areas of the WNCB programme. The main reasons behind this goes in two directions. First, for parents and guardians the costs of missing earnings and other contributions of children are perceived higher than the gains derived from sending children to school. This is reinforced by the lockdown and closing of schools due to the covid-19 pandemic. Second, the focus on money has become an intrinsic mindset of children causing school dropout. Work conditions for children are physically and mentally very hazardous. There are several signs of abuse especially among orphans when they fail to find paid work.

The gender lens on this study provides a complex myriad of facts and perceptions. The proportion of girls and boys in mining work and domestic activities is similar and the study results provide little evidence that boys have more access to education or are being treated better than girls. The local WNCB team however reports several elements of gender inequality, like the increase of teenage pregnancies and child marriages. Many parents, teachers and community leaders are aware of the risks of child labour in the mines due to sensitizing programmes yet the continuous struggle for survival, reinforced by the covid-19 lockdown, make it difficult to act on.

Daily life activities of children

- Almost all children start their days with chores at home like sweeping the compound, washing utensils or fetching water and then do child labour activities. Many children report that going to school used to be part of daily activities but, due to covid19 measures, schools are closed. Instead, 7 out of 10 children go to the gold mines for paid work: carrying stones, collecting water, digging shafts, crushing rock or large stones in quarries. Many accompany their parents in mining activities. Other children do domestic activities such as cutting firewood, burning charcoal, drive cattle, taking care of siblings, cooking food, selling bread or local brew etc. Children do these unpaid activities usually to support the household and household earnings.

- Hunger is often mentioned as the main reason to find paid work instead of attending school, some call it 'for survival'.

Social norms and attitudes towards child labour and education

- Most parents find it important that their children go to school yet there is a gap with what children actually do. The reasons for this are going in two directions. First, many children report that their parents or guardians can or will not pay the school fees and scholastic materials. The education of children is not the highest priority in the household. Money is spent on household consumption and savings. Parents face a trade-off between household consumption and children's expected future income. The costs of missing earnings and other contributions of children are perceived higher than sending children to school. Second, some children escape or dropout from school on their own initiative whether or not influenced by their peers.

- Even when schools are open the motivation of children to work goes beyond hunger and poverty. There are several signs that focus on money is an intrinsic mindset of children. Some escape from school, others dropout early to do paid work. Some children overpower their parents in the earning of money and then are seen as the bread winner. According to the WNCB baseline survey, peer influence as well as poor and lack of school infrastructure and qualified teachers play a major role in the engagement of children in child labour.

- The engagement in work activities of children is common cultural practice in the focus areas of the WNCB programme in Uganda. Children are liked by parents and other adults when they work hard and contribute to the household earnings. According to children and adults, work is good for character building and the learning of life skills. Domestic chores and labour such as taking care of the cattle are traditionally a form of commitment to parents. Paid work such as in mining has been incorporated in the culture since the discovery of gold and other minerals.

- Most children dislike going to the mines because of the hard work conditions and health risks. Many parents, teachers and community leaders are aware of the risks of child labour in the mines also due to sensitizing programmes. When there is no money for food, households do not see alternatives but to have their children work in the mines. Some are even forced to do so. Also, the children's intrinsic motivation

to earn money often goes beyond their control causing tension between awareness and action

Social norms and attitudes towards child rights

- According to children and adults, good treatment of children is about providing basic needs as food, clothes and health care. In that sense most children say that they are treated well by their parents, yet more than half of them indicate that they feel unsafe. In several stories where children interpret their daily activities as unsafe, headaches, chest, knee and back pains in relation to mining work are mentioned. There is also a significant correlation with doing unpaid labour activities on a daily basis. The many work activities children daily do take a heavy toll.

- There are several signs of violence and abuse of children within the household especially among orphans. Orphans are treated as adults, meaning they have to contribute to the household. They are often forced to find work and get mistreated easily by their guardians if they fail. A lot of children mention that they dislike getting into fights and quarrels and are afraid of mixing with drunk people. It seems that children are facing violence and abuse regularly.

- A worrying signal is that some children take local brew before and after going to the mines. Sometimes it is a substitute for dinner having no kind of food at all.

- Children like to play, but there is hardly any opportunity due to life circumstances.

- Children and adults envision a positive change in the future lives of children that is associated with having an education. There are also expectations that children's lives will be the same or even worse than they are now. These are often associated with doing work in the mines. The prospect of education gives children hope of a better life.

Gender aspects in child labour and children's rights

- This study provides a complex myriad of facts and perceptions when it comes to gender aspects in child labour and children's rights.

- The proportion of girls and boys doing mining work activities and domestic activities is similar. This is true for all villages in the three districts that were surveyed. We see no clear distinction between the types of activities girls and boys do.

- In relative terms boys indicate twice as much than girls that they do not feel treated differently (compared to others). Girls indicate slightly more often than boys that they are treated differently. When children feel treated differently or badly, it is mainly associated with violence when the child fails to find work or refuses to go to the mines.

- Boys and girls feel almost the same about their safety, well-being and future expectation. Their opinions about the value of school and work also do not differ very much from each other.

- Parents, teachers and community leaders also experience little differences between boys and girls when it comes to treatment in daily life, their safety, well-being and future expectations.

- There are not many signs of gender discrimination and sex-based rights violations that are related to feelings of safety. The WNCB local team reports however that girls are more vulnerable to sexual abuse and that there is an increase in teenage pregnancies and child/girl marriages. Further research is recommended to explore the signal of the local team.

- Most adult men depict a boy as the main character in their story. Adult women depict both boys and girls in their stories. Mothers are more optimistic about the futures of daughters than fathers. This is associated with having access to education.

- Boys were more likely to indicate that their parents find it important that he spends most time of the day in school.

- Parents, teachers and community member indicate that they find it more important that boys do work and earn money rather than girls.

- The local WNCB team reports several elements of gender inequality, such as gender imbalance in the household, where men control the household earnings and prioritize boys over girls, that boys have more access to attend schools than girls, that girls are expected to mostly take care of the family while the parents are out of home to look for money for survival and that girls are perceived as a source of wealth through marriage, and they are rarely supported to complete education while boys are always prioritized to attend school.

Annexes

Annex 1 – Making sense of Work No Child Business India, country report India

Annex 2 – Fair sens de TPAE CIV, country report Ivory Coast

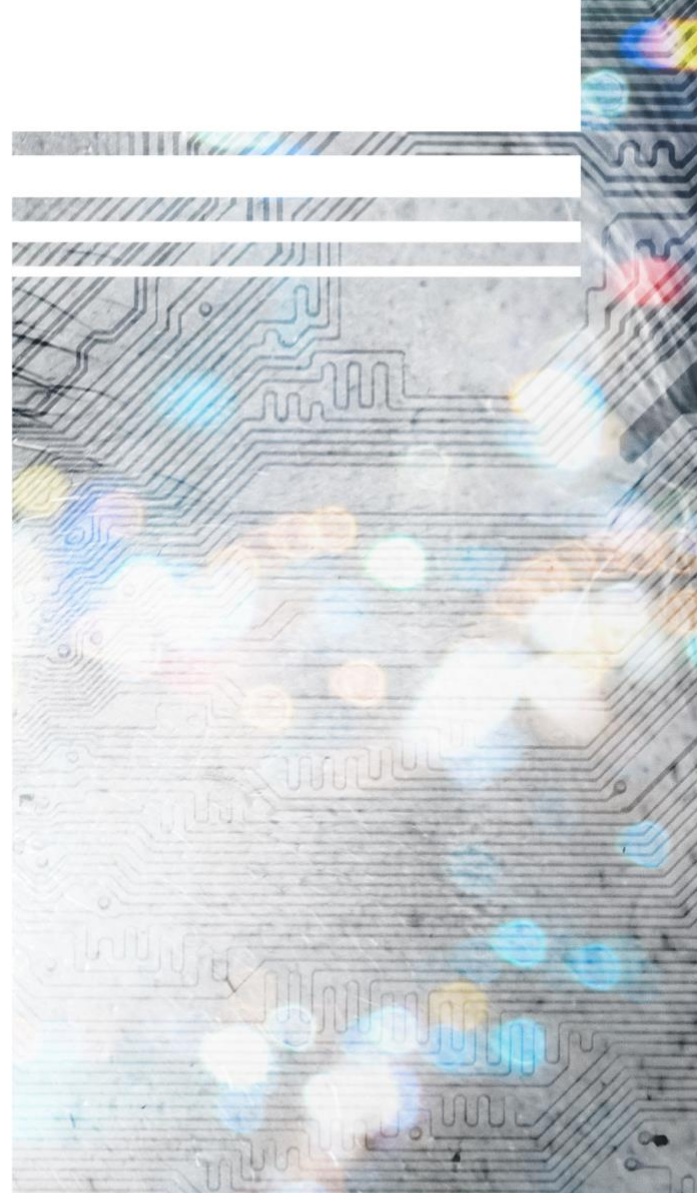Annex 3 – Making sense of Work No Child Business Jordan, country report Jordan

Annex 4 – Fair sens de TPAE Mali, country report Mali

Annex 5 – Making sense of Work No Child Business Uganda, country report Uganda

Annex 6 – Terms of Reference for using SenseMaker within the Work No Childs Business
programme

Annex 7 – Inception report WNCB SenseMaker

Annex 8 – SenseMaker Design plan WNCB